From the library of the late Rev. Thomas Whittome, D.D.
Fox's BOOK of MARTYRS
Revised and Improved by
THE REV. JOHN MALHAM.
(Vol. I.)
FOX'S BOOK OF MARTYRS;

OR,

THE ACTS AND MONUMENTS

OF

The Christian Church;

BEING

A COMPLETE HISTORY OF THE LIVES, SUFFERINGS, AND DEATHS

OF

The Christian Martyrs;

FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF CHRISTIANITY TO THE PRESENT PERIOD.

TO WHICH IS ADDED

AN ACCOUNT OF THE INQUISITION,


WITH

THE LIVES OF SOME OF THE EARLY EMINENT REFORMERS.

TWO VOLS. IN ONE.

VOL. I.

"Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?"—Matt. vii. 16.

REVISED AND IMPROVED

BY THE REVEREND JOHN MALHAM.

RE-EDITED

BY THE REVEREND T. PRATT, D.D

EMBELLISHED WITH SUPERB ENGRAVINGS.

Philadelphia:

J. J. Woodward, N. E. Corner of Seventh and Market-Streets

1830.
BE IT REMEMBERED, That on the 10th day of April, A.D. 1829, in the 53d year of the Independence of the United States of America, William Borradaile, of the said District hath deposited in this office the title of a book the right whereof he claims as proprietor, in the words following, to wit: Fox's Book of Martyrs; or, the Acts and Monuments of the Christian Church; being a Complete History of the Lives, Sufferings, and Deaths of the Christian Martyrs; from the Commencement of Christianity to the Present Period. To which is added, an Account of the Inquisition, the Bartholomew Massacre in France, the General Persecution under Louis XIV. the Massacres in the Irish Rebellions in the years 1641, and 1798; Rise, Progress, and Persecutions of the People commonly called Quakers, together with an Account of the Western Martyrology, or Bloody Assizes; with the Lives of some of the early eminent Reformers. In Two Volumes. Vol. I. "Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles."—Matt. vii. 16. Revised and Improved by the Reverend John Malham. Re-edited by the Reverend T. Pratt, D.D. Embellished with Superb Engravings."—In conformity to the Act of Congress of the United States, entitled, "An Act for the encouragement of Learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies during the time therein mentioned." And also to an Act, entitled, "An Act, supplementary to an Act, entitled, an Act for the encouragement of Learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the authors and proprietors during the times therein mentioned, and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving, and etching historical and other prints." FRED. J. BETTS, Clerk of the Southern District of New-York.

N. B. The above is transferred to J. J. Woodward—1830.
PREFACE.

IT is unnecessary to expatiate on the great importance of the History of Martyrs, as collected and published, with indefatigable labour and persevering industry, by the Rev. John Fox, in his voluminous work of the Acts and Monuments of the Christian Church. As a record of the powerful effects of a conscientious faith, displayed in such a variety of instances, in persons of every degree, from the learned archbishop to the most illiterate peasant, it stands unrivalled in the annals of history.

We trust that the manner in which we have arranged this interesting Work, will be no small recommendation. Its division into Books and Chapters, with a Table of Contents to each, and the chronological order into which it has been generally digested, with a very few exceptions contained in the last Book or Appendix, must give it a decided superiority to all other Editions in point of arrangement. By means of the Table of Contents and the Index, almost any particular subject may be found immediately; and scarcely any part of this History of Persecution can be wanting as a subject of reference, to which these aids, as a new and valuable disposition of the matter therein contained, will not be fully competent. Our labour in compressing the three large volumes of Mr. Fox's original work into two, will surely be admitted, has been a work of no small trouble and difficulty; but, as we have already given the most abundant demonstration that we are not to be intimidated by every trivial obstacle, our conclusion of this laborious task must be considered as another incontrovertible evidence of our firmness and intrepidity in the pursuit of our engagements. The few additional sheets, subsequent to Mr. Fox's History, contain a brief account of some of the most notorious histories which have disgraced the name of papists, and conferred additional honour and credit to the religion of the several denominations of protestants, equally with the members of the established church of England. In the peculiarity of our arrangement, it will not be deemed impertinent or vain to remark, that we feel a peculiar pleasure, as exceeding in a very superior degree all the editions of our predecessors, and leaving at humble distance all the productions of the most celebrated of our competitors.

The numerous Engravings to this invaluable Work, from drawings made on purpose, and which do great credit to the respective artists, we are happy to find have met with universal approbation, and must assuredly tend considerably to enhance the value of this important Work.

Of the great expediency of disseminating, as much as possible, the history of martyrdom, as exercised by papists on protestants of different denominations, in times comparatively modern, we are fully convinced. We may assure ourselves, that the present depressed state of popery in England is no proof that its leading principle has been abandoned, though this assertion has often been sounded in our ears. We cannot possibly doubt of its still lurking on the hearth in obscurity, in readiness to blaze out on stirring up the embers; and that it only wants a fostering-hand to blow up the coals, and to rekindle the sparks into an over-powering flame. That popery has now become an innocent thing, and perfectly harmless, is a sentiment which, we acknowledge, we cannot persuade ourselves to subscribe to; and when our readers have attentively perused the contents of this volume, (part of the First Book, and thence through all the other Books to the close, wholly consisting of the persecutions of protestants by the papists,) we shall only desire them to lay their hands on their hearts, and tell us whether, in their conscience, they can really entertain an opinion that the tenets of the latter are so very innocent, as some unhinging politicians would induce them to believe, and whether they can really persuade themselves to coincide with the declarations of some of our hereditary legislators, and of the representative counsellors of the nation, in making such assertions. Persecution we detest as much as any persons; but until some evidence of reformation has been produced, and an abrogation of the ancient tenets of popery, as contained in our pages proved, it is not the mere declamation of a few individuals, actuated by political or interested motives, which ought for a moment to be considered as maxims of a protestant government. Protect them in their private capacity as subjects of the state, but beware of granting to persons so constituted, any privileges which would enable them to subvert the government.

Surely, then, no true protestants can possibly need any farther arguments to convince them of their duty, in their respective individual capacities, to prevent every possible encroachment and intrusion of those erroneous sentiments and human inventions, which were only framed to enslave us in time, and deceive us for eternity; and at the same time permit us to conclude with the hearty and sincere prayers of our Liturgy, that "the Spirit of God may bring into the way of truth all such as have erred and are deceived; that it may please him to strengthen such as do stand, to comfort and help the weak-hearted, to raise up them that fall, and to beat down Satan under our feet."

Helton, Dorset, Dec. 18th, 1813

John Malham.
AUTHENTIC MEMOIRS
OF
THE REV. JOHN FOX,
THE
CELEBRATED AUTHOR OF THE ACTS AND MONUMENTS
OF
CHRISTIAN MARTYRS;
INCLUDING THE MOST INTERESTING PARTICULARS OF HIS LIFE,
Written by his Son.

The ingenious and laborious Author of this history drew his first breath in the town of Boston, in Lincolnshire in the year 1517. It is remarkable, that, in this year, Martin Luther began the reformation in Germany. His father was a respectable inhabitant of the town, and was of the corporation, but died when he was very young. His mother afterwards remarried; and John came under the protection of a father-in-law, until the age of sixteen. His friends agreed to enter him a student of Brasen-nose College, in the University of Oxford. The famous Dr. Nowell, afterwards Dean of St. Paul's, in London, was his chamber-fellow; and their manners in the course of their lives were congenial. He had an excellence and vivacity of wit and humour, which endeared him to his familiar acquaintance, and recommended him to superiors. His industry in this seat of learning was as notorious as his disposition to urbanity and sprightliness of demeanour. In the year 1538 he commenced bachelor of arts; and, five years afterwards, in 1543, he took the degree of master of arts; in which latter year he was elected a fellow of Magdalen College, as a reward for his learning, and a testimonial of the opinion entertained of his abilities. He had an early inclination to poetry, and wrote divers Latin comedies in a copious and graceful style. Even these were employed in Scripture History; but his writings, replete with energy, were more fervent than circumspect.

This warmth of imagination, and ardent spirit of investigation, led him insensibly into the views of the patrons of reformation, which then was agitating, before he was known to them as a favourer of the Lutheran principles of scripture interpretation.

At this time the laws were contradictory; and King Henry the Eighth, who had quarrelled with the Pope, on account of his interrupting the king’s desire of a divorce from Queen Catherine, was placed in a condition which involved him in much perplexity. He perceived the overbearing power and pride of the church, but was not desirous of accomplishing any great alteration. His moderation, under this uncertainty of conduct, occasioned an indifference, which greatly obscured an act of the most distinguished celebrity, though ultimately productive of the most decided advantages. The king renounced the pope’s supremacy, but supported and maintained his doctrine. A point was, nevertheless, gained in favour of the reformers. The dissolution of the abbeys was another advantage obtained. Opposition to the pope was soon perceived to be a recommendation at court. But there was no safety for any of these, when they happened to interfere with the king’s arbitrary disposition. Of these contradictory laws he could
always avail himself, to silence any unwelcome advocate for those who opposed the errors of the Romish church. In this perilous state the Duke of Suffolk was cut off by untimely death, the Lord Cromwell put to the sword, and Archbishop Cranmer and the friends of reformation were sacrificed to the haughty and imperious tyranny of their opponents.

Under these circumstances our author entered on the investigation of this important subject.

It was soon perceived by Mr. Fox, that the doctrines maintained in conformity to the Roman church were, in many respects, repugnant to one another. He gradually entertained his dislike of these inconsistencies, and, by farther enquiry, more and more perceived their contradiction to the plainest and most obvious interpretations of scripture. A strict examination of both the ancient and modern History of the Church was the result of these observations. His encroachments upon the times allotted generally for rest were, as was reported by his cotemporaries, continued and excessive; and, in the summer-season, his nightly lucubrations were frequently conducted and pursued in a grove contiguous to the college. Before he was thirty years of age, he had read over all the Greek and Latin fathers, the disputations of the schoolmen, the acts of the councils, and the decrees of the consistory, besides his great acquirements in the Hebrew language. All this was performed in addition to his daily exercise.

These nightly retirements, when publicly related, were interpreted to his disadvantage. Why did he not attend the church so frequently as heretofore? Why did he desist from his wonted recreations, and refrain from associating, as before, with his equals? This occasioned a public enquiry, which led to his condemnation as a heretic, and his expulsion from the college; pretending, at the same time, much clemency towards him, that they had not put him in danger of his life. Upon this his friends deserted him; and his father-in-law was encouraged to withhold from him his paternal estate. Thus destitute, God's providence raised him a friend and patron in Sir Thomas Lucy, of Warwickshire, who engaged him as a tutor to his children, where he continued until they were grown up. During his residence here, he married the daughter of a citizen of Coventry; and, when he left Sir Thomas Lucy, which a fear of the Popish inquisitions probably hastened, he had no alternative, in this dilemma, but either to go to his wife's father, or to his father-in-law by the marriage of his mother. He had only to consider, which he most reasonably might prefer, with the greatest probable safety.

Though his wife's father lived nearest to him, he did not neglect writing to his mother's husband for an admission into his house, during the present difficulty. The reply was somewhat discouraging, but not absolutely forbidding. The danger of receiving him, being a convicted heretic, was urged, and the risk of harbouring him stated; but he declared, that he would shew himself a kinsman, and neglect his own danger. His mother more fully encouraged him to return to Boston, where he met with better entertainment than he expected from his father-in-law's cautious letter. By visiting Coventry alternately, and thereby affecting a shew of business, he was not suspected, and his time passed more pleasantly. How he otherwise spent his time during this seclusion is uncertain, as he never spoke of it with any great degree of satisfaction; and, perhaps, on account of his being less able to pursue his studies.

At length he determined to proceed to London, either as a place of better concealment, or from a desire to associate with persons of similar sentiments, or with a view, not improbably, of disclosing his abilities. About this time, indeed, it is certain, the reformation began to gather strength about the metropolis, being a few years only before the king's death, when his health began to decline, and his sentiments, or his conduct at least, were less favourable to the Papist's party. Yet little was done beyond removing the fears of persecution; and our author found himself in London, after all his means of subsistence were exhausted, in a state approaching rapidly to an extinction of life, his person being much emaciated by excessive abstinence in this wretched condition of protracted misery. In this extremity, whilst he was one day sitting in St. Paul's church, an unknown person came to him, putting a sum of money into his hand, encouraging him with an assurance of relief in a few days, and advising him in the mean time to preserve his life.
Within three days, an invitation from the Duchess of Richmond came to Mr. Fox, to superintend the education of the Earl of Surrey’s children, her nephew, at that time in the Tower, at her seat at Reigate in Surrey, about twenty miles from London; where he continued for the rest of this king’s reign, the whole of King Edward’s, and a part of Mary’s reign. The two nephews became most eminent; and her niece, afterwards Countess of Westmoreland, demonstrated Mr. Fox’s great abilities, by her accomplishments in the Greek and Latin languages.

The singularity of this extraordinary visit of a stranger, accompanied with such peculiar circumstances, whatsoever opinions we may entertain in modern times, cannot fail to impress our minds with a variety of ideas. As an ordinary occurrence, it must astonish us; and, considered as a supernatural interposition of Providence, it will have the effect of creating the most important reflections. Arguments in favour of the latter sentiment are, in our opinion, not to be treated with ridicule or indifference. It is too much to deny the possibility of a miraculous or divine interposition on so momentous an occasion, and to a person, whose services in the cause of pure religion were, in future, to become so conspicuous and renowned. His situation was at that time of such a nature, as renders it no way unreasonable to admit the probability of so distinguished a favour. On the other hand, it was far from impossible, considered as a more ordinary event of providence. The friends of the reformation might have raised him a sum of money secretly for the supply of his necessities, which had become so urgent. He might have been recommended to the Earl of Surrey, as a person the most fitting, and, in those peculiar times, every way qualified to be a tutor to his children; yet, as he was then a prisoner in the Tower, it was necessary that such a transaction should be managed with secrecy. In the same manner, and probably about the same time, a communication of the earl’s wish to employ him in so interesting a business, and conferring upon him so essential a trust, might have been conveyed by messengers to the duchess; and, on this supposition, we have an obvious ground, whereby this very extraordinary scene may be accounted for. Yet, even here, we have no need to exclude all idea of divine or miraculous interposition; for what but the gracious Spirit of God could have influenced either the earl or the secret partizans of the Reformation, to communicate so opportunistically a supply of money to obviate all his wants? The Almighty, in the ordinary course of providence, makes use of men as his instruments, more or less obviously as the nature of his general government requires.

But it was no longer safe for our author to remain in this retirement. The bloody Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, in whose diocese he resided, hated him, though one of his noble pupils was then become Duke of Norfolk, and gratefully protected him; but some device of the bishop might accomplish, by treachery, what he would not attempt to effect openly, and bring Mr. Fox to an untimely death, notwithstanding his patron’s powerful influence. The duke, on finding Mr. Fox resolved to escape beyond sea, provided for him every accommodation; and, with his wife, then big with child, and other religious persons, he set sail from Ipswich haven for the continent. A storm arose, soon after they got out to sea; by which they were next day driven back to the same port, where again they landed with much difficulty and danger. On learning that Bishop Gardiner had issued a warrant for apprehending him, and that diligent search was making for him, he prevailed on the master of the ship to put again to sea before the storm had abated, though at the hazard of their lives. In two days, they all landed safe at Nieuport in Flanders; whence they travelled to Antwerp and Frankfort, and finally to Basil in Switzerland, where great numbers of the English at that time inhabited.

When Mr. Fox was settled in Basil, he procured a subsistence by revising and correcting the press, as did many other learned refugees, this city being then the most famous for printing in Europe; and, whilst he remained here, he formed the plan of his inestimable History of the Martyrs. This was first printed in Latin at Basil, the copy being sent thither from London, and soon after he wrote it in his mother-tongue. It was in 1558, that Queen Mary died; and it is stated, on the testimony of Dr. Elmara, bishop of London, that Mr. Fox, in his hearing, in a sermon publicly announced, that her death would take place on the day
following. The accession of Queen Elizabeth soon changed the face of things: Mr. Fox speedily returned home, as soon as the government was settled, and money could be transmitted him from England to remove his family, and experienced the faithful friendship of his pupil, the Duke of Norfolk, until his death. His beneficence did not terminate with his life; for he bequeathed him a pension, which was ratified by his son, the Earl of Suffolk.

By the recommendation of Mr. Secretary Cecil, the queen conferred on Mr. Fox the prebend of Shipton, in the cathedral of Salisbury, in 1563, on the death of Peter Vannes, which he held until his decease, nearly twenty-four years after.

Though the rest of the prebends of that church are in the gift of the bishop, this seems at that time to have been an exception in the patronage of the crown. It has been stated that this prebend was almost forced upon him, and that he accepted it with much reluctance; and Dr. Fuller has observed, that Archbishop Parker summoned him to subscribe, which at that time was deemed a matter of considerable importance. But he waved the demand by saying, that he was ready to subscribe to the New Testament in Greek, which he held in his hand; and when he was required to subscribe to the canons, he declined it by saying that he had nothing in the church save the prebend just mentioned; and he was ready to resign it, though it was not insisted on, as he held it till his decease. Whether this was at that time an ecclesiastical prebend, may admit of some doubt, and in this view his refusal may admit of excuse; but we doubt if it was done upon that motive, and believe it must rather have proceeded from some tincture of Calvin's principles of reformation, which greatly prevailed in Switzerland. That this prebend was of a different description to the other prebends of that church, may be inferred from this fact, that it was afterwards conferred as a corps on the professorship of civil law in the university of Oxford, about thirty years after Mr. Fox's decease; and the professors have held it as such under this tenure, though laymen, and in other respects installed as the ecclesiastical prebendaries. It is more than probable, however, that this refusal of subscribing to the articles, was a bar to considerable preferment, to which he was so well entitled both for his learning and zeal for the reformation, and especially from the respect universally paid him by the first personages of the kingdom. The best authorities much doubt his having been Vicar of Cripplegate for some time, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, though we have accounts which mention it; but he was interred in the chancel there after his decease, which happened on the 18th of April, 1587.

Of this we are certain, from numerous authorities, and from our own personal observation, that there still remains a tablet against the south wall, over that end of the altar-rails, to his memory, in Latin, erected by his son, which states his being a zealous promoter of the reformation, and an ardent defender of the protestant faith; but the latter part of his death and age is concealed by the wainscoting, with which that part of the wall is sheathed or covered.

Mr. Fuller, in his Church History, has remarked, "that Mr. Fox was so large a reliever of the poor in his life-time, that no wonder he left no legacies at his death;" and he also adds, "that, whereas there passeth a tradition, grounded on good authority, that he foretold the ruin of the Invincible Armada, in 1588, the story is true in itself, though he survived not to see the performance of his own prediction."

If the statement we have just given be correct, his conduct is at once a proof of his zeal, and a demonstration of his sincerity. The governing powers of the church, it must be manifest, considered him as a champion of protestant principles, though in a few particulars his tenets were not exactly conformable. To sully the reformation in its infancy, by creating an enemy in the person of Mr. Fox, who was a most strenuous supporter, would have been highly impolitic, not to say unjust. The canons and articles, too, had been so recently settled, with the view of promoting uniformity and good order, that Mr. Fox is certainly entitled to every apology which can be made for his refusal; for it was but the year following the agreement of the convocation to those articles, that Mr. Fox was collated or presented to the prebend of Shipton subitus Whichwood, in the cathedral before mentioned.

Though Mr. Fox was a zealous, it has been asserted that he was not a violent, reformer; and that, if he was a nonconformist in some
minute particulars, he was generally friendly to the established church of England. Mr Fuller states, that he was so devout in his carriage, that he never entered into any church, without expressing solemn reverence. It has been admitted by some, that his statement of facts is not always to be depended on, and that he frequently lost his temper. But, on such a subject, the latter is not surprising; and, in such a mass of materials, consisting of three large and close-printed volumes in folio, collected from the most remote sources, the former may well be excused, in some instances, as unavoidable. A few of these have been noticed by Bishop Burnet and others, of which we shall avail ourselves as they come in our way. When we are informed that he was engaged eleven years in this vast undertaking, we need not be backward in assenting to the assertion, on considering the nature of the subject, especially when we take into the account that he never depended on the assistance of others in searching and transcribing records and papers. His constitution was thereby much impaired, and he became lean and emaciated, but without causing any relaxation in his pursuits. The papists were seriously alarmed at his labours, and exerted every possible means to depreciate the value of his writings; but this opposition had the most essential advantages, as it compelled him to weigh, with scrupulous attention, the certainty of the facts he related, and the validity of his authorities. Amongst these we find the Dean of Salisbury, to have taken an active part against him.

We ought not to omit Mr. Fuller's character of this distinguished work; who remarks, that "this point of the Martyrs hath been handled so copiously by Mr. Fox, that his industry herein hath starved the endeavours of such as succeed him, leaving nothing for their pens and pains to feed upon. To handle this subject after him is but to light a candle to the sun, or to kindle one single stick to the burning of so many faggots." He farther accounts for Mr. Fox's being permitted to retain his prebend, though he was not altogether friendly to the ceremonies, that most of the bishops had been fellow-exiles with him; and that whilst some of "the non-conformists were fierce and fiery, to the disturbance of church and state, he was mild and moderate." The same author has preserved his letter to Queen Elizabeth, to whom she constantly gave the name of father Fox, in favour of the anabaptists, who had been condemned; but their conduct had been so notoriously dangerous to the state, that, in this she felt herself compelled to refuse his petition, and two of them were, for example's sake, executed in Smithfield, the rest being banished. Another letter of his (both of which are in Latin) is preserved by the same author, relative to his son Samuel's expulsion from his fellowship of Magdalen College, in terms somewhat acrimonious; to which he was afterwards restored by command of the queen. Though he made a scruple of subscribing to some particulars, the violent non-conformists deserted our author as too lukewarm and remiss in the cause, to support their designs.

Of his two sons we have only to add, that one of them was educated as a divine, and the other a physician. It has also been very confidently asserted, that, his presentiments of his own approaching dissolution were of an irresistible complexion. That he might have no interruption from temporal concerns, or social affections, at his last moments, we are informed that he purposely sent his two sons from home, notwithstanding that he had constantly treated them with the utmost tenderness; and, before their return, his spirit, as he had foreseen, had taken its flight for ever from these terrestrial regions of chequered distress and felicity, to receive the reward of his indefatigable labours in the mansions of the blessed, amongst the spirits of just men made perfect.
THE

HISTORY OF MARTYRS.

BOOK I.

THE HISTORY OF THE MARTYRS OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH, FROM THE TIME OF OUR LORD AND SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST TO THE DEATH OF KING EDWARD THE SIXTH, OF ENGLAND.

CHAP. I.

THE HISTORY OF CHRISTIAN MARTYRS TO THE DEATH OF HEROD.

In the History of our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, which we have lately presented to the world, our endeavours have been uniformly directed to exhibit to our readers the true and genuine nature of the Christian doctrine. We have taken a very comprehensive view of its design and tendency; and it has been our invariable study to represent to the serious and inquisitive professor of the religion of the gospel, such a rational system of its doctrines and faith, and rules of practice, as manifestly support and maintain the dignity of our Lord’s character, and, at the same time, preserve a due respect and importance to the first and most distinguished being of creation. For these essential purposes, we have been solicitous in our investigation of the condition of man, though degraded and humbled by his original transgression, to consider him in the state and condition wherein God himself considered him. We have endeavoured to guard against the operations of prejudice, on one hand, and to place him, on the other, in a condition, neither above or below that identical situation, in which the Almighty has invariably treated him. To discover this state, we must carefully consult the scriptures, which contain an account of the gospel revelation; but especially those parts, which in some respects relate to the covenants vouchsafed to mankind, and the promises made, on God’s part, to his creatures, with the obedience required, on man’s part, by his Creator.

Our author has divided the several distinguishing periods of the Christian church into five parts. These may be a little more or less than the specific duration of the several respective periods; but must certainly be regarded as a good general division, which may well deserve a place in the memory of every sincere Christian. He proposes, “First, to declare the suffering time of the Church, which containeth about the time of three hundred years after Christ. Secondly, the flourishing and growing time of the same, containing other three hundred years. Thirdly, the declining state of the Church and of true religion, other three hundred years. Fourthly, the time of Antichrist reigning and raging in the Church, since the loosing of Satan. Lastly, the reforming time of Christ’s church, in these latter three hundred years.”

It would be superfluous to repeat what has been already advanced and discussed on the continued persecutions of the Scribes and Pharisees against the propagators of the Christian religion. Pure and unsophisticated morality, especially when attempted to be inculcated on mankind, as essential to their preserving an interest with their Creator, have constantly met with opposition. It was this which produced the premature death of John the Baptist, as we have fully displayed in our former
work. It was the cutting charge of adultery and incest, which excited the resentment of Herodias, who never ceased to persecute him, until she had accomplished his destruction. The same observation is equally applicable to the Jewish doctors, in their treatment of our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. The New Testament affords the most decisive demonstration of their violence and rage; until, by an unexpected chain of incidents, the "hour of darkness" overshadowed the world, and presented the long-desired opportunity of accomplishing his death. In the history of our Saviour, as it is related in the gospels, we have a full display of the persecuting enmity of these zealots for the religion of Moses. With these instances, then, we may properly begin the history of persecution. This hostile conduct of the greater part of the leaders and rulers of the Jews, we may rationally comprehend in this history of Christian martyrs. In the sudden martyrdom of John the Baptist, and the crucifixion of our Lord, the history of Christian martyrdom must be admitted to commence; and from these, as a basis for the subsequent occurrences, we may fairly trace the origin of that hostility, which produced so lavish an effusion of Christian blood, and led to so much slaughter in the progressive state of Christianity.

As it is not our business to enlarge upon our Saviour's history, either before or after his crucifixion, we shall only find it necessary to remind our readers of the discomfiture of the Jews by his subsequent resurrection. Though one apostle had betrayed him; though another had denied him, under the solemn sanction of an oath; and though the rest had forsaken him, unless we may except "the disciple who was known unto the high-priest;" the history of his resurrection gave a new direction to all their hearts, and, after the mission of the Holy Spirit, imparted new confidence to their minds. The powers with which they were endued, emboldened them to proclaim his name, to the confusion of the Jewish rulers, and the astonishment of Gentile proselytes. Out of the seventy disciples, it was soon found advisable to select the tenth part for the special purposes of attending to the distribution of charity amongst the necessitous, as well as to assist the apostles in the work of the ministry. We shall not indulge those reflections which occur to us, originally, so far as our memory conducts us, on the significant ideas which present themselves to us on this peculiar circumstance of such an exact proportion; but we cannot refrain from one observation, that some mystical propriety may possibly be comprehended under this particular record of historical occurrences. That one-tenth of these supernumerary apostles should be determined on, we shall only consider as a matter of fact, and leave to our readers the inferences they may feel disposed to deduce from it. Of these we find Stephen particularly distinguished himself by a recapitulation of the history of the Jews to the final accomplishment of their fury in compassing our Lord's death; and, in his reference to that event, his expression is very strong and pointed, charging them with being his "betrayers and murderers."

This pointed language had always been deemed odious by the leading rulers among the Jews, and was not more welcome on the present occasion, insomuch that, "when they heard these things, they were cut to the heart, and they gnashed upon him with their teeth." Stung with his severe remonstrances, he boldly declared, as our Lord had asserted of himself, when arraigned before Pilate, "I see the heavens opened, and the Son of man standing on the right hand of God." This was enough. It was considered as blasphemy; and they proceed immediately to the summary punishment of stoning, without waiting for the sentence. "Then they cried out with a loud voice, and stopped their ears, and ran upon him with one accord, and cast him out of the city, and stoned him; and they stoned Stephen, calling upon God, and saying, Lord Jesus, receive my spirit. And he kneeled down, and cried with a loud voice, Lord, lay not this sin to their charge. And, when he had said this, he fell asleep;" herein following the example of his gracious Master, in whose service, and for whose glory, he submitted to become a martyr, and to die for the testimony of Jesus Christ, being the first of those who had the honour of shedding their blood for his sake. The time when he suffered is generally supposed to have been at the passover which succeeded to that of our Lord's crucifixion, and to the era of his ascension, in the following spring.

Upon this a great persecution was raised against all who professed their belief in Christ.
as the Messiah, or as a prophet. We are immediately told by St. Luke, that “there was a great persecution against the Church, which was at Jerusalem;” and that “they were all scattered abroad throughout the regions of Judea and Samaria, except the apostles.” It seems that they boldly braved the danger, and withstood the torrent of virulence which had broken forth against all who believed in Christ as a prophet; though it is added, “Saul made havoc of the church, entering into every house, and haling men and women, committing them to prison.” The rage of persecution is of so boisterous and unbridled a nature, that it neither spares age nor sex. All are alike the objects of its fury. Hence we are told of the effects in the following verse; and that “they, who were scattered abroad, went every where, preaching the word.” The apostles remained firm in their station; while others retreated from the storm, and carried the glad tidings of the gospel into distant countries: for we are afterwards informed, that “they which were scattered abroad upon the persecution that arose about Stephen, travelled as far as Phenice, and Cyprus, and Antioch, preaching the word to none but unto the Jews only.” We are farther informed, that “some of them,” viz. as I conceive, of those who thus retreated, “were men of Cyprus and Cyrene,” which accounts for their escaping to these parts particularly, who seem to have accompanied the other believers in Christ as far as “Antioch, preaching the Lord Jesus.” An account of their success immediately follows, with its communication to the apostolic church at Jerusalem; who feared that they might be misled in the faith, as persons less acquainted than were the apostles with the true doctrine of our Saviour, manifested in his public declarations and his private illustrations. Hence it was, that “they sent forth Barnabas that he should go as far as Antioch,” to ascertain correctly the advice they had received. He was happily confirmed in this information; so that “when he came, and had seen the grace of God, he was glad, and exhorted them all, that with purpose of heart they would cleave unto the Lord.” But as this consequence of the persecution we have been considering, did not immediately follow, and rather appears to us an event of a gradual and progressive nature, we shall only observe here, that this visit of Barnabas did not occur, until about seven years had elapsed from the great dispersion.

It seems probable that Ananias, whom we find at Damascus as an instrument in the hands of Providence to complete Saul’s conversion, retired thither on this persecution; and we may reasonably suppose, that others accompanied him thither, as he was one of the seventy disciples. Others, it is probable, went as far as Rome; for Paul himself takes notice of “Andronicus and Junia, as his kinsmen and fellow-prisoners, and of note among the apostles, who were in Christ before” him. The knowledge of the gospel had hitherto been confined within very narrow limits, since the death of its author, scarcely extending beyond the walls of the city; but this persecution was the means of its being propagated far and wide, and effectually strengthened what it was intended to subdue. Philip, the next in order of the seven deacons, was driven to the city of Samaria, which was thirty miles north-east from Jerusalem. Its inhabitants, being partly considered as Jews, and our Saviour himself having mentioned this as well as Jerusalem and Judea, just before his ascension, as places where they should “be witnesses” of him, besides the knowledge of their observance of the law, and expectation of the Messiah; it was deemed a sufficient reason for his preaching Christ to them also, though it had been hitherto confined entirely to Jews. This he did with wonderful success, and by the performance of many and great miracles.

This happy effect of his preaching and supernatural acts of beneficence, occasioned much exultation, and many testimonies of approbation of such distinguished acts of goodness. On this success, we read of one Simon, a person who had addicted himself to sorcery and magic, and the vain heathenish superstitions of those times, who resided in the city, and had gained the greatest veneration of the people; a crafty and ambitious man, and at the same time daring and insolent; having long, by his illusions, amazed the eyes of the vulgar, so as to have obtained for himself the character of being “the great power of God.” Philip’s preaching had accomplished the conversion of many; and, amongst others, Simon pretended to be convinced of the truth of the gospel, and submitted to be baptized; but, as we soon perceive, with an ambitious design of
turning it to his advantage, and recovering the reputation he was in danger of losing, and, perhaps, with the hope of discovering the secret by what means Philip performed so many miracles. After this, they were visited by the two principal apostles, Peter and John, through whose means, as instruments of Providence, additional grounds of conviction were afforded them; and Simon was not less attentive to them, which he might easily be without particular notice, having professed himself a disciple, than he had been to Philip. The gift of the Holy Ghost, demonstrated in the power of performing these extraordinary acts of kindness to their suffering fellow-creatures, accompanied with the gift of tongues, when necessary, were peculiar objects of his attention; so that "when Simon saw that through laying on of the apostles’ hands the Holy Ghost was given, he offered them money, saying, Give me also this power, that on whomsoever I lay hands, he may receive the Holy Ghost." But the subsequent history of Simon proves, what Peter indignantly answered, that his "heart was not right in the sight of God.” For the present, the severe animadversions of Peter checked his design, and humbled his towering spirit; though we shall probably have occasion to notice him hereafter, which is the occasion of the particular attention at present bestowed upon him.

To shew the effects of persecution, we have to observe, that, after Philip had left Samaria, which he probably did on the information that Peter and John proposed to come thither to confirm them in the faith, he had a particular direction from Heaven to take a south-west direction, and to place himself in the road to the westward of Jerusalem, in the way to Gaza, on the shore of the "great sea westward.” An Ethiopian eunuch, or chamberlain to the queen of that country, who was a proselyte to the Jewish religion, and was returning to Gaza from Jerusalem, where he had been to worship in the most barren and desert part, while he was sitting in his chariot, and reading a passage in the Jewish scriptures, was saluted civilly by Philip, who inquired whether he understood what he was reading. Acknowledging, with the utmost candour, his ignorance, Philip explains to him, that it contained a prediction of the sufferings of Jesus Christ, of which he must have received much information at Jerusalem, and would thereby be fully competent to perceive the propriety of the application. The result was, that the eunuch was baptized, when they came to a place where there was water; and by this means the gospel was transplanted into Ethiopia. After this they separated, and the eunuch continued his journey, having obtained this essential key for the interpretation of the Jewish prophecies, and Philip changed his route towards Azotus, on the sea-shore, where, and perhaps at Joppa and Lydda, and other places near the coast of the Mediterranean, “he preached till he came to Cesarea,” more to the northward, but on the same shore, which, we are elsewhere informed, was “his own city.”

In returning to the immediate history of persecution, as we have just seen some of its effects, in promoting and propagating the gospel of Christ, we shall find that Saul continued his furious zeal against those who professed the name of Jesus. This spreading of the doctrine of our Lord was not to be endured; and he obtained authority from the Jewish Sanhedrim to persecute the Christians in the various cities to which they had retired, which proved the means of his conversion to the faith of the gospel. By an extraordinary dispensation of providence, he was restrained in his career, which, from being a persecutor, produced an entire change in his habit and manners; so that he was not only pronounced to be “a chosen vessel,” but is stated to have "preached Christ in the synagogues, that he is the Son of God,” and thereby given such umbrage to the Jews, that “after many days they took counsel to kill him, and watched the gates day and night” for that purpose. Upon this, he was privately conveyed over the walls of Damascus, and thence returned to Jerusalem, where, after some explanation from Barnabas of his recent conduct in Syria, he joined the apostles; and there also "he spake boldly in the name of the Lord Jesus,” until his opponents "went about to slay him,” which occasioned his being conveyed to Cesarea, in his way to Tarsus. Thus early did he become an object of persecution, who had so lately been hostile to those who professed their belief in the name of Christ. Hither did Barnabas afterwards resort; when they agreed to proceed together to Antioch, to propagate
the religion of the gospel, which they did successfully. At this time also “the churches had rest throughout all Judæa, and Galilee, and Samaria;” so that the faith was greatly extended, and the cause of Christianity strengthened.

The next martyr we meet with, according to St. Luke, in the History of the Apostles' Acts, was James the son of Zebedee, the elder brother of John, and a relative of our Lord; for his mother Salome was cousin-german to the Virgin Mary. They were men of warm tempers, and, therefore, surnamed Boanerges by Christ; yet these two and Peter had the more special confidence of our Saviour, and were on that account objects of unreasonable caution. It was not until ten years after the death of Stephen, that the second martyrdom took place; for no sooner had Herod Agrippa been appointed governor of Judæa, than, with a view to ingratiate himself with them, he raised a sharp persecution against the Christians, and determined to make an effectual blow, by striking at their leaders. James, as an active propagator of the gospel, was the first object of his zeal, and he condemned him to death with little ceremony, and ordered him to be executed without delay. The account given us by an eminent primitive writer, Clements Alexandrinus, ought not to be overlooked; that, as James was led to the place of martyrdom, his accuser was brought to repent of his conduct by the apostle's extraordinary courage and undauntedness, and fell down at his feet to request his pardon, professing himself a Christian, and resolving that James should not receive the crown of martyrdom alone. Hence they were both beheaded at the same time. Thus did the first apostolic martyr cheerfully and resolutely receive that cup, which he had told our Saviour he was ready to drink.

Not satisfied with these sacrifices, Peter became an object of his fury, and was first imprisoned, because it was the time “of unleavened bread.” This was considered as sufficient for the present, as if he had been too religiously disposed to shed innocent blood, especially at the Passover, though with the murderous resolution of procuring his condemnation immediately afterwards. But this design was defeated by the miraculous interposition of an angel for his deliverance out of prison, notwithstanding the guard of soldiers stationed to prevent his escape; and his personal visit to his friends, with his narrative of the mode of liberation, convinced them all of God's providential favour to him. He then retired from this storm of persecution; and, not long after, the history of Herod's death is stated, as the effect of a divine visitation and punishment, the cause of which we may reasonably attribute to the murder of James. As the first prince who dipped his hand in the blood of the apostles, he was over taken with a judgment of the most extraordinary and exemplary nature, being suddenly seized with an incurable melancholy, and with the most exquisite torments in his bowels; to convince his parasitical sycophants of their mean and obsequious flattery, and to expose the folly and ridiculousness of attributing divine powers to, and conferring divine honours on, a person, who could not defend himself from the common afflictions and miseries of life.

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CHAP. II.

From the death of Herod to the death of St. John, and the conclusion of the Apostolic age.

The malignant spirit of the Jews was ever predominant, and the apostles, as their Master before them, were on all occasions, and in every place where that spirit could shew itself, violently persecuted. The apostle Paul was, by this means, driven from Antioch to Iconium; yet there were the apostles opposed by Jews and Gentiles, until they found it expedient to escape to Lycaonia. At Lystra, notwithstanding the partiality of the Gentiles for them, on account of curing the impotent man, the Jews to such a degree prevailed, that Paul was stoned by them. This induced them for a time to remove to Derbe, though they afterwards visited both Lystra and Antioch, to confirm the disciples of Christ in the profession of the gospel. Though the apostle Paul received a divine intimation to extend his labours, in propagating the gospel into Macedonia, an insurrection was here stirred up, and both Paul and his adopted companion, Silas, were cast into prison. Here we have a very different account of this Gentile apostle's deliverance to that of Peter. The prison-doors and the gates were not thrown open, as on that occa-
sion, at least, though the doors were opened as an effect of the earthquake, they were not commanded to go out, and conducted thence by an angel, as in the other case. The providence of God had other ends to serve on the present occasion. Here was no escape, as on the former interposition. "We are all here; do thyself no harm," says Paul to the terrified jailor. Conversion followed this extraordinary scene. The jailor was convinced of their innocency, made profession of their faith, and "was baptized, he and all his straightway." This advantage to the cause of the gospel was obtained by this short imprisonment, though the rulers, ashamed of their conduct, sent orders the next morning for their release; and at last, on Paul's asserting that they had grossly violated their privileges, he being a Roman citizen, with much submission they persuaded him to accept of a discharge.

Going to Lydda, and from thence to Thessalonica, the Jews, as usual, stirred up a commotion against them, so that Jason and others were obliged to enter into a recognition to keep the peace. Escaping by night to Berea, the Jews of Thessalonica pursued him, and he was compelled to take a circuitous route to Athens. His dispute at Athens, and his being brought before the Areopagus, or chief court of justice, is beside our purpose; but, proceeding to Corinth, the Jews manifested there their violence, and he thenceforth associated with the Gentiles. During his stay here, for a year and six months, St. Philip is supposed to have suffered martyrdom in Phrygia. A change of deputy at Corinth encouraged the Jews to foment a disturbance against the Christians; but though Gallio did not punish their violence, he would not hearken to their idle accusations. The ruler of the synagogue, whose name was Sosthenes, perhaps the successor of Crispus, who had been baptized, and therefore removed, was equally favourable to the apostles, notwithstanding the spleen of the Gentiles; and the new deputy was equally regardless of their proceedings. A respite from persecution was thereby obtained, which enabled Paul to remain there for some time longer.

From Corinth he passed to Cesarea, and thence to Antioch. At Ephesus, to which he came afterwards, a strong party, as in other places, opposed him; yet it only obliged him to change the scene of his labours, and in the public lecture-room of Tyrannus, to secure free admission of the Gentiles. The sons of a certain Jewish priest attempted indeed to imitate St. Paul's miracles there; but he paid rather dearly for his rash adventure, and this proved an occasion of many converts, and the destruction of great numbers of improper books. Yet a violent opposition was there raised on account of the goddess Diana, instigated by the silversmith Demetrius, which, with much difficulty, the town-clerk appeared. In his passage through Macedonia and Greece, the Jews were there intent upon his destruction; but he left them and came to Troas, where he performed a signal miracle upon a young man named Eutychus, by restoring him to life. When he came to Jerusalem, some of those who had opposed him at Ephesus, and other places, occasioned his being apprehended in the temple, and dragged violently out of it, until he was rescued by the Roman governor; though detained in custody for the purpose of identifying his person and character. The clamour of the Jews had nearly succeeded to occasion his being scourged; but "he demanded the privilege of a free-born Roman citizen, whom the laws protected against such a degrading punishment." [See the Author's History and Life of our Blessed Saviour, Book VIII. Chap. III. p. 399.]

Though this powerful appeal stopped their present violence, on the following day he was brought forth to be examined; and, whilst he was defending himself, in a way which must evidently criminate the Jews, the high-priest, with a view to silence him, commanded those who stood near him to strike him on the mouth.

"At such conduct he turns indignant. He calls him a whitened wall, which, like a whitened sepulchre, was fair without, but full of corruption within." Though, by an ingenious address, he divided his clamorous accusers, he was "retained in custody, with a guard of soldiers, to preserve him from the mischiefs of a tumult." Then the Jews conspired to kill him, on being brought to farther examination; but the chief captain caused him to be safely escorted by night on his way to Cesarea, and thus defeated their iniquitous design. Yet their persecution still continued. In five days after, the high-priest and elders followed him thither to Felix the governor, bringing with them a fulsome advocate to blacken Paul, and cajole the go-
vernor by flattery, and dissimulation; whilst Paul, in his reply, despised the arts of this hireling syeclancl, and defied them to prove a single article of their glaring accusation. The governor was fully aware of the nature of the case, but wanted honesty to release him, and humanity to provide for his personal safety, pretending that he was desirous of the arrival of the chief captain, to be more fully acquainted with the true nature of his accusation. Yet every liberty was permitted which could possibly consist with safety and protection.

Curiosity was not then a stranger, as on many occasions in our own times, to persons who sought only a momentary gratification. The governor’s wife was a Jewess, and Paul was to be brought forward to be re-examined merely to satisfy and indulge this unmeaning propensity; and, on this occasion, Paul used a language which was far from being welcome or acceptable to the ears of the governor. He was nevertheless detained a prisoner, though not very strictly, for two years, until a new governor had been appointed, merely as a gratification to the malicious Jews. On his going to Jerusalem, he had information of Paul’s being a prisoner at Cesarea; and, on the governor’s coming thither, he called Paul to an examination, to hear his defence against the insinuations of the Jews, and with a design of meeting their wishes. Festus had imbibed the poison of Paul’s accusers, and proposed remitting him to the ecclesiastical powers at Jerusalem. Against this proposition Paul protested. He claimed the privilege of a Roman citizen, and was ready to submit to the civil authorities. He appealed from Caesar’s tribunal to Caesar himself; and to this appeal the governor himself, however anxious to please the Jews, was obliged to pay obedience. In the long interval which followed before Paul could be sent to Rome, at least before he was sent, as a distinguished prisoner, he was exhibited as a spectacle to “Agrippa, who succeeded his father Herod Agrippa, who was grandson to Herod the Great, and had caused the martyrdom of James, and had come down to compliment Festus in his accession to the government of Judea.” The king was convinced, by Paul’s energetic language, of his innocence; but this seemingly unlucky appeal, though it had rescued him from the Jews, now militated against his discharge. The appeal was recorded, and must be heard; but it effectually delivered him from the machinations of the Jews.

We have nothing to do with the untowardness of the voyage, after means had been adopted to send Paul to Rome; for this may be considered as incidental, rather than the effects of persecution, though it certainly was occasioned by persecution. Many providential acts, however, appear manifest in it; but we know very little of the result of this appeal and this voyage, only that he was detained at Rome, in the character of a prisoner of honour, for “two whole years in his own hired house, and received all that came in unto him,” after which, he was liberated from his confinement. About the time of Paul’s voyage, Mark was dragged to pieces by the people of Alexandria, at their great solemnity of Serapis their idol, ending his life under their merciless hands; and near the time of St. Paul’s being shipwrecked at Melita, it is generally supposed that Matthew suffered martyrdom in Ethiopia, being slain with a halbert. But we have to notice the death of the apostle James, at Jerusalem, in the year preceding Paul’s discharge out of custody, by a violent insurrection of the Jews, through which means he closed his life by martyrdom, in the interval between the death of the governor Festus and the succession of Albinus. About this time, also, the death of Matthias is generally placed by means of stoning, though we have less account of him than of most of the other apostles. On Paul’s permission to depart from Rome, he is said to have travelled into Spain, and, as some think, though the reasons are not fully demonstrative, into Britain. He returned to Crete, and there fixed Titus as their bishop; and from that island he is supposed to have passed into Judea, and thence to Ephesus and Colosse, and back to Ephesus, before he passed into Macedonia to Philippi, to Nicopolis in Epirus, Corinth, Troas, Antioch, and Iconium, during which he appears to have endured many conflicts. (2 Tim. iii. 11.) Of this last visit to Rome, where he suffered martyrdom, we shall presently take notice; and in the mean time we have to remark that St. Peter did not settle at Rome till about four years before his death, and about the time that St. Paul had returned to Crete from Spain. At this time he found Simon Magus, whom he had before de-
feated in Samaria, exercising his infernal arts, and bewitching men's minds, so as to be had in great veneration by the Romans, and much in favour with the emperor. Defeated and opposed by Peter, the emperor was disgusted, and meditated his destruction; and on that account principally the first general persecution commenced, during which, the apostle St. Andrew, "after preaching in Seythia and Asia, and afterwards in Greece, was martyred in Achaia," by crucifixion, by command of the pro-consul.

In this persecution it is observed from Tacitus, that persons, who "made profession of this new religion were treated with all the instances of scorn and cruelty; that some were wrapped up in the skins of wild beasts, to be worried and devoured by dogs; others were crucified; others burnt alive, clad in paper-coats smeared with pitch or wax, or some combustible matter, that when day-light failed they might serve for torches and illuminations in the night." Even these spectacles were exhibited in the Emperor's own gardens. Thus barbarously were the Christians treated at Rome; besides which, similar edicts were issued against them through most of the provinces of the empire. In the list of martyrs of that period, we find the names of Tecla, Torquates, Torquatus and Marcellus, and many others; and there were Martyrs also at Milan, and other places. Though Peter was more immediately the object of the emperor's rancour, he seems to have escaped the first violence of the storm. But, on Paul's coming to Rome in the following year, both these apostles were cast into prison; the former on account of the emperor's hatred for his opposition to Simon Magnus, and the latter for having converted one of his concubines. They were confined in prison for eight or nine months; but they were at length condemned, and Peter as a Jew and a foreigner was ordered to be crucified, with his head downwards, at his own desire, and Paul as a Roman was on the same day beheaded about three miles without the city, but a few months before the death of the monster Nero.

The bishop of Antioch, Euodius, suffered martyrdom during the same year, as we are informed; but whether under Galba, Nero's successor, or the wicked Otho, whose two reigns scarcely exceeded ten months, is not altogether certain. But the miseries of the Jews, provoked by their rebellions, were productive of a breathing time for the Christians, who had escaped from Jerusalem at the commencement of the siege; but it afforded leisure to disaffected and ambitious spirits to hatch new opinions, and to propagate strange and heretical doctrines to the disturbance of those who professed the true Christian faith. It is foreign from our purpose here to state them; and that in the second year after the destruction of Jerusalem, the Christians, who had left it about six years before, returned thither with their bishop Simeon, the successor of James. In this year, however, it is generally supposed, that St. Jude was put to death in Persia, where he had successfully preached Christ's gospel, for his free reproofs of the superstitious rites of their Magi, being shot to death with arrows; and Bartholomew also is now said to have been crucified at Albania, on the Caspian sea, for opposing their idolatry, by order of the governor of the city. It was also remarkable for the death of Barnabas, who is also generally considered to have terminated his life at Salamis, in his own country of Cyprus, at the instigation of the Jews, by stoning.

It was not until the following year that St. Thomas is commonly understood to have suffered martyrdom, from the opposition of the Bramins of Parthia, in revenge for his having converted the prince of the country and many others. Accustomed to retire to a certain tomb near the city for devotion, they poured in upon him a shower of stones and darts, and one of his assailants afterwards advanced, and ran him through with a lance. In the next year, or the fourth from the destruction of Jerusalem, "it is generally supposed, the evangelist Luke died; and the prevailing opinion is, that he was crucified in Greece on an olive-tree, for want of a cross, by a party of infidels." Simon also is said to have been crucified by infidels in this year in Britain, after making many converts in various places. The reign of Titus, which followed that of Vespasian, unfortunately was but short; but his death was not without suspicion of poison from his brother and successor, Domitian. He was a good prince; yet, during his short reign of little more than two years, Linus, Bishop of Rome, successor to St. Peter or St. Paul, as bishops of the Jewish or Gentile converts, is now said to have suffered martyrdom, about five years after
death of St. Luke. The professors of the gospel lived peaceable for several years afterwards, excepting the disturbances which were fomented or occasioned by heretics, of whom indeed there was but too prolific a produce, though they were in some degree kept under by the vigilance of the apostle St. John.

When Domitian had reigned about nine or ten years, it has been generally considered that he began to look with an unfavourable eye on the Christians, perhaps from a suspicion that they might be secretly disposed to support the insurrection of Lucius Antonius against him and his unpopular government. But the second general persecution did not break out till the fourteenth or fifteenth year of that emperor's reign, when the bloody edicts were issued for that purpose, and numerous martyrdoms followed at Rome and other places. Antipas, in Pergamus, one of the seven churches of St. John's foundation, Rev. ii. 13. and Dyonysius, first Bishop of Athens, Acts xvii. 34. suffered many torments, and death; and the emperor executed Flavius Clemens, the consul and his cousin-german, for embracing Christianity, and banished his wife and niece to different islands. In this persecution St. John was sent for to Rome, and was there put into a cauldron of oil set on fire, from the effects of which he was miraculously preserved, and had the honour of martyrdom without the torments, or putting it in the power of man to deprive him of life. Yet the stubborn emperor persevered in his enmity to this faithful servant of Christ, though his first design was defeated by a miracle, and banished him "to the desolate isle of Patmos, one of the islands of the modern Grecian archipelago, to dig in the mines," being the usual labour of persons banished thither for any crime against the state or its economy.

It was here that this aged apostle, instead of being compelled to the usual slavery, for which the advanced period of his life was so little adapted, was favoured with various visions and revelations, by which he had a sufficient prospect of the future condition of the Christian religion. Of these we have an account in the comprehensive and important Book of the Revelation, which he afterwards committed to writing; containing many truths, by which the humblest Christians may profit, without concerning themselves in the expla-

nation of prophecies, to which their capacities or uncultivated faculties cannot possibly be commensurate. The accomplishment of some of them was then, as it were, commencing, especially those of the second and third chapters, describing the state of the seven Asian churches; for these would shortly come to pass, or begin to be fulfilled, but their progress and final completion, those of the subsequent visions especially, in which many dreadful persecutions were predicted, would be protracted to far distant periods, as the long continuance of many of them so frequently repeated most fully demonstrates. Though St. John despaired of life in this barren and desolate spot, his own liberation is first assured to him, that, aged as he was, he should "prophesy before many people, and nations, and tongues, and kings." (Rev. x. 11.) In this year we have an account of the martyrdom of Mark, the first Bishop of Atina in Latium, who is said to have been struck in the head with tenter-hooks, of Felicula, an illustrious woman of Rome, whose body was cast into a common sewer, and of Nicodemus, a presbyter of the same city, who was beaten to death. The emperor became intolerably jealous of every one; and Jews, as well as Christians, were persecuted as atheists and disowners of the gods. All the posterity of David were assiduously sought out, as marked for slaughter; which occasioned the apprehension of two grand-children of the apostle St. Jude, the kinsman of our Lord, who, after interrogation and examination, were dismissed, on account of their meanness and simplicity, as beneath his jealousy. From this period he issued an edict for terminating the persecution, which had raged so violently.

The violent death which the emperor soon after suffered, by means of conspirators whom he himself had marked for destruction, gave a new face to the affairs of the Christians. Both they and the dispersed Jews, who had either been banished from Rome and other cities during the last reign, or become voluntary exiles to escape his fury, were immediately recalled by his successor; and their confiscated property, as far as practicable, restored to them. Yet even in this mild reign, we are informed, that Timothy, Bishop of Ephesus, fell a martyr to the fury of the votaries of Diana, being so cruelly beaten with stones and clubs for opposing them in a festival-pro-
cession, that he expired in two days after.” This is the same whom St. John (Rev. ii. 1.) calls the angel of the church of Ephesus. Soon after this, St. John, no longer considering his continuance in Patmos to be necessary, from this happy change of the times, removed to Ephesus to his most intimate friends, and was prevailed upon, since they had lost Timothy, to take upon him the government of the church. In this situation he continued about three years, and at last “died in peace at the close of the century, being then little more or less than one hundred years of age.” During this interval he had written his General Epistle, and the two shorter ones to individuals; and in a little time he undertook the task of writing his gospel, at the request of the Asian churches. In his gospel he had a special eye to the heresies of Ebion and Cerinthus, following the argument, but more concisely, of his General Epistle. Nerva’s mild reign was, nevertheless, a short one, little more than sixteen months; but his successor Trajan, though otherwise a good prince, was excessively zealous for Paganism and all its superstitions, insomuch that St. Clement, if we are to credit Metaphrasites, was banished from Rome in the first year of his reign to the mines in Taurica Chersonesus, for having converted Theodora, a noble Roman lady, and others, to the profession of the gospel. The rigidness of Trajan for Paganism gave occasion to his subjects to persecute Christians, though no edict was issued against them. Under the pretence of illegal societies, they were severally persecuted by governors and other officers; and great numbers of them suffered by means of popular tumults, and by laws and processes, under the notion of malefactors and traitors, and under an emperor famed through the world for justice and moderation. This has been usually called the third general persecution; in which many martyrs suffered. Amongst these, we have an account of Cesarius, a deacon of Terracina, in Italy, and Zosimas, of Pisidia, in Asia; but particularly we must notice St. Clement, as just related, who made many converts in his exile, who was condemned to be thrown into the sea, with an anchor about his neck. But this storm of persecution happily never reached Ephesus, so that the venerable apostle St. John remained there until his death quietly and unmolested. And our account of of his death, already stated, as it closes the first century of the Christian era, terminates what may be called the apostolic age, and introduces us to their successors.

CHAP. III.

From the commencement of the second century to the establishment of Christianity by King Lucius.

It has been intimated that persecution, instead of crushing the professors of the gospel, was in many respects productive of the extension of Christian doctrine. At the close of the first century we find, that it was established “from the British isles to the farthest Indies, both in cities and other populous places, and in smaller towns; and bishoprics were also regularly settled.” Yet were the Christians grievously afflicted on one side by the malice of Jews and Pagans, and on the other most sensibly wounded and galled by various descriptions of heretics, whose poisonous doctrines and vicious practices brought an infinite discredit on the gospel, and frequently proved a principal cause of persecution. Trajan, as an emperor, was extremely prejudiced against the professors of the gospel; and persecution was more conspicuously manifest in Pontus and Bithynia, of which Pliny was governor; who soon perceived that an extermination of all the Christians would nearly annihilate the whole population of those provinces. He was thereupon convinced of the necessity of acquainting the emperor of the state of his government, with his opinion of the real matter of fact; and the emperor’s answer forbade the busy and impertinent disturbance of them, but directed their punishment when accused, perhaps from an opinion that, in opposing heathenism, they could not be innocent. Popular enmity might still continue in some places; but this reply blunted considerably the edge of the enemies fury.

On the emperor’s triumphal entry into Antioch, about seven years after the death of St. John, the settled opposition to the Christian doctrine was uppermost in his mind, and he consequently renewed his inquisitions against them. Ignatius, the bishop, after governing that church thirty-seven years, with the design of protecting his people, stated the nature
of the gospel, and was cast into prison, enduring most grievous torments; being not only scourged with plumbatae, but compelled to hold fire in his hands, while his sides were burned with oily papers set on fire, and his flesh torn with burning pincers, and made to stand upon hot coals. Sentence at last was passed by the emperor, that he should be conveyed to Rome to be devoured by wild beasts. In arriving at Smyrna, he had an interview with Polycarp, their bishop; and the rest of the bishops and presbyters repaired thither to partake of his benediction. He continued there some time, and, on arriving at Troas, was gratified by the information that the persecution at Antioch had ceased. Though his condemnation appears to have been in the month of January, or soon after, such were the delays intervening between that and his arrival at Rome, that it was nearly the end of December before he was finally martyred. And in the same year, also, was crucified Simeon, Bishop of Jerusalem, after presiding over the church there forty-five years, at the great age of nearly one hundred and twenty years. His death was occasioned principally by the hatred of the emperor against the royal house of David, and the blood royal of the kings of Judæa, which preceding emperors also had endeavoured to destroy, after being racked to no purpose for several days with the greatest patience. In the next year it is generally been understood, that Evaristus, Bishop of Rome, the successor of St. Clement, and about eight years after his death, was martyred; and, the year after, we are informed of the martyrdom of Barimeus, Bishop of Edessa, in Mesopotamia, and of that of Onesimus, Bishop of Ephesus, who was stoned to death at Rome. In some places indeed the persecution had ceased, two or three years before, though it did not wholly cease for some years after, neither was the church entirely free from it until the beginning of Adrian’s reign; who nevertheless revived persecution in the ninth year of his government from the same motives as had influenced his predecessors; but the bad lives of the heretics occasioned the martyrdom of many faithful Christians. Apologies were, however, presented to rectify the mistakes of the emperor, and a re-script which they produced terminated the persecution, but not without some bishops becoming victims.

In the second year of Adrian, Alexander, Bishop of Rome, died, and, as some state, was martyred; and in the ninth year the laws against the Christians remaining unrepealed, were revived with much severity; and it has been stated that many persons suffered in Rome and Italy, though the accounts transmitted to us are somewhat vague and unsatisfactory. Various representations were made to the emperor, both by letter and verbal address, which occasioned an order to use more moderation against them; and not only so, but signified a design of receiving Christ into the number of gods, and of erecting temples to his honour, until he was dissuaded from it by some of his courtiers or pretended oracles, on account of its impolicy and the danger of desertion from the Pagan temples. In the eleventh year of Adrian, Heron, the Bishop of Antioch, followed his predecessor Ignatius in the faithful surrender of his life for the gospel, after a government of about twenty years. In the next year died Sixtus, Bishop of Rome, after ten years presiding over the church there, as some think, by martyrdom. In the emperor’s sixteenth year he caused Jerusalem to be rebuilt, which was greatly promoted by the Jews, at a vast expense; but they were greatly offended, when a temple was erected to Jupiter Capitolinus, and not to the true God. Though it seems that there had been a partial persecution at Alexandria, through the misconduct of heretics, who had brought a disgrace upon Christianity, during the emperor’s residence there, the serious opposition of the Jews at Jerusalem, by their seditious proceedings, together with the instigation of some false prophets, produced a dreadful massacre of the true professors of the gospel, and various cruelties, being indiscriminately involved in the effects of the revolt. They were also tormented greatly by the Jews, because they refused to join in the rebellion; and the Jews were not subdued without the destruction of the new city of Jerusalem. The result was, that the Jews who escaped death were banished from the country, with a severe interdiction never afterwards to set a foot on it, and, to prevent them from ever again attempting it, raised the very foundation of the temple, and, in the Roman manner, ploughed up in contempt. Yet the emperor caused a new city to be built, which he named Ælia Capitolina, wholly to
be inhabited by Romans and foreigners; but many parts were now enclosed, which formerly stood without the walls, and others were excluded that heretofore were comprehended within the city. Modern travellers have stated this to be its situation within little more than a century past.

Yet this desolation occasioned the conversion of many Jews, convinced by providential events; and a Christian church of Gentile converts was soon established, the rites of circumcision and ceremonies of the law being entirely prohibited. The emperor's father-in-law, Aquila, governor of the city, and overseer of the buildings, was partially converted to Christianity, but with the reserve of many errors; so that, on his continuing inflexible, he was expelled from their communion. He afterwards became a Jewish proselyte, acquainted himself with the Hebrew tongue, and translated the Bible into Greek, with the design of destroying the reputation of the Septuagint, and obscuring the prophecies relating to our Saviour. The Jews account this translation of Aquila to be the most correct.

The following reign was in general very tranquil, from the wisdom and clemency of the emperor, though in his first year we read that Telesphorus, Bishop of Rome, after governing that church eleven years, became a martyr. Yet heretics were not wanting to disturb the peace of the church, and "excite the jealousy of the Pagan governors; so that true professors often suffered for the vile conduct of these hypocritical pretenders." For this reign did not pass over without considerable persecution. The enemies of true Christianity generally traduced its professors as wicked and barbarous, and scandalous in their nocturnal assemblies; and the general standing laws of the empire, and particular edicts of former emperors, remaining unrepealed, were put in force against them. "On this occasion, Justin Martyr published his first apology with success; and a public edict in their favour ensured their tranquility and prosperity, though it could not deliver them from the troubles occasioned by heretics, nor prevent the introduction of new heresies. His dialogue with Trypho the Jew, about three years after at Ephesus, is a most able defence of Christianity." But the succeeding emperor's zeal for the Pagan superstitious rites, was the means of exciting a hatred against the Christians, and producing the fourth general persecution; though it is uncertain by whom it was particularly fomented, his reign being remarkable for its mildness. Every exertion was made to sully the reputation of the Christians, as well as their lives; slaves and dependents where tortured to make them accuse their masters, and the innocent Christians were forbidden to justify themselves, and their apologies were prohibited from being read. The progress of this persecution was gradual; for in the first year of his reign we read only of the martyrdom of a woman called Glycerie, at Hierapolis, in Thracia.

Two years after we have an account of the most remarkable cruelty exercised upon a celebrated female Christian, named Felicitas, with her seven sons. To make her a sacrifice to appease the gods for the providential calamities and punishments then befalling the Roman empire, was urged on the emperor's mind as necessary by the Pagan priests; which was remitted to the conduct of Publius, the prefect of the city. Her resolution put him on the expedition of beginning with her children. The eldest, named Januarius, was first scourged with rods, and then pressed to death with leaden weights; Felix and Philip had their brains beaten out with batoons; Silvanus was cast down headlong, and had his neck broken; and the other three, Alexander, Vitalis, and Martial, were beheaded. The mother, last of all, was martyred through their merciless hands. About the same time, also, Concordus, a presbyter of Spoletato, was harassed by various torments, and afterwards beheaded, for refusing to sacrifice to Jupiter. Yet was not Justin intimidated from maintaining the faith of Christ, and engaging in many contests with Crescens, the noted cynic philosopher; though it was ultimately productive of his death by martyrdom, from the incessant operation of the haughty cynic's malice, both against him and Tatian, who had also freely reproved the vicious lives of those philosophic imposters. For in the following year the persecution increased to a higher degree than it had before been during this reign; and its effects at Smyrna were manifested in the martyrdom of Polycarp, after at least seventy years government of that church; but, as some say, which receives countenance to his speech on his arrangement, fifteen or
sixteen years more. At this time it has been recorded, that the martyrs possessed the most astonishing patience and greatness of mind, and that when their bodies were so torn with scourges, that their inmost veins and arteries were laid open, they submitted to it all without a sigh or a groan. Those who were condemned to the wild beasts were long kept in prison, and sustained many cruel torments in various ways, and, amongst others, by having sharp spikes placed under their bodies. From the undaunted courage of the brave Germanicus and others, whom the proconsul anxiously wished to save, the enraged heathens called out for Polycarp, who was with difficulty persuaded by the Christians to retire; but some time after, being closely sought for, he presented himself to his pursuers, and prepared for them a banquet, whilst he only requested to have an hour for his devotions, though he somewhat exceeded the time. After this, he was conducted into the city, though many artful means were used to shake and betray his constancy without effect; when their pretended friendship was changed into contempt. On his arrangement, and being required to swear by the Genius of Cæsar, he gave this spirited answer, “Fourscore and six years have I served my master Christ, and he never did me any injury; how then shall I now blaspheme my king and my Saviour?” Much conversation ensued, mixed with promises and threats, which were equally ineffectual; and he was speedily committed to the flames on the same day, the display of wild beasts being for that day terminated.

The circumstances attending the execution of this venerable old man, as they were of no common nature, it would be injurious to the credit of our professed history of martyrdom to pass them over in silence. It was observed by the spectators, that, after finishing his prayer at the stake, to which he was only tied, but not nailed as usual, as he assured them he should stand immovable, the flames, on their kindling the faggots, encircled his body, like an arch, without touching him; and the executioner, on seeing this, was ordered to pierce him with a sword, when so great a quantity of blood flowed out as extinguished the fire. But his body, at the instigation of the enemies of the gospel, especially the Jews, was ordered to be consumed in the pile, and the request of his friends, who wished to give it Christian burial, rejected. They nevertheless collected his bones and as much of his remains as possible, and caused them to be decently interred.

About this time also the persecution raged at Rome; and Justin wrote his second Apology, sixteen years after the first, addressing it to the emperor and the senate, on account of persecutions occasioned by some conversions, which were wholly at variance with the manners of the times. Ptolomeus, with Lucius, and another person, were condemned to die; neither was any attention paid to Justin’s address, but the Pagan superstitions were pursued with greater zeal than before. Justin and six of his companions were apprehended; and, after manfully persisting in their faith before the Roman prefect, were condemned to be first scourged, and then beheaded. It is also said that Anicetus, who had governed the Christians at Rome eleven years, died soon after Justin, and, as believed, by martyrdom. About this time Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, distinguished himself by his writings, as did many other learned Christian writers. Tatian also, who had united with Justin in opposing Crescens, as already mentioned, continued to maintain the orthodox doctrines, and wrote against the Pagan practices. Heretics from within, no less than Heathens from without, vexed the church greatly in the times which succeeded; and Melito, bishop of Sardis, wrote an apology to the emperor, in vindication of the loyalty of the Christians. Tatian, at this time, unfortunately suffered his ambition and love of novelty to corrupt his judgment, and occasion various erroneous opinions, which were very injurious to the credit of the gospel. Eusebius hath mentioned many flourishing Christian writers about and after this time, in defence of the purity of the gospel against heretics; amongst others, Pynius, bishop of Gnossus, and Philippus, bishop of Gortyna, both in Crete; as did Modestus against Marcion, and Bardesanes of Edessa, though he afterwards lapsed into the Valentinian heresy. But a favourable interposition of Providence, which was effected in favour of the Roman army, in a moment of the greatest exigency, in the following year, being attributed to the prayers of the Christians, the emperor, who was with the army, immediately dispatched an order to the senate of Rome in favour of
them, directing that their accusers should be punished with death.

But the persecution was nevertheless revived in some of the provinces, though the emperor’s miraculous deliverance had occasioned its termination at Rome. Apollinaris, bishop of Hierapolis, Athenagoras, a learned philosopher of Athens, and Miltiades, an eminent Christian, of whom we know nothing more than the name, and that he wrote against the Gentiles, Jews, and Montanists, were thereupon prompted to present apologies to the emperor. Notwithstanding these efforts, the persecution still was kept up at Lyons in Gaul, and other parts of the empire. Vienna, too, appears to have felt the fury of the Pagans; who are, in general, “described as brusishly fierce and cruel, being pointedly hostile to all who dared to defend the Christians, or advocate their cause.” Though some who were apprehended were, through fear and frailty, induced to renounce their profession of the gospel, others were enabled to support torments almost incredible. We must here notice five in particular, who were made to feel the rage of the multitude, the governor, and the soldiers, in a more violent manner. These were, Pothinus, bishop of the city of Lyons, aged ninety years, and of great weakness and infirmity, Sanctus, a deacon of Vienna, Maturus, a person lately baptized, Attalus of Pergamus, and an admirable woman named Blandina.

Though Pothinus was so feeble in body, his soul was in no respect decayed. The desire of being deemed worthy of martyrdom gave him vigour. Being brought to the governor, this captious question was asked, “Who was the God of the Christians? he replied, ‘If you be worthy, you shall know.’” Regardless both of age and humanity, he was barbarously dragged up and down, and unmercifully beaten, being kicked by those who were nearest, and pelted by those more distant with anything offensive which they could seize: he was at length taken from the ground, almost breathless, and cast into his prison, where in two days after he died. Not long after, the other four were brought, on a day appointed, into the amphitheatre to be exposed to the fury of the wild beasts. Of their previous treatment Sanctus sustained excessive torments, and would neither tell his name, condition, nor habitation, but constantly answered, “I am a Christian.” Red-hot plates of brass were then applied to the tenderest parts of his body, being all over full of wounds and stripes, besides being so bowed down, as to have lost the external shape of a man; yet in a few days, on repeating the same tortures to conquer him, or to deter others, his body miraculously became straight and erect. Of Maturus in particular nothing is recorded; nor of Attilus, until they were introduced into the amphitheatre. Of Blandina, though a weakly person, we learn that no tortures could disturb her faith, when her body was mangled so much, as to make her continued existence wonderful. She courageously replied, which refreshed her spirits, and abated her pains, “I am a Christian, and there is nothing of wickedness acted amongst us.” In the amphitheatre, Sanctus and Maturus were afflicted with every torment, as if they had suffered nothing before; sometimes being placed on a hot iron chair, and at other times dragged and torn by wild beasts, to satiate the fury of the people, until their lives were closed. When Attilus was demanded by the multitude, he was led round with a tablet carried before him, on which was written, “This is Attilus the Christian;” but the governor, being informed that he was a free citizen of Rome, remanded him to prison with the other Christians, until he had ascertained the emperor’s pleasure.

Until the answer was returned to the governor, these prisoners exercised themselves in sublime devotions, praying for their tormentors, and endeavouring to restore and comfort those who had swerved from their constancy. One of the prisoners, named Alcibiades, lived upon bread and water, until he was convinced by Attilus, who had received information in a vision, that it would be matter of scandal to others, to decline the use of God’s creatures, because we should feed indiscriminately on all meats, with praise and thanksgiving. The emperor’s answer directed, that “all who confessed themselves Christians should suffer, but those who renounced the faith should be dismissed;” and, as the time of a public solemnity was begun, the martyrs were exhibited as a show to the multitude. On being again examined, the citizens of Rome were beheaded, and the rest cast to the wild beasts. Many of those who had before retracted, openly declared their faith, and were added to the num-
HISTORY OF THE MARTYRS.

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A number of martyrs. Alexander, a courageous physician from Phrygia, was apprehended for encouraging the prisoners at their examination; he declared himself a Christian, and was condemned to the wild beasts.

Being next day led into the amphitheatre, with Attalus, they underwent all the instruments of torture, until they resigned their souls into the hands of God; in the midst of which, when he was on the hot iron chair, Attalus declared to the multitude, “That it was they who now feasted on human flesh, and not the Christians, who did no evil.” We have yet to add of Blandina, on the day when she and the three other champions were first brought into the amphitheatre, that she was suspended on a piece of wood fixed in the ground, and exposed as food for the wild beasts; at which time, by her earnest prayers, she encouraged others. But none of the wild beasts would touch her, so that she was remanded to prison. When she was again produced for the third and last time, she was accompanied by Ponticus, a youth of fifteen; and the constancy of their faith so enraged the multitude, that neither the sex of the one nor the youth of the other were respected, being exposed to all manner of punishments and tortures. Being strengthened by Blandina, he persevered unto death; and she, after enduring all the torments heretofore mentioned, was at length slain with the sword. Many martyrs died in prison; whose bodies were first cast to the dogs, and after every ignominious usage for several days, their bones were next burned, and their ashes swept into the river Rhone.

Amongst others who were tormented was a woman named Biblas, who had shrunk from the faith, but was afterwards restored. And in general it is to be noted, that, when these punishments were rendered ineffectual, they had recourse to imprisonment in dark and noisome places, where they were stretched in wooden stocks, and left destitute of human assistance; by which some were suffocated, others died of their pains, and a few triumphed over every misery and escaped.

In the month of August, in the seventeenth year of Antoninus, as believed, or the year of Christ 177, the year of which we have been treating, later writers have collected the names of forty-eight martyrs; and Irenæus was deputed with letters to Eleutherus, bishop of Rome, giving an account of their sufferings, and of the opinions of the Montanists, and, on his return, was appointed the successor of Pothinus in the church of Lyons.

CHAP. IV.

Establishment of Christianity in Britain by King Lucius—History from thence to the middle of the third Century.

We are now arrived at a period, when the gospel began to receive protection from the civil power; and that power, to the honour of our island, was one of the British kings, though perhaps, as they were subject to the Roman government, some may doubt of the propriety of considering it as a full establishment. That, however, is not very material. But, notwithstanding a relaxation of the persecution, we have an account of sixteen persons by name, besides others, about two years afterwards, amongst whom we find Thraseus, a bishop of Phrygia, as martyred at Smyrna. The accession of Commodus to the empire was matter of joy to Christians; and the doctrines of the gospel were universally inculcated with the greatest success. Heretics, nevertheless, continued to disturb it, when it became free from civil interruption. In that reign of nearly thirteen years, though, after two or three years at first, he gave way to every lascivious and irregular suggestion, we read of but one martyr of eminence or distinction, being an illustrious senator of the name of Apollonius, on the accusation of his own servant. In this ingratitude he met with his desert; the rescript of Antoninus, forbidding such accusations, was still unrepealed, and the worthless dependant was condemned to have his legs broken, and afterwards to be executed; though, having been accused, and not choosing to forsake his faith, he was by an ancient existing law condemned to be beheaded. Soon after this the emperor repealed many acts, and Irenæus wrote his learned work against heresies. The wanton and ridiculous extravagancies of the emperor, and his proscription of those who endeavoured to dissuade him from them, determined them to anticipate the mischief designed, and cut him off by poison.

The two reigns which followed were of too short duration to afford any thing memorable,
relative to the Christians; but, under Severus, the church was not only troubled with heresies, but in danger of a schism about the time of keeping Easter, which was happily reconciled by the mild and healing temper of Irenæus. At length, however, after a considerable internal rest, the Pagans, during the absence of Severus from Rome, revived the dormant laws against the Christians, from a jealousy of the favour they had obtained with the emperor, on account of his recovery from a fit of sickness by the intercession of one of them. In the time of any public misfortunes, the cause was attributed to them, and the people were clamorous to have them cast to the lions; and on public festivals they sometimes tore from their graves the bodies of the Christians, and cut them in pieces. Many suffered by fire and sword, as well as by wild beasts; and others died in prison, after cruel scourgings and other torments. But, amongst so many martyrs, none are recorded by name until the seventh and eighth year of this emperor’s reign, about the close of the second century. In the year previous to this, Narcissus, Bishop of Jerusalem, was falsely accused by some profligate persons of incontinency, though a man of strict piety and chastity, from an apprehension of being called to an account for their own crimes; and he deemed it prudent to retire for a season, though the charge was totally disbelieved by his people, until the judgments severally imprecated by his accusers providentially overtook them; one of them being consumed by fire, another wasted with leprosy, and the third with loss of sight; this last having acknowledged the whole plot and design after the others had suffered. But Narcissus continued in retirement for seven years; and then jointly ruled the church with Gordius, the third successor from his first absence.

Hitherto this fifth general persecution had been principally confined to Rome for nearly two years; but near the termination of this second century, it passed over to Africa, and particularly to Carthage. The governor of that city was the first in the country who employed the sword against the Christians, and Speratus and twelve others, after a courageous declaration of their faith, were condemned to be beheaded. Tertullian was very diligent in his writings at this time, both in his Apology for the Faithful, his books against heretics, and exhortations to the suffering prisoners.

On our entering upon the third century, we may properly remark, that “the church of God continued to increase, and become more and more triumphant, notwithstanding its opposers of every description, whether Pagans or heretics.” Christians were to be found everywhere; in cities, towns, villages, in the camp, the senate, and in the palace. But the emperor was induced to issue an edict, to gratify his heathen subjects in Palestine, forbidding all persons, under the severest penalties, to turn either Jews or Christians. Hence were the governors of provinces and the bigotted populace let loose upon the world; and the most inhuman and barbarous cruelties exercised were almost everywhere practised. The emperor’s visit to Alexandria caused the persecution to rage there; and the most distinguished Christians both of Egypt and Thebais were brought to that city, to suffer all sorts of torments and death. But many of them fled from this destructive carnage; and Clemens, in particular, escaped to Cappadocia. Leonidas, the father of the noted Origen, fell a martyr to this tyranny; and his son Origen, at the age of seventeen, was with difficulty dissuaded by his mother from committing himself to the same fate; who was condemned to be beheaded, and his estate confiscated. Irenæus also was martyred at Lyons, after various torments, with almost all the Christians of that populous city. Origen succeeded Clemens, though no more than eighteen years of age, in the great catechetical school of Alexandria; and many of his pupils suffered martyrdom in that city, as Serenus, Herculides, Heron, Hermes, and others, and his own attendance on the martyrs often exposed him to Pagan resentment.

The emperor’s return to Rome, about the end of the tenth year of his reign, was followed by triumphs for his victories, and the celebration of his Decennalia; when Tertullian, in a treatise on such pompous shows, earnestly presses the Christians to absent themselves from these spectacles. About this time also Plutarch, Origen’s first convert, was executed; and soon after Marcella, with her virgin-daughter Potamiana, were consumed in one fire. The latter was celebrated both for beauty and courage, having many lovers, all of whom she
resisted, and boldly defended the doctrines of the gospel. On her severe reflections against the Pagan religion, extorted from her by the judge’s threats to deliver her to the gladiators to violate her chastity, after the most grievous stripes had in vain been inflicted, Aquila, the judge was irritated to condemn her immediately, and one of the military apparitors, named Basilides, was ordered to lead her to her execution; who rebuked the multitude for reproaching her in obscene language, and treated her with much commiseration and humanity. Of his kind intentions she expressed her sensibility; and encouraged him by saying, that “when she was gone hence, she would treat her Lord for him, and would shortly make him an ample requital.” She submitted firmly to a most cruel death; for they poured hot scalding pitch gradually on all parts of her body, to occasion the utmost possible torture. In the same glorious cause did this humane conductor soon distinguish himself. He first refused to swear as a heathen; next declared himself a Christian, which he maintained to the great astonishment of all, for which he was imprisoned, and at length was beheaded. Whilst he was in prison, the cause of this sudden and unexpected change was asked by some Christians who visited him; when he declared that the virgin-martyr, “three days after her martyrdom, stood by him in the night, and put a crown upon his head, declaring that she had intreated the Lord for him, and had obtained her request, and that shortly the Lord would take him to himself.” It was then determined to seal him with the seal of baptism, the night before he was beheaded.

In the following year two ladies of Mauritania in Africa fell a sacrifice to the rage of persecution, with others. One of them was of noble parentage, and nurse to a son, about twenty-two years of age; the other of lower extraction, and very big with child. Their names were Perpetua and Felicitas. Being brought before Hillarion, governor of Africa, with four other Christians, Revocatus, the brother of Felicitas, Saturninus and Saturnus, who were brothers, and Secundulus, being all young, and in the state of catechumens, the ladies so firmly resisted all temptations to disclaim Christianity, that in the miseries of a dungeon they were so supported with heavenly visions as to convert their jailor named Pu-
slain in his tent by soldiers, at the instigation of an old soldier, Maximinus, who succeeded to the government, by means of the army. Yet in this tranquil reign, in his second year, Calistus, Bishop of Rome, was martyred in the city, though unknown to the emperor; and, about eight years after, his successor Urbanus is supposed also to have died by martyrdom. The instigator of Alexander's death was "more a monster than a man in person, and he soon proved himself to be so in disposition. Out of hatred to the memory of his predecessor, who had patronized many Christians, the sixth general persecution commenced, but was principally levelled against the bishops and ministers." But some affirm, that this was not general, but local; though the president of Cappadocia seems to have driven the Christians out of all those countries. Yet it does not appear long to have continued; for such were the distractions of the empire, that there was but little leisure to attend to the church, though we must not omit the best account of those who suffered in this monster's reign, which has come to our hands. A soldier was stripped of his military ornaments, stripped, and imprisoned, for avowing himself a Christian, and assigning that as a reason for bearing his laurel crown in his hand, on his approach to the tribune to receive the emperor's donative, instead of putting it on his head. Whether Tertullian's rigid defence of this action had the effect of saving his life, does not appear; but we learn that Pontianus, bishop of Rome, was banished to Sardinia, for reproving the Roman idolatry, where he soon after died, probably by martyrdom. His successor Anteros, also, by collecting the Acts of the Martyrs, is said to have exasperated the government, and to have been martyred at the end of forty days. Ambrosius, the friend of Origen, and Protocletus, a presbyter of Cæsarea, were also imprisoned for confessing their faith; which induced Origen, though concealed, having retired to Athens, to write his tract relative to martyrdom. After this the church seems to have had a respite; for Maximinus and his son had been declared rebels to the state, and Maximus and Balbinus had been appointed by the senate to supply their places, and the former crossed the Alps, and laid siege to Aquillia, where they were slain in his tent by his own soldiers, on account of his cruelty, and their heads sent to Rome to the senate, and their bodies committed to dogs and birds of prey, about nine months after they had been proscribed by the senate. In very little more than a year from their first election, mutual jealousies gave the soldiers an advantage, which occasioned their being slain in the public streets, and their bodies to be exposed, envious at their having been appointed by the senate, which they were determined to counteract.

Their successor was matter of accident. The soldiers met young Gordian, grandson of a former emperor so called, whose memory occasioned their immediately saluting him as emperor; and the senate and people deemed it politic to acquiesce and confirm. He was not more than fourteen years of age, but of a sweet disposition; but his reign was somewhat less than six years, and ended by means of the encroachments of Philip, a prefect and general, who caused him to be slain, and secured to himself the succession to the empire, which was confirmed by the senate. He seems to have been favourable to the Christians, and many writers have considered him as one, and consequently as the first Christian emperor of Rome, though far from being sound in his principles, or moral in his conduct. It is stated that, from the firmness of Babylas, bishop of Antioch, he made confession of his sins, and manifested signs of respect and veneration to the God of Heaven, before he would permit him to enter into the Christian church.

About five years after a dreadful storm began to hang over the church, near the middle of the third century, which seemingly threatened its entire destruction, though it had long been prevented by the excellent apologies and defences of the noted Origen. We may rank amongst the principal defences his remarkable book against Celsus, an heathen philosopher of admirable parts and learning, being the completest apology for the Christians which we find among the ancients.

The city of Alexandria was the first place which felt the fury of this storm, though it was totally unknown to the emperor. A Gentile priest, or magician, full of superstition, excited the people to every cruelty against the Christians, as the most essential instance of piety to their gods; and accordingly they
seized an aged man called Metrus, who, because he would not blaspheme his Saviour, was beaten with clubs, had his face and eyes pricked with sharp reeds, and was afterwards stoned. A woman named Quinta was next seized, whom they carried to their temple to worship their idol; and, on refusing so to do, she was dragged through the streets by the feet over sharp flints, dashed against milestones, and scourged with whips, and at last stoned to death. When Apollonia, an ancient and eminent virgin, was apprehended, and all her teeth were dashed out, and she was threatened to be burnt alive, having begged a little respite, she voluntarily and cheerfully leaped into the flames. In all places they broke open the houses of the Christians, plundered the best of their goods, and burned the rest; and a Christian could not stir out either by day or night, but they immediately exclaimed, “Away with him to the fire.” At last they fell into seditions and contests among themselves, which brought to the Christians a little time of breathing from their cruelty and inhumanity.

In an early part of the reign of Decius, who succeeded Philip, after he and his son had been murdered, the seventh general persecution commenced, principally from his hatred to Philip, whom he regarded as a Christian; by whose connivance, at least, the Pagan temples had been forsaken, the churches of the Christians filled, the Pagan altars overthrown, and their sacrifices despised. The emperor was enraged that the religion of the empire should be trodden under foot, and the worship of the gods undermined by an upstart sect; and he resolved by every means of cruelty to exterminate its advocates. Edicts were consequently issued to the governors of princes to proceed against the Christians with every species of torments, to compel them to submit to the worship of the gods. The growth of Christianity was, no doubt an ostensible cause; but the sins of those who professed the gospel were, as Cyprian observes, the providential cause of these calamities; the flood-gates had thereby been opened for introducing the divine displeasure. All parts of the empire felt its dreadful effects, the heathens vying with each other to promote those edicts. In the words of Mr. Echard, we may observe, that “the Christians were in all places driven from their habitations, spoiled in their estates, and tormented in their bodies; racks and prisons, axes and halteres, fire and wild beasts, scalding pitch and melted wax, sharp stakes and burning pincers, were but some of the methods of their treatment; and when the former were run over, new were daily invented and executed. Nor did they only vary, but repeat their torments, and where one ended, another began. They many times tortured them without hopes of dying, adding, this cruelty to the rest, to stop them in their way to heaven. Others were kept upon the rack, that they might die by piece-meals; that their pains might be lingering, and the sense of them without intermission. Accusations were infinite; some coming in as informers, others as witnesses; some searched private corners, others seized upon those that fled; and some, who wished for their neighbours’ estates, accused them of Christianity. Friend betrayed his friend, brother his brother, and children their parents; every man was afraid of his nearest relations.”

At the consequences of such dreadful calamities we need not be surprised. Cities and towns were depopulated, and woods and mountains swarmed with inhabitants. Houses, being cleared of their proper owners, were converted into common gaols, from the great influx to the public prisons. Many who fled perished with hunger, were “starved with cold, overrun with diseases, surprised by robbers, or worried by wild beasts; and many were taken by the wild Arabs and Saracens, who reduced them into a state of slavery, more miserable than death itself. Many of the weaker Christians, also, unp repared for so terrible a conflict, apostatized, or compounded with their persecutors. But many thousands held out till they had obtained the crown of martyrdom.” Though it broke out at Rome in the latter end of the first year of Decius, in the first month of the following year, Fabian, bishop of Rome, received the crown of martyrdom, and the vacancy was not supplied until nearly the middle of the following year. Abdon, Sennas, Victoria, Anatolia, and many others followed Fabian; and Celerinus and Moyses were imprisoned. Cyprian, at the same time, retired from Carthage, after being proscribed by the people, who requested that he might be thrown to the lions, and continued
in private more than a year. Many followed Cyprian’s example, and particularly Gregory Thaumaturgus escaped from Neocæsarea, and advised his flock to do the same. Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, with difficulty escaped into the deserts of Libya, with his four fellow-prisoners and presbyters, Caius, Faustus, Peter, and Paul. We must also note the celebrated Paul of Thebais in Egypt, who at the age of twenty-one, withdrew into the Egyptian deserts, and in a large cavern sequestered himself till he arrived at the great age of one hundred and thirteen years.

The following names of persons who suffered from standing their ground, have been transmitted to us. Nestor, bishop of Megiddo, in Pamphylia, may be first mentioned; Pionius, an illustrious presbyter of Smyrna; Julian, Chronicon, Epimachus, Alexander, Ammon, Zeno, Ptolemy, Ammonia, Mercurias Isidore, and many others at Alexandria; and Mappalicus, Bassus, Fortunio, Paulus, Donatus, Martialis, &c. in Carthage; besides an infinite number of others in other places. Babylas, bishop of Antioch, also died at this time, either in prison or by the sword, and his chains were buried in the same grave with him. Origen, also, at the age of sixty-four, had a full measure of trouble; being “cast into a loathsome and uncomfortable dungeon, loaded with irons, a chain about his neck, his feet set in the stocks, and his legs stretched out forcibly for many days together, and was threatened with fire, and tried with all the torments which a merciless enemy could inflict.” His sufferings were such as would not affect his life, so that he ultimately escaped; but the persecution was very severe during this time, though it softened a little near the end of it in Carthage and Africa, when many Christians were released from prison; yet in other parts it raged furiously during great part of the next year.

CHAP. V.

From the middle of the Third Century to the end of it.

In consequence of the daring inroads of the Goths into Thrace and Mysia, the emperor marched thither with an army to subdue them, and soon after the clergy of Rome, after a vacancy of the see for about sixteen months, chose Cornelius for their bishop: this election was opposed by Novatian, and much disturbance was created in the church by his illiberal accusations. Novatus also embroiled the church of Carthage at the same time, and united himself to Novatian, on his coming to Rome with some of his faction, so as to occasion the stronger opposition. Cyprian returned on the persecution’s abating, and, after calling a synod, it was determined that those who lapsed should neither be too easily restored, nor absolutely prohibited; the probable sincerity of their repentance being the best criterion for the church to follow, according to the nature and degree of their apostacy. This was communicated to Cornelius, bishop of Rome, and adopted there also in a synod of sixty bishops, and more than that number of presbyters and deacons. Novatian, Novatus, and their adherents, were thereupon excommunicated; by which the first was prompted, at the instigation of Novatus, to force himself into the see of Rome, and he surreptitiously procured himself to be consecrated bishop of Rome in the night by three obscure and unlearned bishops of Italy, after he had made them drunk. Two parties being thus formed, the African bishops, to whom an appeal had been made for their judgment, after due enquiry, decided in favour of Cornelius. One of the Italian bishops also, by whom Novatian had been consecrated, afterwards acknowledged his fault, and was restored upon penance. But Novatian and Novatus continued to disturb the church; and the former became head of a new and prevalent heresy, which greatly added to their distractions. The persecution also still raged in some parts, and at this time Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem, after various arraignments and many sufferings, died in prison at Cæsarea. About this time also Moses, an eminent priest and confessor, suffered martyrdom within the walls of Rome, most heroically and courageously. The death of the emperor, who had been driven to desperation by the treachery of Gallus, his chief commander, by plunging into a lake in which he perished, was the means of putting an end to the persecution.

As Gallus was confederate with the Goths, he was under no apprehension from their having defeated the emperor, and occasioned his death. After giving encouragement to his
army, and promising them success against the enemy, he procured them to proclaim him emperor, and the senate and the people of Rome found it advisable to confirm the election. A dishonourable peace was made immediately with the Goths, engaging to pay them a yearly tribute; which was soon violated by the Goths, who made farther inroads upon the Roman empire both in Europe and Asia, as the Persians did upon Mesopotamia and Syria. At the same time Novatian and his party continued to raise disturbances in Africa, particularly against Cyprian, whom he considered as his greatest enemy; who raised up false bishops, which occasioned great mischief in various places, but especially at Antioch, though their influence soon after declined on the death of Fabius, bishop of that city. Another council was held at Carthage of forty-two bishops, the result of which was in general the same as the former, which also was communicated to Cornelius at Rome. About this time also Gallus renewed the former persecution against the Christians, by letting loose the reins of the former decrees; so that many miseries and calamities were produced in various parts of the empire, and particularly in the diocese of Carthage, where “vast multitudes were swept away every day, and the streets were filled with the carcasses of the dead, which seemed to implore the assistance of the living.” The Pagans, as usual, attributed the calamities of famine and pestilence to the Christians, for despising their gods; but St. Cyprian, in a treatise to the proconsul, proved that these evils could never be laid at the door of Christianity, but to very different causes, one of which was the violent Pagan rage against the Christians. It was this that had provoked the Deity to inflict these calamities, as a just punishment of their folly and madness in opposing so innocent a religion.

Still did the persecution rage in various places, and Cornelius, bishop of Rome, was first banished to Civita Vecchia, and afterwards scourged and beheaded. His successor was soon banished for his religion, with several others; but they all returned in the beginning of the following year, and, at the end of five months and ten days from his election, also suffered martyrdom. By the death of Gallus, who was slain in battle by Æmilian, his general, and had revolted from him, an entire peace was given to the church, after it had endured the most terrible conflict. Æmilian hoped to succeed as emperor, but failed in his measures; and Valerian was elected by the army of the Alps, and confirmed by the senate. Æmilian’s own soldiers, to prevent a civil war, and having a favourable opinion of Valerian, rose against and slew their leader.

During his reign, the bishops and governors of the church made several regulations; and St. Cyprian called another council at Carthage, consisting of sixty-six bishops, to reconsider the case of a lapsed person, and on baptizing infants before the eighth day. The latter was determined for the earliest baptism, if necessary; and the other nearly as before. Other councils also were held there, for the sake of preserving an uniformity of discipline and worship, as much as possible, and for the prevention of schism, and other matters essential to the peace of the church, to which there was a prevalent tendency; but as these are foreign from our design, we shall not enlarge upon them. It shall suffice to say, that Cyprian was continually applied to, and as zealously exercised, in composing and healing any ecclesiastical differences; and, amongst other things, it was determined that persons baptized by heretics should be re-baptized, the other being declared invalid. The bishop of Rome resisted some of the explanations on this subject, and treated the deputies from Carthage in a manner the most unkind and inhospitable; returning at the same time a rude and insulting letter to Cyprian, which he transmitted with observations to the Bishops of Cappadocia, all of them agreeing with his moderate opinion against Stephen’s forbidding and harsh declarations. In a general council of eighty-seven bishops in the same year, St. Cyprian’s opinion was unanimously confirmed. In their correspondence, Stephen was scandalously rude; and his opponents justly charged him with “pride and impertinence, self-contradiction, ignorance, and obstinacy, with sacrificing the peace of the church to a petulant humour;” at the same time charging him with “inhumanity, audaciousness, insolence, and impiety.” This controversy was supported until the council of Arles.

After four years rest from persecution, the Emperor Valerian now gave way to the superstitions of an arch magician of Egypt, by whom
he was induced to destroy the professors of the gospel. Egypt and Africa, as well as Rome, "felt the weight of the eighth general persecution; and the fortune of Valerian presently experienced a fatal turn for his barbarous treatment of the Christians. In this system of persecution the emperor persisted, giving orders for the severest punishments during the absence of himself and his armies against his menacing foes. Martyrs on this occasion every where suffered by multitudes; and, amongst others, the renowned Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, was beheaded." It has been observed by Dionysius Alexandrinus, that "both men and women, young and old, soldiers and rustics, persons of all ranks and ages, some were beaten and scourged, others beheaded, and others, by overcoming the violence of flaming furnaces, received the crown of martyrdom. At Rome, where the persecution began, we find among the martyrs the names of Rufinus, Secundus, Eusebius a presbyter, Marcellus a deacon, and many others; and Stephen, their bishop, also suffered. Cyprian was first banished, but afterwards returned. Dionysius also was brought before Æmilian, governor of Alexandria, and by him banished into the deserts of Libya; whither great numbers of Christians speedily followed their bishop from that city and other parts of Egypt. The governor's severity was insufficient to prevent the assemblies of the Christians, which remained in Alexandria, though he killed "many with all the arts of cruelty, kept others for the rack and torment, loading them with chains, and thrusting them into loathsome dungeons, forbidding the presence of their nearest friends."

Though the emperor's dominions were now threatened, and actually invaded by the powerful monarch of Persia, which compelled him to march against the invader with a large army, he sent orders to the senate to put all bishops, presbyters, and deacons, to death without delay; to proscribe all senators and persons of quality who professed Christianity, and confiscate their estates, and, on their continuing Christians, to lose their heads; to confiscate the estates of all ladies, and cause them to be banished; and to imprison all those who should be found in his own household. The governor of Rome was not slack in executing the emperor's will, and Sixtus, who had succeeded Stephen as bishop, soon ended his life by martyrdom; and, three days afterwards, Laurence, the archdeacon and treasurer of Rome, suffered the most exquisite torments, having been apprehended on the day when the bishop suffered. The governor first demanded where the treasures were, when Laurence required three days to collect them, and then he presented to him a great number of poor helpless people; which so enraged the governor that he commanded immediately to scourge him with iron rods and plumbetie, then to be set on the wooden horse, and his limbs dislocated, and finally to place him on a kind of gridiron, with a slow fire under it, to be roasted. After some time he called out to be roasted on the other side, as one side was done sufficiently, and then they might eat him.

In Africa the persecution was not less violent. Three hundred martyrs at once, refusing to sacrifice to their gods, cheerfully leaped into a large pit of burning lime at Utica, and were immediately suffocated in the smoke and flames. The renowned Cyprian had now the greatest reason to expect his fate, and, desirous of suffering where he had so long and so successfully preached the gospel, he repaired to Carthage, contrary to the advice of his principal friends, and was soon apprehended. He was conveyed in a chariot to the new proconsul, Galerius Maximus, who commanded him to be kept a day at an officer's house. The people were speedily alarmed at his return and apprehension, and flocked to the doors, where they watched the whole night. Being brought the next day before the proconsul, and avowing his name, and declaring that he could not sacrifice to the gods, he was condemned to be beheaded, and was immediately led away to execution, in a field surrounded with trees, filled with spectators. After recommending his soul to God on his knees in prayer, he stripped himself to a linen vestment, and then called for the executioner, to whom he gave about six pounds of our money. The Christians spread linen cloths on the ground around him, to prevent his blood from falling on it; when he covered his eyes with his hand, and the executioner performed his office. For the present his body was deposited near at hand by the Christians, but removed in the night, with many lights and torches, and solemnly interred in the cemetery of the procurator, Ma-
crobius Candidus, near the fish-ponds in the MAppalian way.

Many eminent Christians were put to death at Carthage; as Lucius Montanus, Flavian, Julian, Victorius, Primulus, Remus, and Donatian, most of whom were not only of the clergy, but St. Cyprian's disciples. James, and Marianus, and many others, suffered at Lambesa, in Numidia. Fructuosus, bishop of Tarragon in Spain, after a noble confession of his faith, was burnt alive, with his two deacons, Augurius and Eulogius. Priscus, Malchus, and Alexander, being in the country in Palestine, and disdaining to lay idle and secure whilst so many others boldly faced danger, unanimously and voluntarily appeared before the governor of Cæsarea to declare themselves Christians, and received sentence to be thrown to the wild beasts. To the same fate did a woman of Cæsarea submit, though a Marcionite. The captivity of Valerian by Sapor, king of Persia, left his son Gallianus in full possession of the empire; who formed his measures from his father's misfortunes, observing that his affairs prospered, so long as he supported the Christians; but that every thing was blasted from the commencement of their persecution. He, therefore, caused public edicts to be issued, to allow the full exercise of their religion, though the full effect of them was not every where immediately felt. A dreadful famine followed the factions at Alexandria; succeeded by a plague, which depopulated both city and country, and in a manner swept away what the rage of persecution and the other calamities had left. The clergy, as well as others, were involved in the calamity; and were more especially exposed to its effects from their attention to their dying brethren. But persecution continued at Cæsarea even in the third year of this emperor; where Macrianus had usurped the command, and represented himself as emperor in opposition to Gallienus, where a military officer, named Marinus, had been promoted to the rank of a centurion, and was a man of eminence both for descent and riches, but was immediately accused before the governor of being a Christian, and allowed only three hours for deliberation. Through the means of the bishop, who presented to him the Sword and the Holy Gospel in his church, Marinus preferred the latter, and was thereupon beheaded. The ambition of Macrianus led him into Thrace and Achia, where in one battle his attempts were terminated, and both he and his son lost their lives. After this Gallienus issued out other edicts in favour of the Christians; one of which, addressed to Dionysius, bishop of Alexander, and the other bishops, has been preserved.

Yet did not the death of Macrianus put an entire stop to the troubles of the Christians. Æmilian, governor of Egypt, set up for emperor or prince of that country, by which means their oppressions continued. The Goths and Scythians also ravaged Greece and the lesser Asia, and carried away many Christians into their own country, though it ultimately tended to the propagation of the gospel. Many weak Christians were induced to turn renegades, and pillage their brethren under a pretence of finding the goods of others. Æmilian soon after met with the merited reward of his cruelty to the Christians, and treason to the emperor; being closely besieged in Alexandria, and then taken and made prisoner, where he suffered death. A synod was held at Antioch in the next year to condemn the opinions of Paulus Samosatanus, who had been bishop there about four years; when he craftily affected a recantation of his heterodox tenets and heretical opinions, to retain his situation in the church. In about two years more the Goths again ravaged the lesser Asia, with Galatia and Cappadocia, and took away many Christians captive, and especially many of the clergy, who proved an excellent means of polishing these barbarous people.

The following short reign of Claudius is said to have been stained with some severity against the Christians; but we have no particulars of cruelty to record, and many historians are disposed to doubt it. His successor Aurelian was for some time favourable to the Christians, though we have some instances of persecution in his reign, in which we shall have to relate the occurrences of what has been called the ninth general persecution, though it was not of long duration. In his first year also Paul, bishop of Antioch, disturbed the church by pernicious doctrines and immoral practices; and in another council there of seventy-two bishops he was finally condemned, and displaced. The emperor, on account of the German invaders, which now threatened Rome, expressed himself slightly
of the Christians; but, after he had put an end to Zenobia’s usurpation in the east, he acceded to the request of the bishops there to dispossess Paul from the palace, of which he kept forcible possession for above two years after his degradation. It was now that Aurelian began to look with an evil eye upon the innocent Christians. At the instigation of some restless persons, he drew up several letters and edicts, and designed a severe persecution; from which he was partially checked by what was deemed a thunderbolt, or lightning from heaven, by which his attendants for some time thought him to have been killed, though it is said they were afterwards issued out. But his death soon after happened, and many of the provinces never received them. Though it has been stated that this persecution produced several martyrs in Gaul and other places; we have little certainty of any of them; so that we need only note the death of Felix, bishop of Rome, after he had possessed the dignity within a few days of five years by martyrdom. A pretended proscription soon after occasioned a conspiracy against Aurelian, and he was slain after a short reign of scarcely five years. We may pass over the short reign of Tacitus, of little more than six months, after an interregnum of about the same space, and proceed to that of Probus; under whom the Christians enjoyed profound tranquillity, but was much disturbed with heretics, particularly the Manichees. When he had reigned about six years and three or four months, he was slain by his soldiers in Greece, who had conspired against him for endeavouring to curb their licentiousness. His successor Carus lived little above a year, being killed by lightning with several others, in his tent. After a short interval, in which one of the sons of Carus came to an untimely death, Dioclesian was elected by the soldiers to the empire, though the other son, whose name was Carinus, having rendered himself odious by his abominable actions, had seized a considerable part of it. Dioclesian commenced a new æra for keeping an account of time, instead of reckoning from the battle of Actium, which the Romans had observed three hundred and fifteen years. The Christians computed by this new æra for more than two hundred and forty years, until the reign of Justinian; but gave it the name of the Æra of the Martyrs, from this emperor’s severity towards them.

In all the earlier parts of this reign, the Christians were not only unmolested, but entrusted with the governments of provinces, delivered from all fears of sacrificing, conversant in the imperial palaces, and made part of the family, and allowed freely and openly to declare their profession. They were peculiarly acceptable; of which may be noted Dorotheus and Gorgonius, men of real worth and excellent behaviour. Bishops and prelates were in great favour, and Christian assemblies increased astonishingly. Carinus, roused by Dioclesian’s election, marched an army from Gaul and the west, but was soon defeated, and speedily after assassinated by a tribune or colonel of his own army, whose wife he had abused. In about two years after an edict was issued against the Christians in Africa, occasioned by the disorderly conduct of the Manichees, expressed in terms which might have reached Christians in general, though we do not find any such effects from it. The purport of it was, that “the ringleaders of a new doctrine brought from Persia, who had committed many enormous impieties, should be burnt alive, together with their writings; that their followers should be beheaded, and their estates confiscated; but persons in high places were only to lose their estates, and be condemned to the mines.” Yet were these laws against heretics revived afterwards by Christian emperors. Some years after, we have an account of the death of Caius, bishop of Rome, as some assert by martyrdom, after governing that church nearly twelve years and a half; after which it was vacant more than two years.

The fifteenth year of Dioclesian’s government produced some changes. The emperor was extremely superstitious. The diviners were directed to offer many sacrifices, with the design of discovering to the emperor some future events, of the knowledge of which he was desirous. During the usual examination of the entrails, some Christian courtiers present made the sign of the cross on their foreheads, which dispersed the demons, and created a confusion; so that the augurs could not discern the wonted tokens, and were obliged to begin anew, again and again, without effect. The profane persons, as the Christians were denounced, were denounced as the cause of the disappointment; and every one present was immediately commanded to do sacrifice
upon pain of scourging. The same was demanded from every soldier in the army, or immediately to be disbanded. This was a commencement of the persecution, though it did not extend to capital punishments, or farther than the army. But it occasioned the vacancy of many beneficial situations in the army, though this was inconsiderable in proportion to the whole body of Christians; for such were their numbers, as to terrify their enemies, and to prevent an open warfare. Christian soldiers were treated by Maximian, who had been denominated Caesar, with contempt, as rendering them subject to the most servile officers; for he caused them to erect the structures of the baths of Dioclesian at Rome and at Carthage and Milan, with many other extraordinary fabrics. Arnobius, an eminent Pagan, was now converted to the gospel, but, before his admission to baptism, was required to produce some evidence of his faith. And this brings us to the close of the third century, when we find that the Christian religion, without the aid of any external power, overspread the whole face of the earth; insomuch that the emperors dared not openly to attack them, until they had first expelled them from the army, and regulated the Pagans which remained.

CHAP. VI.

From the beginning of the Fourth Century to the death of Galerius.

We have been in some measure prepared for the awful scene, which began to display itself at the commencement of the next century. The conflict was dreadful, but the conquest was glorious. For the human powers being first subdued by the influence of the Christian doctrines, were at last compelled to become its protectors. But the furious wind of persecution was first to be once more raised, to purge away the remaining rubbish from the church, and winnow the chaff, by driving it to a distance from the genuine grain. It was declared impossible to describe particularly "the vast assemblies, the numerous congregations, and the multitudes, that thronged in every city to embrace the faith of Christ. Spacious churches were erected from the very foundations, throughout all cities of the empire." But impieties and jealousies intruded themselves to the annoyance of the church, and schisms and divisions were productive of mischiefs, which were the occasion of great disturbances. The deprivation of Meletius, bishop of Lycopolis, of Thebais in Egypt, for sacrificing to idols and other crimes, disdaining to recant to cover his disgrace, disseminated many calumnies against Peter, bishop of Alexandria, and the other bishops assembled in a synod, as shewing too great indulgence in the restoration of apostates. But Hierocles the philosopher, now governor of Alexandria, who wrote against certain pretended inconsistencies of the Christian religion, and Galerius Maximian, who had been nominated Caesar, by the emperor, a most zealous and superstitious Pagan, and hostile to the Christians, instigated thereto by his mother, prevailed upon Dioclesian to form a system of persecution against them, to which the emperor was greatly adverse, but at last consented, his judges, and likewise the oracle of Apollo. Yet still his advice was to exercise moderation, whilst Galerius maintained the necessity of burning them alive. The day was at last fixed when this bloody scene was to commence.

The church of the Christians was the first place visited by the prefect and his officers in the morning of the day, when the doors were forced, and the first search was to find the image of their god. When they could find none, the sacred books and other things were cast into the fire, so that every place was at once filled with force and violence. Dioclesian overruled the proposal for burning the church; but it was soon levelled with the ground. By an edict of the following day all churches were ordered to be demolished, and the scriptures to be burned; and all Christians were indicted from honours and officers, put out of the protection of the law, deprived of right by means of any suit, and no rank or dignity should exempt them from torture. This was immediately torn down by a Christian, for which he was seized and cruelly tormented, and afterwards burned alive. Another edict ordered all the bishops to be imprisoned, and afterwards burned alive. Another edict ordered all the bishops to be imprisoned, and every means to be used to compel them to sacrifice. All this did not satisfy the blood-minded Galerius. The imperial palace, by his direction, was secretly set on fire, and charged upon the Christians. It was repeated, and a
report was propagated, that the Christians had conspired with the eunuchs to murder the emperors; which had the designed effect, and Dioclesian in his fury resolved to compel every person to sacrifice, beginning with his daughter and empress. Many of the eunuchs and first-rate courtiers were put to death; amongst whom were Dorotheus, Gorgonius, and Peter, this last enduring courageously all their tortures, scourgings, gridirons, and fires. Many presbyters and deacons were seized, and, without requiring any manner of proof, condemned and executed. Anthimus, bishop of Nicomedia, was beheaded, with whom a great number of martyrs was joined. Mr. Echard relates, that "no regard was had to age, sex, or order; not contented with single executions, whole houses full were burned at once, and droves, tied together with ropes, thrown into the sea, with millstones about their necks. The persecution was not confined to Nicomedia; for the judges were sent to all temples to force people to sacrifice, and prisons were every where crowded, and unheard of tortures invented. That none but Pagans should have the benefit of the law, they placed altars in the very courts of judicature, where every person was obliged to sacrifice before he could plead. New edicts were daily sent into cities and provinces; so that in a short time the persecution spread through most of the empire, and became almost universal. Multitudes of martyrs were made in all parts of the empire. The deaths were innumerable, far exceeding all former relations. Some were beheaded, as in Arabia; some devoured by wild beasts, as in Phœnicia; others slain by breaking their legs, as in Cappadocia; some were hung up with their heads downwards, and suffocated by slow fires, as in Mesopotamia; and others were broiled upon gridirons, as in Syria. In Pontus, some had sharp reeds thrust up under all their nails; others had melted lead poured upon their naked skin, which ran down and burned the most necessary parts of their bodies; while others, without any commiseration, endured such obscene tortures as are unfit to be related, which the impious judges used as a demonstration of the acuteness of their wit, as if the greatness of that consisted in the most unnatural inventions."

Add to these the torments which the persecuted Christians endured in Egypt, where "infinite numbers of men, women, and children, suffered various kinds of deaths; some of whom, after their flesh had been torn off with torturing irons, after they had been racked, and most cruelly scourged, and sustained the most horrible torments, were committed to the fire, and others drowned in the sea. Other some cheerfully offered their necks to the executioners; some died under their tortures, others perished with hunger. Again, others were crucified, some according to the ordinary manner of malefactors, and others were nailed with their heads downwards, and left to die by famine. In the province of Thébaïs, the torments and indignities surpass all relation; instead of torturing irons, being torn with sharp shells all over their bodies, till they expired. Women were tied by one of their feet, and by engines hoisted up into the air with their heads downwards, and their bodies, being entirely naked, were made a most detestable and inhuman spectacle. Others were tied up by the feet to great boughs and trees, violently forced together by machines, which, being let go, in a moment rent the bodies of the martyrs all in pieces. This continued for the space of whole years; sometimes no more than ten, at other times above twenty, were destroyed; sometimes not less than thirty, at others near sixty; and again at another time a hundred men together, with very small children and women, were executed in one day, being condemned to various and interchangeable kinds of punishments. In Phrygia, the soldiers invested a populous city, consisting all of Christians; and setting fire to it, men, women, and children, while calling upon God, were all consumed in the flames."

When the governors of provinces were weary with slaughter, and glutted, as it were, with the blood of the Christians, an affectation of clemency and humanity was ostentatiously displayed by some of them. We have not alluded to the vast numbers of prelates, bishops, and clergy, who suffered in this persecution, far too many to be distinctly named. But they afterwards contented themselves with discouraging the Christians, and making them miserable in life by "setting marks of infamy upon them. Accordingly some had their ears, noses, and hands, cut off, others their eyes put out, and one of their legs disabled." The noted ecclesiastical historian of that period says,
of Procopius, Alpheus, and Zaccheus in Cæsarea, and of Romanus in Antioch, who gloriously withstood the malice of their persecutors, and the second year was memorable not only for the triumphant death of Timolaus, Dionysius, Romulus, Agapius, and several others also at Cæsarea, but of Timotheus at Gaza. Marcellinus, bishop of Rome, also suffered there towards the latter end of this year. The emperor was now so much reduced by sickness, on his arrival at Nicomedia, where Galerius visited him, after being a little recovered, to compel him to resign the empire; which was effected, notwithstanding many objections, when the old emperor declared this determination to his soldiers with tears in his eyes, and named two of the creatures of Galerius, Severus and Maximinus, who were as wicked and barbarous as himself. He had before compelled Maximian to resign the government of the East, as the only means of preventing a civil war; after which the empire devolved upon Constantius and Galerius. Their opposite tempers and dispositions did not prevent them from agreeing to a division of it; by which Constantius, in addition to Britain and Gaul, which he before possessed, had Spain and Germany, with Italy, Sicily, and the greatest part of Africa; and Galerius had Illyricum, Pannonia, Macedonia, Thrace, with the provinces of Greece, the lesser Asia, with Egypt, Syria, Palestine, and all the East. Though the share of Constantius was least, he gave up Africa and Italy to Galerius; and Galerius also surrendered these to Severus, one of his Caesars, and gave up Egypt, Palestine, and the East, to Maximin.

Whilst Constantius reigned in the hearts of his subjects, and every one was happy, Galerius treated even his Pagan subjects with the utmost tyranny and oppression, exacting his extortions by the most violent means; but the Christians were condemned to tortures, and in slow fires most inhumanly consumed. "They were first chained to a post, then a gentle fire set to the soles of their feet, which contracted the foot so that it separated from the bones; then flambeaux just extinguished were applied to all parts of their bodies, that they might be tortured all over; and cruel care was taken to keep them alive, by throwing cold water in their faces, and giving them some to wash their mouths, lest the extremity of the anguish
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should dry up their throats and choke them. Thus their miseries were lengthened out whole days, until their skin was quite consumed, and they were just ready to expire, when they were thrown into a great fire, that their bones might be burned to ashes; after which the remains were ground to powder, and thrown into some river. With fresh rage and cruelty also was the persecution carried on in the East by the bloody Maximin, who had issued out edicts to the governors of provinces to put in execution the laws against those who refused to comply with the public ceremonies of the empire. At Caesarea, during the proclamation and summons from a public roll of names, Apphianus, a young gentleman of Lycia, then a scholar to Eusebius, pressed through the crowd, and caught hold of the hand of Urbanus the governor, so that he dropped his sacrifice, gravely reproving him at the same time for these impieties.” He was immediately apprehended, and put to the severest tortures, and thrown half dead into the sea. His brother Ædesius, for a similar fact, “suffered the same kind of martyrdom at Alexandria, and almost at the same time; not to mention innumerable others who gloriously ended their lives.”

Yet the resignation of Maximin occasioned a cessation of the persecution in Italy, Spain, Africa, and their vicinity, after two years continuance. This encouraged the bishops and clergy to assemble to consider the measures most advisable to be adopted for receiving those who had shrank from their profession in the day of trial, and those who had surrendered their Bibles and the consecrated or appropriated vessels of the church. But the persecution continued to rage in Egypt, and Peter, bishop of Alexandria, published an excellent canonical epistle, containing many temperate and charitable rules for penance on the one hand, and indulgence on the other, as relating to the various classes of those who had lapsed. How the young Constantine, the son of Constantius, escaped from the court of Galerius, where he was kept as a hostage for his father’s fidelity, is foreign to our history; he happily arrived at York, in the island of Britain, where his father lay in a weak and feeble condition, beyond all recovery. Debilitated as he was, he received the young Constantine with raptures, to which his weakness little corresponded, and declared him emperor, particularly recommending the poor Christians to his pity and compassion. His first public act, after being joyfully received as emperor of the West, was to give the free liberty of religion to the Christians. Maximin, who had been forced to abdicate the government under Dioclesian, to avoid a civil war, availed himself of the usurpation of Maxentius, at Rome, who had caused himself to be declared emperor, in opposition to Constantine; an act, which was not less hostile to the disposition of Galerius. He soon reduced Maxentius, but still had reason to dread Galerius, especially if he should unite with Maximin. Having fortified Rome, he visited Gaul, and, to strengthen his interest, gave his youngest daughter Fausta in marriage to Constantine. Galerius came against them, as Maximian had foreseen; but his soldiers, disliking this unnatural war, as they approached Rome, began to desert, and to convince him of his danger. He was, therefore, compelled to retreat; and Maxentius, who had before manifested some signs of compassion for the Christians, upon this success became insolent both to them and his other subjects, which soon increased to an intolerable tyranny. Severus raised an army against Maximian also, but was soon defeated and reduced to submission, though he was afterwards bled to death; but Maxentius maintained his usurpation in Rome and Italy, by means of his army for six years, though he soon lost Africa to another usurper of the name of Alexander.

Though Maximian had a share of the empire with Maxentius, that did not satisfy his restless mind. By his manoeuvres he caused great mischiefs among the Praetorian soldiers, and he was ignominiously compelled to leave Rome. The artifices of his visit to Galerius, the appointment of a new Cæsar in the place of Severus, and the resolute opposition of Maximin in the East against the appointment of Licinius, are somewhat beside our purpose; but the result was, that Galerius first abolished the title of Cæsar, and declared himself and Licinius the proper emperors, that Maxentius and Constantine had first the title of sons of the emperors, that Maximin boldly assumed the title of Augustus, and that Constantine and Maxentius soon after received the same title. Maximin speedily discovered his tyranny after this manifestation of his ambition, fol-
lowing the steps of Maxentius, at Rome, but surpassing him in impieties. From his excessive superstition, he more severely persecuted the Christians than even his predecessors. In the celebration of his birth-day at Cæsarea, the Christians were made to share in the triumphs of the day; and therefore “Agapias, who had before been sentenced to the wild beasts, was brought into the amphitheatre, and, being invincible to all persuasions, was delivered to the mercy of a she-bear, which only left him so much life, as to be able to survive till the next day, when, with stones tied to his feet, he was thrown into the sea. Not long after, Eusebius’s dear friend, Pamphilus, was apprehended and brought before Urbanus, the president, who endeavoured to turn him by all the arts of insinuation and terror, but in vain; for the martyr was immovable, and resolutely despised his threatenings. This so enraged the governor, that he commanded him to be put to the acutest tortures; and when they had more than once racked his sides, and torn off his flesh with iron pincers, he was sent to keep company with the other confessors in prison, the governor himself being immediately after disgracefully displaced, and condemned to death by the emperor.” During an imprisonment of two years, he was constantly visited by his friend Eusebius, and they employed their time to the most useful purposes. They had before published the Greek translation of the Septuagint, from Origen’s Hexaplas, for the use of the Palestine churches; and they now composed an elaborate apology to vindicate Origen from those rude censures and reflections, which the indiscreet zeal of some had cast upon his memory.

The persecution still continued in the East, where Maximin issued new edicts in every province, ordering the idol temples to be repaired, compelling all persons to do sacrifice, and forcing them to eat part of the flesh which was offered. It was likewise directed, that all provisions exposed for sale in the markets should be defiled with things which had been sacrificed; and by these means the miseries of the Christians became so prodigious, that many of the Pagans themselves condemned the emperor’s barbarities, and the cruelties of his officers. Eusebius has given a particular account of the intolerable cruelties practised in Palestine by Firmitian, the successor of Urbanus, and of the martyrdom of two virgins and many others; for which the stones and senseless matter miraculously wept, to prove the barbarous disposition of men. In the following year Pamphilus, after two years’ imprisonment, was brought forward, and, still persevering, was condemned, together with his companions. His servant Porphyrius requested that the bodies might be decently buried; but the tormentors were directed to torture him by every device. They raked off his flesh, until they had laid open the inward recesses of his body, which he bore with invincible patience, though no more than eighteen years of age, being a youth of good parts and learning. He was afterwards “ordered to be burnt in a slow fire, and sucked in the flames at a distance, entertaining his friends in the midst of his torments with a most serene undisturbed mind,” till his soul departed from his body; and such was the rage and malice of their persecutors, that their dead bodies were exposed as a prey to wild beasts, under a military guard. Yet neither birds nor beasts would come near them; and their friends were at length permitted decently to inter them.

It was no longer advisable for Eusebius to remain, and therefore he prudently retired from Cæsarea into Egypt. Yet the persecution there, especially about Thebais, raged with increased violence. The most deplorable spectacles were there daily exhibited; the numbers executed blunted the very edges of the Pagan swords. The tormentors were tired out, though they relieved one another. The constancy of the martyrs, however, was unshaken; and the sentence of one only had the effect of the advance of others to confess themselves Christians at the tribunal. He was at length cast into prison; but how long he remained there, or by what means he was delivered, is no where related. Even Rome was not exempt from persecution, though the western parts were generally peaceable. The tyrant Maxentius not only oppressed the Christians, but condemned Marcellus, bishop of that city, to keep beasts in a stable, and then banished him. Eusebius, son of a Grecian physician, was appointed about seven months after, and in about four or five months also suffered under this tyrant. Soon after this, the persecution abated in the middle parts of the empire, as well as in the west; and Providence at
length began to manifest vengeance on the persecutors. Maximin endeavoured to corrupt his daughter Fausta to murder Constantine her husband; which she discovered, and Constantine forced him to choose his own death, when he preferred the ignominious death of hanging, after being an emperor near twenty years.

Galerius was visited by an incurable and intolerable disease, which began with an ulcer in his secret parts and a fistula in ano, that spread progressively to his inmost bowels, and baffled all the skill of physicians and surgeons. Untried medicines of some daring professors drove the evil through his bones to the very marrow, and worms began to breed in his entrails; and the stench was so preponderant as to be perceived in the city, all the passages separating the passages of the urine, and excrements being corroded and destroyed. The whole mass of his body was turned into universal rottenness; and, though living creatures, and boiled animals, were applied with the design of drawing out the vermin by the heat, by which a vast hive was opened, a second imposthume discovered a more prodigious swarm, as if his whole body was resolved into worms. By a dropsey also his body was grossly disfigured; for although his upper parts were exhausted, and dried to a skeleton, covered only with dead skin, the lower parts were swelled up like bladders, and the shape of his feet could scarcely be perceived. Torments and pains insupportable, greater than those he had inflicted upon the Christians, accompanied these visitations, and he bellowed out like a wounded bull, often endeavouring to kill himself, and destroying several physicians for the inefficacy of their medicines. These torments kept him in a languishing state a full year; and his conscience was awakened, at length, so that he was compelled to acknowledge the God of the Christians, and to promise, in the intervals of his paroxysms, that he would rebuild the churches, and repair the mischiefs done to them. An edict, in his last agonies, was published in his name, and the joint names of Constantine and Licinius, to permit the Christians to have the free use of their religion, and to supplicate their God for his health and the good of the empire; on which many prisoners in Nicomedia were liberated, and amongst others Donatus. He soon after committed his wife and son to the care of Licinius; and at his death appointed Constantine emperor of Gaul, Spain, Britain, and Germany; Licinius his successor in Illyricum, Greece, and Asia Minor; Maximin had been named Caesar, and since that emperor of Egypt and the East; and Maxentius, though an usurper, but since called emperor of Italy and Africa, notwithstanding the possession of the latter by Alexander, another usurper.

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CHAP. VII.

From the Death of Galerius to the full Establishment of the Christian Religion.

The death of Galerius gave a new stimulus to the restless mind of Maximin. He invaded and soon possessed Asia and Bythinia, which had been given to Licinius. He was thereby encouraged in oppressing his subjects, and persecuting the Christians. He commanded new temples to be erected in every city, and others to be repaired. Great numbers of priests were appointed for the idols, together with a chief priest for every province. These were distinguished by rich habits, like chief officers of the court, besides having a military guard. All meat sold in the markets was first to be offered to idols, or to pass through some rites of idolatry. Though he succeeded in his oppressions of his Pagan subjects, and his lewd practices, the Christians remained unsubdued. Fire and sword, racks and engines, tortures, and wild beasts, were continually despoised; "and whilst he endeavoured to destroy the sacred scriptures, they retained them in their souls, and triumphed and sung Hallelujahs from them in the midst of the flames. Other Christians, to whom he pretended to shew mercy, had their eyes bored out, and some their hands, or feet, or noses and ears, cut off, as marks of infamy. But these they considered as honourable scars. Among many who suffered death, Lucian, a renowned presbyter of Antioch, was brought to Nicomedia, where he made an apology for his religion, in the presence of the emperor, was committed to prison, and then executed. Many bishops in the East also suffered; and the celebrated Peter of Alexandria was beheaded, after governing that see about eleven years.
In this year the usurper Alexander was subdued in Africa, and that province brought under the power of Maxentius. The faction of the Donatists now commenced, by the schism between the bishops of Numidia and Carthage, though the bishops in other places mostly sided with the latter. The violent proceedings of Maxentius at Rome about this time induced the senate and people of Rome to implore the aid of Constantine, to deliver them from the tyranny of this usurper. This request being complied with, he next year, all opposition being removed, advanced to the very walls of Rome; and maturely considering, that his father by professing one God had wonderfully prospered, he resolved to supplicate the aid of that Being alone in his expedition. His prayers were answered in a way very extraordinary. A pillar of light was presented to him in the Heavens in the form of a cross, with an inscription upon it, ΤΟΥΤΟ ΝΙΚΑ, In this overcome, which surprised Constantine and all the army who beheld it. Many of the officers considered it as inauspicious; but the emperor was satisfied by night by a vision of our Saviour with the same or a like cross in his hand, who commanded him to make a royal standard exactly similar, to be carried before him as an ensign of safety and of victory. Having informed his friends the next morning of this explanation, no time was lost in causing an elegant and rich standard to be made accordingly. Banners also were made for the rest of the army in imitation of it; and though Pagan writers are silent about these, they admit the current report that, before the engagement, an army was seen in the air, appearing to come out of Heaven, being a representation of "persons of great strength and stature, with vigorous and cheerful looks and bright flaming armour, who were heard to say, We seek for Constantine, we are come to assist him." Some Christian bishops also explained to him the nature of God, and the meaning of this sign of the cross, with our Saviour’s history. After some time spent in the siege, in which Constantine assiduously employed himself in comparing the scriptures of the New Testament with these appearances, Maxentius, on his birth-day, sallied out of the city with nearly double the number of infantry of Constantine’s army, and more than double the number of cavalry. But that very army was desirous of his fall, from his oppression and tyranny; and, his cavalry being routed, the whole army fled, and, attempting to cross the Tiber over a bridge of boats, contrived with secret springs and engines to drown Constantine’s army, if they passed that way, the weight of the retreating and vanquished army caused the engines to yield, by which the greatest part of them perished, and amongst them was Maxentius himself. When his body was found, his head was struck off, and triumphantly carried on a pole before the army.

The entry of Constantine into the city was magnificent. The senate and nobility and crowds of the people hailed their deliverer with the most grateful plaudits. Constantine attributed all to the bounty of Heaven, and his first public act was to erect a standing monument of gratitude to God for his aid in the victory. A statue was placed in the most conspicuous part of the city, holding a long spear in form of a cross, with the inscription already mentioned; besides various others, allusive to or descriptive of the same eventful deliverance. From this time commenced the era of the Roman Indiction, so well known in Chronology; and a public edict was now issued, that no man in future should be crucified, though heretofore deemed, of all other punishments, the most ignominious. He gradually shewed himself more and more favourable to the Christian; and, jointly with Licinius, he published the first law to that purpose, which they sent to Maximin, with their reasons for requiring his acquiescence. Unwilling to grant, but not daring to deny, this desire, he only intimated in a rescript, prefaced with a reference to the former persecution, that governors of provinces should treat the Christians with moderation, to induce them to return to the worship of the gods, but not to be compelled. The Christians, however, had little dependence on his fierce and capricious temper, especially as no provision was made in it for their churches, and only an indemnity from trouble, which might be revoked. But Constantine’s partiality for the Christians became more and more manifest. Their bishops were often made his companions, both in his journeys and at his table; which did not escape the envious eye of the Pagans. This also was a heart-rending reflection to the ancient Dioclesian, who had lived long enough, though it was eight years
after his resignation of the government, to witness the ruin of all his deep designs. For Constantine had ordered to pull down all the pictures and statues of old Maximian, his own being coupled with them; so that the disgrace of one involved in its fate the downfall of the other. Such an affront had never before been known, during the life of any emperor; and his grief so preyed upon his mind, that he soon after died in the greatest dejection of spirits, partly through a wilful abstinence from food, and partly from anguish and madness.

This alarming advance towards the total destruction of the Pagan religion was, in like manner, highly displeasing to Maximin; and Constantine prudently foreseeing the effects of his fierce disposition, after strengthening his friendship with Licinius, by bestowing upon him his sister Constantia in marriage, they determined by public laws and edicts to restore to the Christians “their former estates, to grant them new privileges, to exempt the clergy from civil and secular offices, with many other advantages.” The Pagans were greatly mortified by these measures, and more so when they found that the Grand Secular Games, which of course should have been solemnized this year, were omitted. Maximin, though it was winter, marched an army from Syria to Bythinia, and ultimately to the siege of Byzantium, after crossing the straits. Licinius had here a garrison; and Maximin endeavoured first to corrupt the soldiers by presents and promises, and then to terrify them by menaces, but in vain, though they were obliged ultimately to surrender for want of succours. Maximin thereupon advanced to Heraclea and Perinthus, when he heard that Licinius had reached Adrianople, with a design to oppose him; though he meant only to act upon the defensive, having but thirty thousand men, and Maximin had seventy thousand. Yet, whilst Maximin vowed that, in the event of victory, he would extinguish the very name of a Christian, Licinius was directed in his sleep by an angel, to rise immediately, and with his whole army to call upon God, assuring him of victory as the reward of his obedience. The very words of his prayer were dictated to him, and are preserved; for it was dispersed to all the officers of his army, who caused the soldiers to get it by heart. Their spirits were thereby invigorated, and victory was considered as certain. The armies came within sight of each other, and Licinius’s soldiers, with up-lifted hands and eyes, the emperor and officers leading, so loudly pronounced this prayer, that the sound was heard by the other army. It was repeated three times, and the animation of the soldiers was highly augmented. After this they put on their helmets, and resumed their shields; an ineffectual parley, in which Maximin treated Licinius with contempt: on a signal given, Licinius vigorously gave the first onset, supported by a divine assurance, and Maximin’s forces were soon thrown into disorder and confusion. They could neither draw their swords, nor cast their darts. In vain did Maximin endeavour to persuade the soldiers of Licinius to desert him. The pressure was irresistible, and he was soon compelled to retreat; and such was the slaughter, that he threw away his purple robe, to escape in the habit of a slave. One half of his army was destroyed, and the other half surrendered, after he had left them to their fate; and, having quickly reached Nicomedia, he there took his wife and sons, and a few domestics, to proceed farther to the East, but stopped at Cappadocia to resume the purple, where he gathered some soldiers, of his own stragglers, and of the troops of the eastern provinces.

After distributing part of his army into quarters, Licinius followed as far as Nicomedia. There he offered up public thanksgivings to God, by whose aid he had gained this great victory. The edict in favour of the Christians was here published, and orders given to restore their churches; which put an end to this grievous persecution, that had now continued in Nicomedia ten years and nearly four months, from the demolition of its church to its being rebuilt. The retreat of Maximin, after such a defeat, was felt by none more than the priests and prophets of his own gods, who had engaged him in such a destructive war. He was now convinced of the power of the God of the Christians; and his own expiation was to issue a more favourable decree, to permit them to rebuild their churches, and to restore their estates. Licinius still pursued, and he still retreated. The narrow passages of Mount Taurus he caused to be fortified; but these proved ineffectual. By a circuitous route to the right he reached Tarsus, but he was there in danger...
of being hemmed in both by sea and land. No prospect of farther escape presented itself, and death was the only remedy. He first filled his stomach by eating and drinking in the most glutinous manner, and then took poison. His overcharged stomach checked the operation, and he was thrown into a lingering torment, like that of the plague. He endured the utmost degree of misery; but when the violence of the poison once operated, like an invisible fire it gradually consumed his vitals, and his intolerable pains cast him into a phrenzy. For four days he dug up earth with his hands, which he greedily swallowed. His flesh was so wasted by this inward fire, that his shape and figure disappeared. His torments were most exquisite; and he "ran his head against a wall with such fury, that his eyes started out of their sockets. Having lost his eyes, his imagination presented to him a vision as standing to be judged by God, who seemed to have armies of ministers about him, all in splendid garments. At the sight of these, he cried out as if he had been racked. It was others, and not him, that were to blame; though he afterwards confessed his own guilt, which his torments alone extorted from him. He called upon Jesus Christ for mercy and pity, with floods of tears. He groaned and roared out with the heat of his inward flames. He fully acknowledged, that his sufferings were due for his presumption against Christ; and in the most dreadful manner at last breathed out his soul. Such was the just death of a bloody tyrant and barbarous persecutor, after he had reigned in the East above eight years."

We have next to discover another enemy to Constantine from a quarter where one would least have expected it, and that was in Licinius. Gratitude and family alliance might, we should suppose, have been sufficient ties and obligations for ensuring a different conduct; though modern times, to take off our wonder, have exhibited instances of the violation of both, by princes and ruling powers, on various occasions. The seeming correspondence of Licinius with the merciful disposition of Constantine, while they had a common enemy, Maximin, still to contend with, sustained a breach, when that enemy was subdued; and envy and ambition took possession of his mind, instead of being grateful for his successes. A wicked and grievous war was commenced, in defiance of all the laws of nature, without any regard to protested oaths, or the least attention to the covenants between them. A large portion of the empire was insufficient to satisfy his rapacious mind; but he was anxious for the whole. All kinds of stratagems were daily practised against his superior and brother-in-law; and all subtle schemes devised to return evil for good. Hypocrisy covered his conspiracy to delude him into want of caution; which were discovered to Constantine by interposing dispensations of Providence, as a reward for his piety. Discovery served only to exasperate Licinius, and urge him to open hostilities. The God of the Christians he set at defiance, and the God of the Christians effected his destruction. His design of giving battle was accompanied with every calamitating and reviling language against the Almighty, whom Constantine worshipped; and manifested so total a forgetfulness of the causes of his success against Maximin, as to denote a species of frenzy and madness. He began with banishing all the Christians from his court, and thereby deprived himself of the benefit of those prayers, which they constantly made for their emperors and civil superiors. He next commanded that all the soldiers in the city should be deprived of their offices and stations, who refused to sacrifice to the Pagan deities. He prohibited men from bestowing charity to persons in prison, though loaded with fetters, and ready to perish with famine, under penalty of the same punishment as the others suffered. Oppressive taxes and confiscation of lands and property of persons deceased, and other penalties, were distinguishing marks of his tyranny. He severed the wives of the most noble and honest personages from their husbands, to be treated contumeliously by his servants, as an aggravation of his own libidinous practices exercised upon married persons, as well as virgins. The bishops also presently felt the effects of these proceedings. As worshippers of God, he deemed them to be his enemies; but opposed them rather secretly than openly, out of some remaining sparks of policy, yet with the destruction of many of the best approved governors, by means of various artifices. Many of the churches of Pontus were levelled with the ground, and others shut up; for he could not believe, such was the consciousness of his
own wickedness, that the Christians could pray for such an oppressor, but for him whom he deemed his rival and enemy, Constantine. His sycophant presidents applied themselves also to gratify his mischievous disposition; and many of the bishops, though harmless and innocent, were tormented in the most savage manner, their bodies being mangled into small pieces, after the manner of butchers, and afterwards thrown into the sea, to become food for the watry inhabitants. Many Christians thereupon escaped by flight; and the deserts, woods, and mountains, again became the residence of the godly. A general persecution was projected, and was only prevented by the occurrences which followed, and at once terminated the massacre and his life and cruel government. The pious Constantine perceived that his conduct was intolerable; and he marched against Licinius, together with his son Crispus, to afford protection to such as were oppressed. They at length came to a conflict, and often contended both by sea and land; but in the end, near the haven of Chalcedon in Bythinia, Licinius was completely defeated, and compelled to submit to his conqueror. Yet, after all this treachery, the merciful Constantine spared his life, on condition of conducting himself peaceably and quietly in Thessalonica, to which place he appointed him; but his restless soul could have no peace, for he soon after collected an host of barbarians, and endeavoured by fighting to retrieve his lost honour, and recover his forfeited empire. Orders were given by Constantine, after such a breach of fidelity, and pernicious ingratitude, that, on his being taken, he should immediately be put to death, which speedily happened.

Constantine was thereupon declared emperor and king, and he quickly applied himself by every practicable means to improve the condition of the Christians; and from this time they lived in peace and tranquillity under the cheerful influence of this victorious and godly emperor, from the farthest parts of the Roman empire on the East, both in the North and South, to the extremest parts on the West. All fear of those by whom the Christians were before oppressed, was removed, and in the words with which the renowned Eusebius has closed his history, "all was replenished with the bright beams of joy and gladness; and they honoured the supreme king, next the godly emperor, with his sons, beloved of God, (as they were instructed,) with dances and hymns, throughout towns and countries. All old injury was forgotten. The constitutions of the victorious emperor full of clemency, and laws containing manifest tokens of bountifulness and true piety, were every where proclaimed. All tyranny being rooted out, the empire, falling to Constantine and his two sons, was preserved firm and free from all envy. All impiety of their predecessors was wiped away, and they cheerfully enjoyed all the benefits bestowed from above, and by the laws decreed in behalf of the Christians, enforced the study of virtue, with love and piety to God, together with gratitude and thankfulness."**

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**CHAP. VIII.**

*A copious Account of the Arian Heresy, and the Council of Nice.*

On various occasions we have seen that the church of Christ was often harassed by false prophets from within itself, and perplexed with heresies, when it was quiet from without. The full establishment of the doctrine of the gospel was far from preventing such differences of opinion, which were frequently accompanied with the most rancorous animosity. The Arian heresy was the first heresy which was broached after the empire became Christian. Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, and the second after Peter, who suffered under Diocletian, had done much to compose the church; but, on some occasion, in the presence of the priests and clergy, discoursed more curiously than he had ever done before, on the Holy Trinity and the Unity in the Trinity. Arius, a priest, well skilled in the subtleties and sophistry of logic, conceived that the bishop countenanced and supported the doctrine of the African Sabellius. Desirous of contention, he directly opposed the opinion of Sabellius, and indirectly the allegations of the bishop. His opposition quickly spread through Egypt, Lybia, and the Upper Thebais, and the rest of the provinces and cities; and many others also adopted and maintained it. Eusebius, of Nicomedia, (not the historian of Caesarea,) into which see he had artfully intruded, firmly supported him; a circumstance which made a
sensible impression on the mind of Alexander, and caused him to write letters to the bishops, describing the nature of this heresy, the names of the heretics, and particularly denouncing Eusebius, who had shewed himself the ringleader, and a person who had left the church of Berytus for that of Nicomedia through ambition.

These letters were productive of an extension of the knowledge of the heresy, and occasioned many of the bishops to interest themselves so far, as to open the flood-gates of discord and contention. A controversial spirit soon broke forth; and whilst some cordially agreed to the subject of the letters, others opposed them with their utmost energy. The bishop of Nicomedia, already mentioned, was most forward in provoking this dangerous schism, because Alexander had by name charged him frequently as the abettor of Arius; in which Eusebius had much advantage, because the emperor then resided in that city, in the princely palace erected by Dioclesian. He was, on that account, warmly supported by many other bishops; though he expressed a willingness to wave the controversy, but said that Arius and his supporters should be restored to the church, at the same time exhorting the cities against submitting to the design of Alexander. Not only the presidents and rulers of the church were thus violently opposed to each other, and much opprobrious and spiteful language uttered, but the laity were divided into parties and factions, as they favoured one or the other leaders in the contest. The Christian religion was by these means scandalously degraded, and the public theatres and most solemn spectacles exercised every opportunity of turning it into derision. The Alexandrians contended indecently about the principal doctrines of it, and sent deputations to the other provinces, so as to occasion a more extensive division. The Meletians had been cut off from the church, and joined the Arians; being the supporters or advocates of Meletius, an Egyptian bishop, who had committed certain irregularities, besides having sacrificed to idols in a season of persecution, for which Peter of Alexandria, in the time of Dioclesian, had deprived him of his bishopric. Hence he became the head and ringleader of a heresy; commencing his career with the most injurious railings against Peter, which he failed not to bestow on his successor Achillas in the see of Alexandria, and also transferred to the present bishop. Hence the cause of his support of Arius; whilst others, who disapproved of the conduct of Arius, sided with Alexander.

The bishop of Nicomedia, and the partizans of Arius, demanded that Alexander should revoke the deprivation, and readmit the persons excommunicated, denying that they had maintained any detestable doctrine. Letters on both sides were brought to Alexandria, when Alexander and Arius respectively took such as favoured their peculiar or distinct opinions. The Arians, Eunomians, and Macedonians, were thus encouraged to defend their heretical tenets, to which the letters on their side gave a sanction and authority. In this distracted state of the church, the emperor Constantine, greatly troubled therewith, wrote to both these leaders of their respective parties, by the hands of Osius, bishop of Corduba in Spain, whom the emperor highly respected. It is foreign to our purpose to recite the letters at large, and sufficient here to remark that they were replete with grave and sober counsel. But the poison of dissension had been so furiously discharged, that it had penetrated too deeply to be soon eradicated; and neither the industry of the emperor, nor the credit of the messenger, were of sufficient influence to suppress it. The minds of the contending parties were too much inflamed to listen to these means of reconciliation; and the dispositions of the laity had been perverted to a degree which no moderation could suddenly affect. The contest about keeping the feast of Easter, too, had considerably soured their spirits; and, under these circumstances, the emperor again applied himself to the healing measures so essentially important to the credit and peace of the church, by convening a general council of bishops from every part of the empire, to assemble at Nice, a city of Bithynia. Vast numbers were present, of various ranks and degrees, though there were three hundred and eighteen bishops, besides an innumerable company of priests and deacons, and other subordinate members of the church, and laymen. Of all the persons present, five only dissented to the expression of one substance, (for which I desire the reader will consult the Nicene Creed,) viz. Eusebius bishop of Nicomedia,
Theognis bishop of Nice or Nicæa, Maris bishop of Chalcedon, Theonas some time bishop of Marmarica, and Secundus some time bishop of Ptolemais. These had been the great defenders of Arius, and therefore obstinately determined still to defend him; and the same council prohibited Arius from residing at Alexandria, and the emperor commanded him and Eusebius and Theognis to be banished, though the two latter afterwards recanted, and allowed the expression. Of this a full account is preserved in their own words, and Amphion, who had been put into the see of Nicomedia, and Chæstus into that of Nice, on their being restored, were obliged to surrender their respective governments. Neither was this clause unknown before the time of Arius, as Eusebius Pamphilus, in his letter from Nice to Caesarea, fully states on the authority of divers ancient bishops and writers; so that it was no novel or extraneous idea, as if it had not been known and understood long before the time of that council.

When these were assembled, the emperor, first paying every respect to the bishops, exhorted them to lay aside all private animosity, and cordially to seek after an unity of mind, and harmony of disposition. In the course of discussion he moderated their warmth, and softened their resentment in the most engaging manner; and ultimately he succeeded in bringing them to one conclusion and opinion on the various subjects they had met to investigate. The canons were finally ratified and subscribed, and recorded for the direction and information of posterity. Notwithstanding this concord, there were not wanting restless minds to endeavour to discredit the proceedings of that memorable council. In particular, Sabinus, the Macedonian, was hardy enough to call the persons there assembled, idiots and illiterate; overlooking the consideration, that Eusebius himself (or Pamphilus of Caesarea, not of Nicomedia) must be involved in the imputation, though he testifies the credit of his account, and extols the proceedings of the emperor in establishing Christianity. In every respect his partiality has been most manifest; purposely passing over some things, wilfully perverting others, and assiduously preserving every thing which favoured his object and design. But Eusebius himself has told us, that of the ministers of God, who were present in this council, some excelled for their sage and sober sentences, some for their gravity of life, and that the emperor by his presence linked them together in one opinion; and though this very Sabinus calls Eusebius Pamphilus a witness to whom credit may worthily be given, the same man’s testimony, as Socrates Scholasticus has justly observed, doth he purposely reject, and, as I may add, wilfully falsify.

By the synodical epistle, particularly addressed from Nice to the church of Alexandria, and the inhabitants of Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis, it also appears, that not only Arius and his accomplices were accursed, but also the sentences of his perverse opinion; that they opposed each other on the subject of celebrating Easter; that they licensed the grand heretic Meletius to hold his episcopal dignity, though deprived of all authority by the council to execute the office of a bishop. From this time the Meletians of Egypt appear to have been separated from the church. The council also condemned the book of Arius, entitled Thalia, pretending to state his opinion, as written in a style the most wanton and dissolute. The emperor also by his letter to the church of Alexandria, declared that their conclusion had not been made hastily, but that the most diligent investigation had been used, and every subject discussed with a view to remove all occasion of future discord. He considered it as the decision of God himself; though, in defiance of all this, Sabinus, whom we have mentioned as the ringleader of the Macedonian heresy, so grossly and malevolently contradicts it.

In addition to all these considerations, the emperor himself addressed several other epistles respectively, as follows: to all bishops and pastors, and people, to the churches throughout Christendom, to Eusebius bishop of Caesarea, and to Macarius bishop of Jerusalem; besides other solemn and large epistles against Arius and his accomplices, which he caused to be every where published, taunting him sharply for his folly, and treating him with that ridicule which his conduct so justly had provoked. The Nicomedians also were informed by the emperor’s letters of his disgust at the continued opposition of Eusebius of Nicomedia, and Theognis; charging the former with subtle treachery, and a supporter of the noisome doctrines of Arius, but as guilty of trea-
in supporting Licinius against him, by which it seems that this occurred immediately or soon after the retreat of Licinius from that city, and certainly before his final destruction. He, therefore, advised them to proceed to the election of another bishop. We ought not in this place to pass over the consideration of the emperor's summoning the Novatian bishop, Acesius, to the Nicene Council. It is highly important, in my opinion, as a proof of the emperor's desire to obtain a full investigation, and to preclude the objection of any partial proceedings, as confined only to the opposers of Arius. This reflection occurs to us, on considering this circumstance as of the utmost importance, in addition to the general one which follows, as stated by Socrates. On the close of the investigation, when their determination had been ratified by the subscription of all their hands, the emperor demanded of Acesius, whether he would assent to the same faith, and to the canon respecting the time of keeping Easter. I beg my readers attentively to consider his answer: "The council, O emperor, hath concluded and decreed no new thing. I have learned of old, that even from the beginning, and in the apostolic times themselves, the self-same faith was retained, and the same time for the celebration of the feast of Easter observed." The emperor again demanded of him, why he secreted himself from the communion of the faithful; and he alleged for himself such things as had happened under the reign of Decius, and the persecution of that time, and produced the words of a certain severe canon, "That such as after baptism, through frailty of the flesh, had fallen into that kind of sin, which Holy Scripture termeth the sin unto death, should not be partakers of the holy mysteries, but exHORT unto repentance; that they should wait for remission of sin to proceed, not of the priests, but of God himself, who both can and is of power sufficient to remit sin." On this the emperor advised him to provide himself a ladder, and climb alone into heaven. Socrates declares this on his own information from a person of credit, who was present, and venerable for his age, and not on the authority of Eusebius Pamphilus, or any other writer before that time; and he draws this inference, that such writers as Sabinus, to whom he manifestly alludes, overskipped many things, either because they favour one side, or flatter one kind of men.

Matters of the first importance being connected with the history of the Council of Nice, that subject ought not to be passed over without very serious investigation. The doctrines and discipline of the British church at this day, including the Irish, are intimately connected with it. If, then, I have halted from the immediate pursuit of the subject of persecution, to establish the proceedings of that assembly on a firm basis, and demonstrate the orthodoxy of our own church from the principles then investigated and finally approved, I trust I shall render no small service to the cause of primitive Christianity, and to the present establishment of the Christian religion in the British dominions. Though the ancient historians have been deficient in reflections on this subject, and later writers have passed over these occurrences without any comments, I think it would nevertheless be criminal, or at least censurable, to disregard the observations which press upon my mind at the present moment. On mature consideration, every circumstance included, it cannot be unpleasant to make a just comparison between the judgment of the church in general as established on the present occasion, and that which now exists in England and Ireland. Whatsoever, therefore, may be argued for or against the present discipline, as well as doctrine of the Church of England, as it is by law established, might be fully determined, by the exercises of common honesty and sincerity, from the practice and opinions of this council, and the answer of Acesius to the emperor, who brings it down from the apostolic times. If, then, at the present day, innovations are formed, and inroads made contrary to the opinions and practice of those primitive times, it cannot be difficult to infer at whose door the sin of schism and separation should be placed. Amongst other things which were considered in the Nicene Council, that the marriage of the clergy became a matter of consideration; and here it is necessary to take notice of the exclamation of Paphnutius, a virtuous and good man, and bishop of a city in the Upper Thebais in Egypt, uttered with an energy of speech and a fervency of language; asserting, "that the necks of clergymen and persons entered into holy orders, were not to be pressed down with
with an heavy yoke and grievous burthen, and
that it was their part to foresee, that with too
severe a censure they did not greatly injure
and offend the word of God; that all persons
could not possibly bear so austere a discipline,
and that peradventure their wives could not
brook such a rule of continence. Yet Paph-
nutius had never been married; and such was
the opinion of the council of his honesty and
fidelity for the good of the church in this de-
claration, having sustained the loss of one of
his eyes in the time of persecution, and being
held in very great reverence by the emperor,
that they concluded for every bishop, priest,
or deacon, being at liberty to act according
to his own pleasure in this matter.

It is also related of Spyridion, bishop of Tri-
mithous in Cyprus, who did not disdain to be
a keeper of sheep, that on some occasion his
sheepfold was attempted by some thieves, and
that they were detained there, against their
wills, by some invisible force, until the morn-
ing, when, as usual, he came to the place.
Their hands appeared to be tied behind them,
and they were induced to declare for what
purpose they came thither. By his prayers he
prevailed with God to loosen their invisible
bands, and he then exhorted them to leave off
so dangerous a trade, as that of living upon
the spoil of other men's substance, and labour
steadily for an honest livelihood. In the end,
after giving them much wholesome advice, he
bade them farewell; yet did not dismiss them
without a fat wether, that they might not sup-
pose they had passed a fruitless night. An-
other story is related of him and his daughter
Irene, which, being foreign to our purpose,
we shall pass over. A very young man, of
the name of Auxanon, was also present at the
Council of Nice, together with Acesius, al-
ready mentioned, who lived until the time of
Theodosius the younger; and was himself a
priest of the Novatian church. It happened
that when Auxanon was young, one of the em-
peror's ordinary guards was suspected of be-
ing a traitor, and, on some apprehension of
that suspicion, fled to Olympus in Bithynia;
where he was found and imprisoned, with fet-
ters and grievous bonds. About those parts
one Eutychianus, a Novatian, led a solitary
life, and was famous for curing diseases both
of body and mind; and, on the solicitation of
many persons, he engaged to exercise his in-
terest with the emperor, who had heard of his
miraculous cures. But in the mean time the
prisoner by his torments and fetters, would be
exhausted; and he then applied to the jailor to
release the man, but without effect, as not da-
ring to do it. Eutychianus, accompanied by
Auxanon, then went to the prison personally,
and received a similar refusal; when, at that
instant, the prison-gates flew open, though the
keys were fastened to the keeper's girdle.
These persons had no sooner entered, than
the fetters, without any visible cause, fell from
the feet of the prisoners; and, going after-
wards to Byzantium, since called Constanti-
nople, to the emperor's court, a pardon was
soon obtained. Socrates assures us that he
received this account from Auxanon himself.

We have next an account of the names of
some of those persons who distinguished them-

selves in the discussions at the Council of
Nice. But Socrates has only preserved
the names of Osius bishop of Corduba in Spain,
already mentioned, with the priests Viton and
Vicentius, Alexander bishop of Egypt, Eusta-
thiatus bishop of Great Antioch, Macarius bi-
shop of Jerusalem, with Harpocratie, Cynon,
and others; but these were more distinctly sta-
ted by Athanasius bishop of Alexandria. The
precise time when this council was held is not
altogether certain, though it has generally
been considered as an event of the year three
hundred and twenty-five, on the eleventh of
the calends of June, or the 20th of May, and
in the consulship of Paulinus and Julianus.
On the council's being dissolved, the emperor
went into the eastern parts. But whether, on
Eusebius and Theognis signing the canons of
the council, they renounced the friendship of
Arius, is far from being certain; though it is
not altogether without a doubt that they con-
nived with him, in the subtle measures de-
vised for his return to the church and to the city
of Alexandria, from which he had been ba-
nished by the council on a false and feigned
shew of repentance, of which I shall have oc-
casion to discourse hereafter.

Our subsequent history, and even the next
chapter, will demonstrate the necessity of our
giving so ample a detail of the Arian heresy
in the last chapter, with the full investigation of
it, by the Nicene Council. As some persons,
calling themselves Christians, at this day sup-
port and profess the same sentiments, or such
as are not very widely different from the tenets of Arius, this heresy may be considered as maintaining its ground longer than any other which, before or since, has ever been propagated in the Christian world. And yet we have an evident testimony before us how little influence this heresy produced on the minds of persons of well informed minds. The great disproportion of those who signed the canons, and of those who refused, of more than sixty-three to one, and the consideration that this proportion was diminished by the recantation of two of those who at first refused, making the proportion as more than one hundred and six to one, are circumstances which bigotry and obstinacy can alone account for. The character of the persons assembled for the known purposes of discussion, as stated by historians who lived so near and even at the time, should be sufficient to subdue the sallies of singularity, and the lucubrations of prejudice; at least to check the over-weening desire and ambition of being thought to excel the rest of the world in knowledge and wisdom.

CHAP. IX.

From the Conclusion of the Council of Nice to the Death of Constantine, including the miserable end of Manes.

endeavouring, as much as possible, to compress our narratives into a moderate compass, excepting in a few particular instances of more than ordinary moment, a full history of the church must not be expected from us. It is to the subject of persecution principally that our labours must be directed, whether it arose from heretics or Pagans. Hence we shall be restrained unavoidably from enlarging on the zeal and assiduity with which the emperor and his pious mother Helena promoted the Christian religion in building churches, and every way encouraging the professors of it. But the heresy of Arius was not the only one with which the true church of Christ was disturbed in the days of Constantine. The Manichean tenets gained some ground, though the doctrine was no more than an attempt to revive Paganism, under a mere semblance of some of the doctrines of the gospel; and was founded in imposture, which was soon detected. I need not stop to recite the particulars of his doctrines, which were too gross to be received by persons of the least knowledge of the true principles of Christianity. Yet the fame of this impostor, who had assumed the name of Manes, had reached the court of Persia, and the king sent for him on account of his son's sickness, considering him as an apostle, which title he had claimed, in order to procure his recovery. His arts of sorcery and witchcraft were useless. The youth died under his hands, and he was thereupon imprisoned, though he escaped into Mesopotamia before the time of his execution; yet he was soon after apprehended, and fled alive, his skin stuffed with chalk, and exhibited at the gates of the city.

The emperor shewed much favour to Eusebius bishop of Nicomedia and Theognis, after they had renounced the Arian heresy. Yet their restless minds could not brook the censure or rebuke, with which they had been treated at the Council of Nice by Athanasius, then a young man, who was appointed to the see of Alexandria after the death of Alexander. They began to exercise their rancour, and to disperse their venom, by challenging him as unfit for the office of a bishop, and also as elected unlawfully, against which opprobrious charges he fully defended himself. But, notwithstanding his vindication, they exercised every stratagem to procure his deposition, and to introduce Arius into the see. By letters, alternately consisting of plausible insinuations and violent menaces he attempted in vain to accomplish his design. The emperor was next assailed, and, on the ground of his wonted clemency, importuned to give an audience to Arius, with a view to obtain a pardon, and permit his return to Alexandria, by such treacherous means as we shall find occasion presently to regard.

That the expression of one substance in the Nicene Creed still occasioned much animosity among the bishops, which on all occasions was fomented by Eusebius and Arius, is with regret to be related. Eusebius of Caesarea was sharply rebuked by Eustathius bishop of Antioch, for attempting to corrupt that creed; of which slander Eusebius not only cleared himself, but charged Eustathius with favouring the heresy of Sabellius; the result of which was, that a council was summoned to be held at Antioch, and Eustathius was deposed for promoting the latter doctrine, instead of sup-
porting the decrees of the Nicene Council, though other concurring reasons are said to have existed, which are not specifically mentioned. This is the more probable, since we read of his having been accused by Cyrus, bishop of Berea, who was himself deposed for that heresy, and therefore not likely to accuse another of it. A faction was thereupon created, between those who struggled for the restoration of Eustathius and others who were desirous of the translation of Eusebius from Caesarea to Antioch; and the whole city divided with one or the other party, so that nothing but their sense of duty to God, and their allegiance and reverence for the emperor, restrained them from murdering each other, through their violence and animosity. The emperor interfered by his letters, and also commended highly the determination of Eusebius against the proposed translation. In consequence of this great dissension, the see of Antioch continued vacant for eight years; at the end of which period, through the means of those who were hostile to the Nicene Creed, Euphranius was appointed.

Of the flagrant and detestable conduct of Eusebius of Nicomedia, and other abettors of the Arian heresy, it may be proper in this place to give some account. The emperor’s sister Constantia, who had been married to Licinius, his fellow-emperor, of whose death we have already treated, with its cause, manifested a friendship and partiality for a certain priest of the Arian persuasion. Eusebius applied himself, through the medium of this priest, to procure her interest, stating that the synod had done him great injury, as not maintaining the opinions for which he had been banished; to which she paid attention, but said she could not state it to her emperor. On her falling sick he paid her frequent visits; and, apprehending her dissolution, she commended this priest to her brother’s protection, praising his industry, godliness, and loyalty. After her death, this priest increased in favour with the emperor, and at length ventured to say, that Arius did not differ in opinion from the council; and that if the emperor would permit him to an audience, he would subscribe the canons in his presence. The emperor was not a little surprised; but, said he, “If Arius be of that mind, and agree with the faith confirmed by the council, I will not only give him the hearing, but send him with honour to Alexandria.” And to that purpose the emperor sent him a letter to come to Constantinople, though he seems to have solicited his recantation to no purpose; and, when he arrived, he brought with him Euzonus, a deacon, who had been at the same time, with the other Arians, deposed by Alexander. They were welcomed, their recantation written and signed, and the canons subscribed; in which, as will soon appear, the basest dissimulation was used, and the most pernicious designs concealed.

Though he had thus far succeeded in this base stratagem, all his wiles were insufficient to induce Athanasius to receive him into the church. He detested the egregious traitor as a monster. Eusebius also had written to Athanasius to receive him, and had prevailed on the emperor to command the bishop to admit him; but all would not do. Athanasius informed the emperor, that it was not lawful for such as had made shipwreck of their faith, and had been held accursed of the church, to receive their former dignities. The emperor, in reply, declared a determination to depose him, if he did not comply with his order; and Eusebius, who hated Athanasius with deadly enmity, was highly gratified by it, hoping that he would be deposed, and that Arianism would then become predominant. It was for this that he had secretly exercised this subtle device. A conspiracy was immediately formed against him; and Eusebius, Theognis, and Maris, the three bishops who persisted in protesting against the expression of one substance in the Nicene Council and Creed, with Ursacius bishop of Singidun, and Valens bishop of Mursa, both in Pannonia, united in the most diabolical plan for the ruin of Athanasius. They suborned persons of the Meletian sect to accuse him of divers offences; amongst others, that he had enjoined the Egyptians to pay a linen-garment for a yearly tribute to the church of Alexandria, which was instantly confirmed by Alpius and Macarius, who were priests of the church of Alexandria, and were then providentially at Nicomedia. They persuaded the emperor of the falsity and villany of these malicious aspersions; and their authors were severely rebuked by him.

Though Athanasius was desired to repair to the emperor, Eusebius and his accomplices, before his arrival, devised another charge of a
The emperor was informed of these villainous proceedings, and wrote to Dahmatius, his sister's son, then resident at Antioch, to call the parties to his bar, and to execute the guilty; and Eusebius and Theognis were ordered thither, to be present on the defence of Athanasius. Arsenius avoided the search after him, secretly removing from place to place, when the emperor, perhaps perceiving the iniquity of the accusers, or at least suspecting it, superseded the proceedings, by calling a general synod of bishops to consecrate the church he had erected at Jerusalem; and in the mean time to assemble at Tyros to determine this contention about Athanasius, by summons from Dionysius the senator. On this occasion sixty bishops assembled; whither Macarius, priest of Alexandria, was conveyed by the soldiers in bonds and fetters. Athanasius did not attend, under an apprehension that they were resolved to establish something in opposition to the canons of the Nicene Council; until the emperor insisted upon his appearance, with menaces, by means of which he attended the council as a business of necessity.

At length, however, Arsenius was discovered in Tyros, having secretly come thither for the purpose of procuring intelligence. The servants of Archelaus, a senator, had been informed where he was there secreted, and, on due deliberation, discovered it to their master; and he lost no time in apprehending him, and acquainting Athanasius with the event. Yet he had the hardness to deny that he was the man, until Paulus, bishop of Tyros, who had long known him, positively affirmed his long knowledge of him. Athanasius was now produced, the hand was produced, and the charge formally made in his presence; when he first asked, which of them knew Arsenius, and many of them replied, that they knew him very well. He then produced Arsenius, with his hands concealed under his cloak, at which many of them were astonished, little expecting his appearance. But many still supposed that he might want a hand, after one hand had been shewed by turning up his cloak; still doubting whether he had not lost the other. Athanasius affected to pause and ponder about the other, to raise in their minds the greater anxiety, and to excite their more earnest attention; but at length, to their great astonishment, throwing aside the other part of his cloak, by
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which the second hand was exposed to their view. He then said to the assembly, "You see that Arsenius hath two hands; now let my accusers shew you the place where the third hand was cut off." At this discovery the accusers were confounded. Achaab, called Jannes, the ostensible accuser, stole away from the bar privily, and secreted himself among the crowd.

This accusation falling to the ground thus unexpectedly, Macarius was now to be disposed of; and exception was taken against Eusebius and his accomplices as open enemies, and therefore incompetent judges. He farther required them to shew whether Ischy-ras, the accuser, had received orders and priesthood, as asserted in the indictment, which the judges refused to attend to, and ordered the suit to proceed, but it was determined that a deputation should be commissioned to investigate this business atMarcotes. Athanasius remarked that Theognis, Maris, Theodorus, Macedonius, Valens, and Ursacius, were nominated deputies, most, if not all of them, being known Arians, as already stated; and he declared that there was deceit and double dealing in the business; that it was in open violation of all right to keep Macarius in fetters, and in prison, and permit his accusers to accompany judges who were his known enemies; that they were determined for one side only to be known and the other unknown, for one to be acquitted and the other condemned. He called the whole assembly to witness, and addressed himself to Dionysius the senator, without any pity; and then privately retired to present himself to the emperor. Those who were sent to Marcotes only recorded the acts on one side, and the accuser's report was determined to be true. The council, in the absence of Athanasius, condemned him, without farther hearing of the cause; and, coupling with these the proceedings of Marcotes, his deposition was determined on. Many slanders were contumeliously laid upon him, as a ground of deposition; whilst every thing was concealed respecting the slanders. False accusations, though rebutted, are recorded; and Arsenius, reported to be slain or mutilated, is entertained by them. A pretended bishop of Hypsepolis, of the Meletian sect, is allowed to subscribe to the deposition of Athanasius; and he who was said to have died under his hands is now living, to join in the same diabolical design.

Soon after the emperor's letters were received by the council to repair to Jerusalem; where, on their arrival, a solemn feast is held for the consecration of those places, and Arians and his confederates are admitted into the church, under a pretence of the emperor's approbation of his faith. The bishops also wrote to the church of Alexandria, to settle all their disputes amicably, as Arians had repented of his heresy, and acknowledged the Nicene decrees; that Athanasius had been exiled; and of the same proceedings they informed the emperor. But letters were soon returned from the emperor, where Athanasius then was, with orders to meet at Constantinople about his affairs. Instead of their compliance with this direction, many of them departed home, and much confusion ensued upon this information. But the Arian bishops, already mentioned by name, with Patrophilus bishop of Seythopolis, immediately repaired to Constantinople, after the consecration at Jerusalem; when no more is heard of the broken cup, the table being overthrown, or the murder or mutilation of Arsenius, but a fresh accusation is produced from their forge. They now declared that Athanasius had threatened to prevent the conveyance of corn from Alexandria to Constantinople; and produce the names of the bishops Adamantius, Anubyon, Arbathion, and Peter, as having heard it from his own mouth. At this the emperor was wonderfully indignant with Athanasius. Not content with the cruelties exercised upon the orthodox christians in Alexandria, the principal persecutors applied to the emperor for an order to banish them from Egypt and Lybia, and to put their churches into possession of the Arians. They obtained their request, and an order was sent, for that purpose to Sebastian, the commander in chief of the Roman forces in those provinces.

As soon as the general received the order, he signified the emperor's pleasure to all the sub-governors and officers, and commanded, that the mandate should be immediately put in execution. Hence a great number of the clergy were seized, and imprisoned for examination; when it appearing that they adopted the opinions of Athanasius, an order was sign-
ed for their banishment into the most wild, uncultivated, and desert places. Thus were the orthodox clergy used, and 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 persecution.

\[\text{CHAP. X.}\]

Of the Deprivation of Paulus and other Bishops; and the re-instatement of Athanasius and Paulus.

Paulus, the bishop of Constantinople, was a Macedonian by birth, and was designed, from his birth, for a clerical life.

When Alexander, the predecessor of Paulus, was on his deathbed, he was consulted by some of the clergy on the choice of a successor: when we are informed, he told them, “That if they were disposed to choose a person of an exemplary life, unexceptionable character, and thoroughly capable of instructing the people, Paulus was the man; who, though young, had all the prudence and gravity of more advanced age; but if they had rather have a person of a well-composed appearance, acquainted with worldly affairs, and fit for the conversation of a court, they might then choose Macedonius who had all the proper qualifications.” Macedonius 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 Paulus justice in their different characters. Nevertheless the Arians, with their accustomed disingenuousness, gave out, that Alexander had bestowed great commendations on Macedonius for sanctity, and had only given Paulus the reputation of eloquence, and a capacity for business: it is true, indeed, he was a master in the art of speaking, and persuading; but the sequel of his life and sufferings sufficiently evinced the absurdity of their deeming him a man formed for the world. However, after some struggle, the orthodox carried their point, and Paulus was consecrated.

Macedonius being greatly offended at this preference, did his utmost to calumniate the new bishop, and was very severe upon his moral character, but not gaining any belief, he dropped the charge, and reconciled himself to Paulus. This, however, was not the case with Eusebius of Nicomedia, who resumed the accusations under two heads, viz.

1. That he had led a disorderly life before his consecration.

2. That he had been placed in the see of Constantinople without the consent of the bishops of Nicomedia, and Heraclea, two metropolitan's, who ought to have been consulted upon that occasion.

To support these accusations, Eusebius procured the emperor's authority, by representing, that Paulus having been chosen during the absence of Constantius, the imperial dignity had been insulted. This artifice succeeded, and Paulus, being deposed, Eusebius was placed in his room.

Paulus having thus lost all his authority in the East, retired to the territories of Constans, in the West, where he was well received by the orthodox prelates and clergy, passing through the midst of them with safety. He made all haste to Rome, and Gregory took possession of the church; but the citizens were so displeased, that they set fire to the church of St. Dennis. Eusebius was not tardy in giving Julius bishop of Rome an account of these proceedings, and requesting him to be judge in the cause of Athanasius. If Julius gave any sentence, from his refusal to be present at the synod of Antioch, one might deem it to be favourable to Athanasius: but the council speedily terminated, and Eusebius afterwards immediately died. Paulus was thereupon again chosen by the people as his successor, and Macedonius by the Arians. Again do we find the names of Theognis, Maris, Theodorus bishop of Heraclea in Thrace, with Ursacius, and Valens, as industrious agents, but the two last afterwards recanted to Julius bishop of Rome, and submitted, to the pretended obnoxious expression of one substance. The confederates of Macedonius raised a commotion and dissension in the church at Constantinople, and contests were fomented in other places; and in these skirmishes many were trodden under foot, and crushed to death.

On the emperor's hearing of these disturbances, being at Antioch, he commanded Hermogenes, who was passing through Thrace, to take Constantinople in his way, to expel
Paulus. The people resisted the attempt, and, on his persevering so to do, with military aid, they felt indignant, and set the house on fire over his head, pulled him out by the ears, and put him to death. Though we cannot but disclaim all idea of encouraging a popular ferment, it shews how far the best dispositions may be provoked to the commission of very unjustifiable actions; and that caution and prudent policy are essential qualities in as- suaging and composing any popular differences. The emperor, however, soon came thither from Antioch, to expel Paulus, when he amerced the city, and forcibly seized from them one half of the grain brought thither from Alexandria, the whole importation being about eight hundred thousand measures; but whether these were by the smaller measure of about six gallons and three quarters, or the larger one of ten gallons and a pint, just half as much more, is uncertain. Yet he would not appoint Macedonius, against whom he was equally incensed, as chosen without his advice or concurrence; and because Hermogenes and many others had been slain through their disturbances. At length he allowed Macedonius to officiate in that church only where he was chosen bishop, before his return to Antioch. Gregorious at Alexandria was odious to the people, as their temple had been burnt on his introduction thither; neither was he a furious zealot for Arianism, and therefore he was translated.

Athanasius had not arrived in Italy, until Paulus bishop of Constantinople, Asclepas bishop of Gaza, Marcellus bishop of Ancyra in the lesser Galatia, and Lucius bishop of Andrianopolis, being severally accused and deprived, were come to Rome to state their respective cases to bishop Julius. He furnished them with letters respectively to order their restoration, not without sharp rebukes for their rash and hasty proceedings. The letters were treated as an insult, and they summoned another council at Antioch, which determined that he had no business to meddle with them; neither had they troubled themselves about him, when he removed Novatus out of the church of Rome. The tumults at Alexandria, excited on the coming thither of Georgius the Arian, had been falsely charged upon Athanasius; and his accusers thereby treated him most injuriously. But Sabinus, in his Collection of the Councils, omitted every thing which was favourable to Athanasius and advocates for the Nicene canons, and introduced every thing which supported the practices of Macedonius and the Arians. All the horrible devices of the heretics are wholly suppressed, and all the calumnies and accusations against Athanasius fully and glaringly displayed.

No rest was to be obtained for Paulus at Constantinople. The emperor was incensed at his return thither. Philip was then governor, and esteemed the second person in the empire. His orders were to remove Paulus, and appoint Macedonius; but, dreading the popular fury, executed his commission subtly, and, decoying him into the bath adjoining the sea, he there disclosed his orders, and through a back window he was instantly let down into a ship prepared for the purpose, to convey him into exile at Thessalonica, in Macedonia, the city of his ancestors. He was permitted to visit the cities of Illyrium, but prohibited from approaching the countries of the East. No sooner had Paulus been thus disposed of in a summary way, than he proceeded to the church in a carriage, with Macedonius by his side, escorted by soldiers with drawn swords; but on coming near the church the soldiers were obliged to make way. But so great was the multitude, and the pressure so heavy, that they could not recede; and then the military, enraged at the obstruction, and supposing it to be designed against them and the governor, with Macedonius, destroyed great numbers of them with their swords. Including those which were stifled or crushed to death, three thousand one hundred and fifty persons perished on this occasion; yet Macedonius, with all indifference and inattention, was installed, as if he was perfectly innocent with respect to this dreadful carnage. By such means did Macedonius and the Arians climb to the dignity of magistrates in the church.

The wicked Arians were fertile in their diabolical accusations. The first Constantine had given a quantity of grain to the poor of the church of Alexandria, which they charged Athanasius with selling and converting the profits to his own use. The credulous emperor listened to the accusations, and threatened him with death; on which he deemed it prudent to conceal himself. Julius, bishop of Rome, having received the letters of Eusebius,
and also heard of his death, sent for Athanasius to come to Rome. Letters from the council at Antioch, and others from the bishops of Egypt, also convinced Julius of the falsity of the charges. Julius returned answer to the bishops assembled at Antioch, expressing his concern at the subject of their epistle, that they had transgressed the canon of the church in not calling him to the council, which declared that no decree should be thrust upon the church without his sanction; that they had covertly corrupted the faith, and by violence and fraud had established conclusions on one side only, in the council of Tyre, respecting the business at Marcotes, and that their pretended and forged injuries done to Arsenius were most diabolical and scandalous. The Collection of Councils, as published by Sabinius, the favourer of Macedonius, has been already mentioned; and we have now to notice that his care to record the epistle of the bishops at Antioch to Julius, has not been followed by an equal fidelity in recording his reply. Whatsoever related to the design of disannulling the clause of the Nicene Creed, about one substance, he has studiously preserved, and conscientiously passed over every thing which had a reference to its support.

When Paulus had been conveyed to Thessalonica, he did not long remain there before he found an opportunity of visiting Corinth, as he pretended, though he actually went to Rome. Athanasius being there, they jointly stated their case to Constans, the sole emperor of the West, after the death of Constantine: He wrote to his brother to send three men, who could justly advertise him of their deposition; and he more than complied with his brother's request, by sending four men of different provinces, Theodorus, the Thracian, and Maris, the Chalcedonian, with Narcissus, the Cilician, and Marcus, the Syrian. The two first already occur to us as decided Arians, and the third soon after appears in the same character: what the other was, we can have little room for hesitation. When they arrived, they refused all conference with Athanasius, and invented a false or forged creed to present to the emperor instead of the real one decreed at Antioch. In this they conclude with these very remarkable words, "Whosoever then dare affirm, that the Son hath his being of nothing, or that he is of any other substance than of the Father, or that there was a time when he had no being; these the catholic church doth hold for accursed." But this was all they did, except that of shewing their pretended creed to others, and, without any arguments upon them, took their leave; the sophistry of which passage, considered with regard to the Nicene clause of one substance, is sufficiently obvious.

Whilst the Christians of the West and East communicated with each other, Photinus, a disciple of Marcellus, who was deposed of his bishopric, broached his master's doctrine at Sirmium, a city of Illyricum. Its leading feature was, that the Son of God was only man. Of him we shall have occasion to treat hereafter. In the mean time we shall return to the bishops of the East, who, in about three years, assembled in council, fabricated another creed, enlarging upon the former with many glosses. This was transmitted to the bishops of Italy, by Eudoxius, bishop of Germania, Martyrius, and Macedonius, bishop of Mopspestia, in Cilicia. In this the same sentence occurs as just recited, with many other observations nearly assimilating with the creed of St. Athanasius; besides which the Photinians, Marcellians, and others, are condemned by name. But the bishops of the West that they would have nothing to do with them, because they were not only written in a strange language, but they were fully satisfied with the Nicene creed, and desired no other.

The council of Sardis was afterwards called upon this occasion. The emperor had signified by letters, that Athanasius and Paulus should be restored to their dignities, without effect, from the dissensions of the people, these deposed bishops desired that a general council might be called to discuss their cases more clearly. Both the emperors agreed in calling together a council to Sardis in Illyricum; and it seems highly probable, that Constantius began to suspect the proceedings of the Arian bishops, as the occasion of these tumults. About three hundred bishops of the Western church assembled, and, as Sabinius reports, (how truly we may reasonably doubt,) only seventy-six bishops from the eastern. Amongst the latter was Ischylas, bishop of Marcotes, before mentioned, whom the depositories of Athanasius had appointed. Though some complained as an excuse for non-attendance, of infirmity, others blamed Julius bishop
of Rome, for the shortness of the notice; whilst the real fact was, that a year and six months had elapsed in the case of Athanasius. The eastern bishops imperiously demanded of the western to exclude Athanasius and Paulus from their society, otherwise they would have no conference with them; against which condition Protegenes, bishop of Sargis, and Osius, bishop of Corduba, in Spain, mentioned honourably in the time of the first Constantine, resolutely protested. Hence the eastern bishops departed to Philippi, in Thracia, where they held a smuggled council, with the express design of accusing openly the clause or one substance. The bishops of the West, on the contrary, condemned their departure, as a schismatic proceeding, and then deposed from their dignities the accusers of Athanasius; afterwards ratifying the canons of the Nicene Council. They condemned also the heretical opinion of the Son's not being of the same substance with the Father, and more largely illustrated the clause which had been so subtilly opposed. Of this they advertised the churches throughout the world, though the eastern bishops equally pleased themselves with their doings. Not only Paulus and Athanasius were restored at this council, but Marcellus, bishop of Ancrea, of whom we have before treated.

Though the Arians attempted to discredit Pamphilus, it must not be overlooked that he was present at the Council of Nice, and subscribed its decrees; who himself also affirms, in his Life of Constantine, that "the emperor dealt so far with them for reducing them to concord and unity, that he did not leave them until he had brought them to be of one mind and one opinion, so that with one voice they all embraced the faith decided in that council." How daringly presumptuous, then, must it be to charge him with Arianism? His books against Marcellus, who was suspected of heretical opinions, is proof against such an insinuation; "they are worthy of reprehension, who are not ashamed to call him (the only-be- gotten Son of God) a creature, and to say that he began of nothing, as other creatures did. He that is begotten of nothing, can in no wise be the true Son of God." Hence originated an effectual schism between the western and eastern churches. The decision of the council of Sardis was communicated by Constans to his brother Constantius, requesting him to see the restoration of Paulus and Athanasius: which was so long deferred, that he gave him his choice, either to restore them immediately and preserve his friendship, or without delay to expect from him a declaration of war. The eastern bishops, on being consulted, advised him to a compliance, as the least of the two evils which threatened. He therefore sent orders for his return to Alexandria, having removed from Sardis to Aquileia, though he did not comply with them until the receipt of a second and even a third letter; but Paulus had before been honourably dismissed to Constantinople by Constans, with two bishops, the emperor's own letters, and the letters of the council. When Athanasius had received the three letters, he hastened to Rome to consult with bishop Julius, who sent a long letter to the people of Alexandria, on Athanasius's return to them; taking the route of the emperor Constantius's court, to receive his orders respecting his own re-admission into the church.

In a conference with Constantius, it was requested that the Arians should be allowed a church in that city; when Athanasius, having obtained a promise, in his return, requested one church in every city for those who do not communicate with the Arians. The emperor then restored Athanasius, Paulus, and Marcellus, as well as Asclepas, bishop of Gaza, who had satisfied the council that Eusebius Pamphilus had before restored him to his dignity, and Lucius, bishop of Adrianopolis, from the desertion of his accusers at the same council. But the restoration of Marcellus caused much disturbance at Ancyra, on the removal of Basilus, and the old opposition against Marcellus was revived. Macedonius, at Constanti- nople, for a season gave way to Paulus, though he had several meetings at one of the churches in the city. But the emperor, by his letters in behalf of Athanasius, directed that all records against him in their church and synods should be blotted out. And to the same purpose also he wrote an epistle to the governors of Augustomnica, Thebais, Lydia, and Lycia, to disannul everything which was at any time decreed, or any where registered against him.

On arriving at Jerusalem, in his way to Alexandria, he communicated the decisions of the council of Sardis, and also shewed his letters to Maximus, bishop of that city, who called a synod of the bishops of Syria and Palestine,
and then received him into communion, and assigned to him his dignity. The council being dissolved, he also wrote to the people of Alexandria, and the bishops of Egypt and Lybia, to acquaint them with the decrees respecting Athanasius. Maximus, having before subscribed to his deposition, was now calumniated by the Arians. Ursacius and Valens, also, for the same reasons, condemned their former doings, and hasted to Rome, to bishop Julius, to exhibit their recantation, and sign the Nicene canons, declaring that, for the future, they would communicate with the bishop of Alexandria. On his progress from Jerusalem, he preached in every city; and at Pelusium he exhorted them to eschew the Arians, and embrace the doctrine of the Nicene creed. In divers churches, also, he ordained ministers; for which he was accused of meddling with other men's provinces.

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CHAP. XI.

From the Death of Constans to the Death of Constantius.

By the treachery of the tyrant, Magnentius Constans lost his life; after which another tyrant rose up in Illyrium, when Constantius challenged to himself all his brother's dominions, and caused himself to be proclaimed emperor of the West. The enemies of Athanasius seized the opportunity to relate to Constantius that he had perverted all Egypt and Lybia; when the emperor, by twisting his decrees and letters, turned them to their purpose. He began with banishing Paulus from Constantinople, who was stilled by his guides at a city in Cappadocia; and Marcellus was driven from Ancyra to make room for Basilius. Lucius, bishop of Adrianopolis, was imprisoned, and choked with filth. Malice had so far aggravated the charges against Athanasius, that orders were issued for executing him wheresoever he should be taken; and directions were given to put to death Theodulus and Olympias, bishops of Thracia. Athanasius once more found it prudent to escape; for which the Arians ridiculed him, particularly Narcissus, bishop of Neronias in Cilicia, Georgius of Laodicea, and Leontius bishop of Antioch, though he had been deposed, whilst a priest, for amputating his secret parts, to repel a slander of an intimate connexion with a woman named Eustolia. This man was, notwithstanding, appointed by Constantius in the room of Stephen, who succeeded Plautus.

Again was Macedonius placed in the see of Constantinople. His influence with the emperor was excessive. Any law was confirmed, which he chose to propose. All the favourers of the Nicene Council were cut off from the churches, and banished from the cities. The proceedings were not less violent than those of the Pagans against the Christians for refusing to sacrifice to idols. To compel men to the Arian communion, torment, with racks of the joints, confiscation of estates and property, exile, and perpetual banishment, were among the calamities of this period. At Constantinople and in the East these heavy persecutions were more particularly practised; happily they did not extend to Greece and Illyrium, and the other countries towards the West, where they agreed amongst themselves, and steadily observed the canons of the Nicene Council, though the storm in other parts principally fell upon those who maintained those doctrines. In these persecutions the Arians borrowed their proceedings from the Pagans, as the partizans of popery seem to have taken their pattern from both. But these we must refer to the next and following books of this history of martyrs; and it has only been mentioned here to shew, that no religion, which requires to be supported by persecution and violence, can possibly be good, or in any respect consistent with the design of the Almighty in his various dispensations to mankind; and that it must ever throw suspicion on its promoters, to be compelled to have recourse to such means, whether as it appears in the Pagan, Mahometan, or the Christian world; or amongst the latter, in the Arian, Socinian, Popish, or any other denomination of persons pretending to be the disciples of Christ, whilst in reality they are followers of the devil.

At Alexandria, the Arian Georgius equally manifested his violent disposition by the horrid practices there exercised. Athanasius's apology on the subject states what we have already related, being in the time of Lent, that after Easter the virgins were imprisoned, the bishops apprehended by soldiers, fatherless and widows banished from their homes, whole families rifled, the true Christians dragged
from their houses, their doors nailed up, and the relatives of the clergy in the greatest danger from their being relations. After Whit-suntide, on assembling in the church-yard to pray, during a fast, Georgius employed a Manichee captain to set on fire a great quantity of faggots, making the virgins to stand before it to be roasted, with a view of forcing them to confess the Arian doctrines. On their refusal, he caused them to be stripped naked, and grievously buffeted about the head and face, until they were shockingly disfigured. Forty other persons had their backs and sides scourged with palm-twigs fresh taken from the trees, with their pricked knobs, so that they were obliged frequently to have recourse to surgeons, and others died of their wounds. The survivors were afterwards exiled; and the bodies of those who perished were not suffered to be buried. No fewer than fifteen bishops and two priests are named as exiled by the Arians; many of whom were so roughly treated, as to die upon the road, and others never returned. More than thirty bishops were martyred. On account of a heresy of Photinus of Sirmium, a council was summoned thither by the emperor; to which came the eastern bishops, of whom we have the names, Marcus bishop of Arethusa, Georgius the Arian bishop of Alexandria, Basilius of Ancrya, (after Marcellus was deprived,) Pancratius bishop of Pelusium, and Hypatianus bishop of Heraclea. Of the western bishops we have the names only of Valens bishop of Mursa, and Osius bishop of Corduba in Spain, a man of eminence, who was forced to come thither. Photinus was there deposed for maintaining the opinions of Sabellius and Paulus Samosatenus; the justice of which sentence has never been controverted. Yet this council did not content itself with this decision only. In a new creed, produced by Marcus bishop of Arethusa for their approbation, this passage occurs: "They that say that the Son of God hath his being of nothing, or that he is of another substance than the Father’s, or that there was a time or a world when he was not, these the holy and catholic church doth hold for accursed;” with farther illustrations of their meaning therein, under the same sentence of anathema. Another form proposed that the term substance or  

wished Photinus, after his deprivation, to recant, in order to be restored; but he challenged to open disputation, in which he was foiled, and afterwards banished. But this form of faith was recalled, from the contradictions therein discovered.

Of the compulsory appearance of Osias at the council, it must be observed that he was specially cited by the emperor. Through the villany of the Arians, he had also been exiled, and the emperor hoped to bring him over to the opinion of the other, either by persuasion or terror. The latter, after much scourging and racking, succeeded; and the old father was thus violently forced to subscribe what he could not approve. The heresy of Ætius at Antioch next arose; but this differed little from the tenets of Aries, excepting that it was more honestly conducted, condemning him for his dissimulation, and subscription to the Nicene decrees, which he did not believe, and for his subtle deception of the emperor. This Ætius was the master of Eunomius, and had been made deacon by Leontius bishop of Antioch, and exercised himself in the captious sophistry of Aristotle’s Eleuchus, more than in the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures. A council had been summoned, after the emperor had left Sirmium to go to Rome, after the conquest and death of the rebel tyrants, to assemble at Milan in Italy. Though many of the eastern bishops declined it from age or long journeys, more than three hundred western bishops repaired to it. The eastern bishops, as a preliminary, insisted on condemning Athanasius, to prevent all hopes of his return to Alexandria; against which Paulinus bishop of Trever in France, Dionysius bishop of Alba in Italy, and Eusebius bishop of Vercellæ in Liguria, specially protested, as a treacherous and artful attempt to destroy the Christian religion. They insisted on the falsity of the slanderous reports against him, as a design to deface the true catholic faith. An end was put to the business, and the council broke up without doing anything.

At this the emperor was greatly displeased, and ordered them into exile. He first determined to summon a general council, and to cite the eastern bishops into the West, with a design to establish unity and concord; but on reconsideration, on account of the distance of some countries, the bishops then present were
HISTORY OF THE MARTYRS.

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directed to assemble at Ariminum in Italy, and the eastern bishops at Nicomedia. But both these councils were divided into factions. Leontius, bishop of Antioch, dying, Eudoxius, bishop of Germanicia in Syria, obtained leave of the emperor to depart from his court to superintend the affairs of his diocese, but in reality to procure by stratagem the see of Antioch, and to restore Aetius into the church. In summoning a council of bishops, with a design of reinstating Aetius, the hatred against this heretic was greater than Eudoxius had conceived. In the council at Ariminum, the eastern bishops desired to waive the business about Athanasius. The Arian bishops brought forward a new form of faith, formed on that agreed upon at Sirmium, and the second one which proposed to leave out the word substance or ousia, as before. Against these the catholic bishops protested; for they were met to withstand novelties, and wanted no forms of faith or belief, having learned these from the beginning, calling upon them at once to renounce the cursed heresy of Arian, and abide by the ancient canons, which had banished all blasphemous and heretical doctrine. It is evident to the whole world, they said, what tumults and troubles the blasphemous opinion of Arian hath raised in the church of God. This proposition was rejected by Ursacius and Valens, who always adopted the strongest side, and by Germanius; Auxentius, Demophilus, and Caius, who had attended purposefully to support them on which the proposed bond of unity was entirely dissolved.

Whilst these persons persisted in supporting the decrees of later councils, the others maintained the Nicene faith with firmness. A letter of Athanasius to his friends points out the false assertions of the persons just mentioned, and their flatteries of the emperor; and in the end, the council deposed all of them, as refusing to renounce the heresy of Arian. The council wrote a letter also to the emperor, containing an account of their proceedings; and the persons deposed ran with eager haste to the emperor to shew him the form of faith which they had prepared. Three things were requested of the emperor by the council; not to wink at novelties; to call home the bishops in exile; and to admit no alteration of old canons. But Ursacius and Valens were before hand with the council, and taken into favour, whilst the twenty deputed bishops were kept a long time waiting for an answer, until at length they received an evasive reply, that they must wait for his answer at Adrianopolis, having various affairs of the empire to regulate. They only assure him, in acknowledging the receipt of this evasive epistle, that their determination was unalterable, and craved leave to return home. No answer, after long waiting, being returned, they departed home, which the emperor interpreted into a contempt of his authority. Ursacius was then armed with authority to persecute the churches, and to send their form of faith to all the churches of Italy, and to depose all who would not subscribe to it, replacing them by others. Liberius bishop of Rome was exiled, and Felix, an Arian deacon, forcibly thrust by Ursacius into the bishopric. The western countries, which had heretofore been quiet, were now dreadfully harassed; but the emperor was compelled, from the popular uproar, to recall and restore Liberius to his see. In the East, Ursacius at Nice called a council to procure the ratification of his mode of faith, and to give it the appellation of the Nicene faith, the more easily to deceive the ignorant; but the treachery was soon detected and derided.

We have already stated many violences of Macedonius at Constantinople, and may now resume the subject. The pride and insolence of the Arian bishops, supported by the emperor’s edicts, were excessive. Maximus, bishop of Jerusalem, had been deposed to admit Cyrilus, an Arian bishop, by Acacius and Panophilus; and Macedonius made Euseius, bishop of Cyzicum, and Marathonius, bishop of Nicomedia, who had been a deacon under him. He thrust out of the church all who held any opinions different from his own; neither did he spare the Novatians, because they held the doctrine of one substance, which was crime sufficient. Their bishop Agelius was compelled to flee, to avoid being martyred; and many excellent persons were apprehended and grievously persecuted, for refusing to communicate with them, and often forced at last to submit. Even women and children were thus dragged into their communion. Opposition immediately produced scourges, stripes, imprisonments, and various bitter torments. Women who resisted their proceedings were stuffed into chests, and had their
breasts cut off; others had them burned with hot glowing irons; and eggs, roasted hard, in their utmost heat, applied to them. Herein they excelled even the Pagans. These things are recorded on the authority of Auxanon, who was present at the council at Nice. Both he and Alexander Paphlagon, a man of strict life, were imprisoned, scourged, and otherwise greatly tormented, and the latter died of scourging, and was buried near the sea-shore at Byzantium. The Novatian church, as well as others, was destroyed. The emperor issued an edict to level all churches, where the doctrine of one substance was maintained; in which Macedonius and his abettors were not wanting for activity. The Novatians were continually treated hostilely by the Arians on this subject; and anticipated their malice so far, as to pull down their own church to erect one at Sycae, over against the city, with unexampled expedition, though the former church was given to them by Julianus, successor of Constantius, when that was restored, but far more sumptuously, with equal rapidity. But this is by way of anticipation. Yet in that reign the true Christians and Novatians were treated with equal cruelty, as we soon shall relate; and the Novatians, who then had three churches in the city, allowed the Nicene Christians to assemble in these for religious purposes, whereby a bond of unity might have been cemented, but for the continued obstinacy of the Novatians.

The conduct of Macedonius was soon imitated by Eleusius, the Arian bishop of Cyzicus; who levelled the Novatian church there to the ground, and proceeded to the same violence against both. To these enormities Macedonius gave the finishing stroke, by terrifying the Paphlagonians, amongst whom were many Novatians, by dispatching four bands of soldiers to force them into compliance with the Arian heresy. The people of Mantinium were enraged at this proceeding; and, armed with axes and long hedging-bills, and whatsoever offensive weapons they could suddenly seize, so furiously attacked them, that very few of the soldiers escaped. A rooted hatred against Macedonius was thereby excited, and, in concurrence with another cause, the emperor himself was shocked at his conduct. He farther intended to destroy the church, in which the remains of Constantine had been deposited, putting the people in the utmost jeopardy of their lives, who daily assembled in it for prayer, having first purposed to remove his bones with the tomb enclosing them, to prevent its being injured; which the people, especially those who maintained the doctrine of one substance, resisted as utterly unlawful. He defied their opposition, and forcibly removed his body to the church, wherein had been buried Acacius the martyr. There was the utmost confusion created, and so vast a slaughter ensued, that the body of the church floated with blood; and from the entrance to the street, the way was interrupted with heaps of dead bodies. The result of this conduct we shall presently relate.

It may be proper to turn our attention to the eastern council, which had been summoned to Nicomedia; but, on account of the great earthquake, which had overthrown that city, and shaken the country, ultimately met at Seleucia in Isauria. At this place one hundred and sixty bishops assembled; and Leonas, a man of great fame in the emperor's court, was deputed to hear them reason concerning the faith, whilst Lauricius, governor of the garrison of Isauria, had orders to supply all the wants of the bishops. Sabinus, in his collection of councils, has fully stated all their proceedings. They delayed the opening of the business, until the persons accused should arrive; but Macedonius, bishop of Constantinople, sent a plea of sickness; Patrophilus, bishop of Scythopolis, stated that he was sand-blind, and troubled with blind eyes, and compelled to remain in the suburbs of the city, Basilius, bishop of Ancyra, and others, sent other excuses for their absence. All of them indeed were apprehensive, that they would be loaded with heavy charges. Leonas then proposed that such absence did not preclude them from proposing questions; but the bishops held it not fitting to reason on anything, until they had diligently examined the lives and conversation of the accused. Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem, and Eustathius, bishop of Sebastia in Armenia, were also involved in the charge of committing crimes of a very heinous nature. Some contended for examining the lives of the accused; others for making enquiry of their faith; as the emperor's letter had left it doubtful how they were to proceed. Two parties were formed; on one side, we find
Acacius, bishop of Cæsarea in Palestine, Georgius bishop of Alexandria, Ursacius bishop of Tyros, and Eudoxius bishop of Antioch, with thirty others; and on the other, Georgius bishop of Laodicea in Syria, Saphronius bishop of Pompejopolis in Paphlagonia, and Eleusius bishop of Cyzicum, with many others. Those who contended for giving the preference to matters of faith prevailing, the accomplices of Acacius proposed the abrogation of the Nicene canons, but the greater number supported that creed, waiving the consideration of the clause of one substance. After brawling a whole day, Sylvanus bishop of Tarsus rose and said, that it was no part of their duty to form a new rule of faith, but to retain that established at Antioch, when the church was dedicated. The confederates of Acacius thereupon retired, and the opponents produced the creed of Antioch, which was read, and the council broke up; but they met the next day at the church of Seleucia, with doors barred, to ratify the form which had been read in the council by their subscriptions. The absentees, who had signified their assent, were allowed to sign by their readers or deacons.

This secret proceeding was resented by Acacius and his confederates, as abounding with causes of suspicion; and the fact was, that he disapproved of it, and that he had another form in his pocket ready prepared. On the second day of the council, therefore, he read this to Leo and Lauricius, and wished to have that alone confirmed. On the third day, Macedonius and Basilus presented themselves, opponents of Acacius, whose confederates would not shew their faces. But it was deemed requisite that those persons should leave the assembly, who had lately been deposited, and then were accused; so that they retired from the council, and Acacius and his company came into their places. Leo then said that he had received a book from Acacius, without saying that it was a form of faith, which sometimes confuted privily, sometimes plainly and openly, the opinion of the others. It was no other than a form of faith preceded by a protestation of the Arian bishops. Having ended it, Sophronius, before mentioned, thus protested against it, "If that the new devices and daily invention of your brain be laid down for Creeds, it cannot otherwise fall out but that shortly we shall be found without one grain of faith." After much brawling and contention, the council broke up for that day. On the following day Acacius argued for the adoption of his creed, because the Nicene Creed had been often altered, and might be still farther changed; but Eleusius replied, "We are not come to this assembly to learn what we have learned before, nor to receive a faith which we have not received before, but to walk in the faith of our forefathers, and not fall from the same unto our lives end."

Another question was discussed how the Son was like unto the Father, as expressed by the Arians, which Acacius said was only in will and mind, not in substance; and the other side affirmed the latter, and said that he had so written, which he parried by this hypocritical remark, as an excuse for disseminating the poison of heresy, that no man was ever tried by the books he published. The open declaration of the most consummate duplicity cannot escape the reader as in the utmost degree detestable. Nothing was agreed upon, and Leo dissolved the council, and refused again to renew it; on which Acacius and his confederates retired from the council, but the other side again met at the church on the following day, and cited Acacius and his company to join them in deciding on the matter of Cyril bishop of Jerusalem. But they refused to appear, after many citations to that purpose, and the bishops proceeded to depose the following bishops as heretics; Acacius himself as bishop of Cæsarea, Georgius bishop of Alexandria, Ursacius bishop of Tyros, Theodorus bishop of Cheteraphon in Phrygia, Theodosius bishop of Philadelphia in Lydia, Evangelus bishop of Mitylene, Leontius bishop of Tripolis in Lydia, and Eudoxius some time bishop of Germanica, and afterwards of Antioch. Patrophilus, bishop of Scythopolis, was also deposed for obstinacy and contempt. Others were excommunicated, until they had purged themselves of the crimes imputed to them; as Asterius, Eusebius, Abgarus, Basilius, Philedius, Eutychius, Magnus, and Eustathius. Letters were then sent to the churches of the bishops deposed. Anianus was appointed bishop of Antioch, but the faction of Acacius apprehended him, and accused him before Leo and Lauricius, who banished him;
when the bishops complained to them of the very serious wrong without the least regard being given, and a deputation sailed to Constantinople to present to the emperor the decisions of the council.

Here again were the bishops forestalled in their mission, as on former occasions, Acacius misrepresenting every thing, and accompanying it with heavy and grievous accusations. The emperor was thereby incensed, and decreed that bishops, who were magistrates or governors, should be deprived of their office; and Acacius and his accomplices were supported at Constantinople, where another council of about fifty bishops of Bithynia, with Maris bishop of Chalcedon, confirmed the form of faith produced by Acacius at Ariminum, with some additions, wholly rejecting all idea of the substance. It is to be remarked that this was the ninth creed subsequent to that of Nice, which had been fabricated and framed in little more than thirty years; which was first subscribed by Ulphilus, bishop of the Goths who at the Nicene Council had subscribed that creed, and now in his old age had degenerated into heresy.

In drawing towards the close of the reign of Constantius, we must observe that Acacius, with Eudoxius and the Arian faction, laboured much to remove those bishops which would not support their doings, and thereby occasioned grievous tumults. They were less anxious to accuse each other on matters of faith, as Acacius and his partizans had obtained the emperor's ear, which they had poisoned, than of other matters. They found means of deposing Macedonius from the see of Constantinople, not on account of heresy, but for his atrocious butchery, and the admission of a deacon taken in adultery to communion, to make room for Eudoxius. Eleusius bishop of Cyzicum, Basilius bishop of Ancyra, Neônas bishop of Seleucia, Sophronias bishop of Pompeipolis, Elpidius bishop in Macedonia, Cyrilus bishop of Jerusalem, and many others, were also deposed, for various pretended or real causes of a civil nature. Dracontius was suspended for removing from Gallicia to Pergamus; and Eustathius bishop of Sebastia was not permitted to defend himself, because his father, when bishop of Cæsarea, had deposed him for not wearing a priestly habit, and some time afterwards condemned in the council of Gangra in Paphlagonia, which had been convened to determine his matters. Having been deposed, he had transgressed the canons, had forbidden marriage, published precepts of abstinence, dissolved marriages, promoted conventicles in private houses to such as deserted the churches, removed servants from their masters, assumed a philosopher's habit and required a strange dress in others, caused women to be shaven, prohibited fasting days, commanded abstinence on Sundays, condemned prayers made in married men's houses, and despised the communion of married priests, though he himself, when a layman, had been married.

When Eudoxius had obtained Constantinople, which he coveted in preference to Antioch, he and Acacius proceeded to promulge laws in immediate opposition to their former decrees, to vindicate this translation from one see to another. The form of faith read at Ariminum was now ratified, with various glosses and additions, and published to the world, in the emperor's name, commanding that all who refused to receive it should be perpetually banished. Of this they speedily inform the eastern churches, which maintained the same heretical opinions, and Patrophilus bishop of Scythopolis, who had returned home immediately from Seleucia. Eudoxius soon after dedicated the great church, called Wisdom; when he made a speech, which first occasioned considerable tumult, and, on a silly explanation, was converted into laughter, and long after continued to be a subject of jest and ridicule. But schisms and heretics have always indulged and delighted in frivolous words, to sever the bond of unity.

We now come to Meletius, who succeeded Eustathius at Sebastia, removed thence to Berza in Syria, and finally was called to Antioch on the departure of Eudoxius. For some time he conducted himself there very quietly; but at length entertained his auditors with expostutions of the clause, of one substance, for which he was exiled by the emperor, and Euzebius, a partizan of Arius, placed in his room. Though the defenders of the Nicene canons and creed assembled privately, they refused to communicate with the Meletians, because he had been made priest by the Arians, and his followers also had been by them baptized. Returning to Macedonius, who had been ex-
pelled from the see of Constantinople, his turbulentlyt spirit drove him to the other side, wishing to associate with those who had deposed Acacius, and bymessengers he desired that Sophronius and Eleusius would addict themselves to the form of faith produced at Antioch, and confirmed at Seleucia, and give it the title, THE FAITH OF ONE SUBSTANCE. But he broached some heretical opinions about the Holy Ghost, supposed to have originated with Marathonius; in which, however, Eustathius, though he associated with the mal-contents, ventured to differ in opinion. The confederates of Acacius now called a council at Antioch, where the emperor resided; and they determined to abandon the object of the Son's likeness with the Father, as stated by the councils of Ariminum and Constantinople. As they disclaimed the idea of one substance before, they now condemn the idea of one likeness; but some denied the latter, whilst they maintained the former, and Georgius bishop of Laodicea found a strange gloss that the Son was only of God as he was included in the apostles' phrase, that all things were of God. On his return to Alexandria, having established the Arian form produced by Acacius, he sorely tormented those who still held the opinion of Athanasius, then secreted in a place of obscurity.

Whilst Georgius was bishop of Laodicea, two persons of the name of Apollinarius, father and son, teachers of grammar and rhetoric, resided there, and associated much with Epiphanius the sophist. His predecessor Theodotus had commanded them to discontinue his company, fearful of their being perverted into paganism, but without effect; and Georgius having frequently in vain attempted the same thing, at last excommunicated them. But, instead of persuading them, as he had hoped, the younger Apollinarius invented a new-heresy; though some said that the opposition was created by the contradictory doctrines preached by the bishop, which at one time were according to the Nicene interpretation, and at other times Arian, in which principally they differed as maintaining the clause of ONE SUBSTANCE, though in other respects they held doctrines different from both. But now came the time of the death of Constantius, occasioned by grief. Julianus, who had long been denominated Cæsar, after much struggle vanquished the barbarous nations in France, on which his soldiers proclaimed him emperor. A dangerous disease was the result of this information; and, having been baptized by Euzoius the bishop, he hastened to give battle to the usurper. But, on advancing, having arrived between Cappadocia and Cilicia, his reflections overpowered him, and he died of apoplexy.

CHAP. XII

Julianus, the Successor of Constantius, renounces Christianity, and his Successor Julianus maintains it. Valens the Emperor, a great Persecutor.

In less than six weeks, though Julianus was in the west when Constantius died, he came to Constantinople, and there was proclaimed emperor. He was the younger son of Constantius, uncle to the late emperor; and was so well educated in the free-school within the cathedral-church of Constantinople, that the people considered him as highly competent to bear office in the commonwealth, which was not altogether grateful to the emperor, and he was thereupon removed to Nicomaedia. But Libanius, who had been driven from Constantinople by the school-masters there, had removed to that city, and published a book against his enemies; and though Julianus had been prohibited from attending to the lessons of Libanius, who there kept a school, because he was a Pagan, he secretly procured his books, with which he was greatly delighted. Maximus, the Ephesian philosopher, (not the Byzantine,) came to Nicomaedia, on the fame of Julian, whom afterwards the emperor Valentinian condemned; of whom Julian learned the principles of philosophy, and his master taught him such religious tenets, as encouraged him to aspire to the imperial sceptre. The emperor heard of these proceedings, and Julian paused between hope and fear; but so far dissembled, that he was appointed reader in the church of Nicomaedia. But he privately insinuated to his friends, that it would be a most happy thing to the empire for him to be made emperor. Gallus being slain some time afterwards, who was his elder brother, Julian became an object of suspicion to the emperor; and such was the watch over him, that he felt a necessity of escaping, until the em-
press interfered, when he was made Cæsar, and afterwards sent to conduct the war in France against the rebels. But he found reason to complain of his captains, and then received another more to his own disposition; and the success of a combat occasioned the soldiers, as just stated, to proclaim him emperor. From this time he declined giving any information to Constantius; and in every city restored the Pagan idolatry. Notwithstanding this, he recalled the exiled bishops, knowing the hatred of the late emperor to the supporters of the offensive clause of the Nicene Creed; and applied himself effectually to conciliate all parties. Eusebius the chamberlain was condemned to decapitation. In civil matters he made numerous changes, which we cannot repeat; and only sketch out such occurrences as are unavoidably necessary for the introduction of future events. Yet he could not refrain from heavy invectives against the Christians.

At Alexandria, in particular, the Pagans first began to manifest their knowledge of the advantages derived from the new emperor. A piece of waste ground had been given by Constantius to the church there, and Georgius began to clear it, with the design of erecting a church. The Pagans had heretofore been there accustomed to sacrifice; and the discovery of a lofty chancel and the relics of the Pagan mysteries, which the Christians designed to ridicule and expose, roused the Heathens to interrupt, and even to murder them. Hence it was, that "some were run through with swords, some other branded with clubs, other some stoned to death, some strangled with halters about their necks, some were nailed to the tree, casting in their teeth the death of the cross." In cutting each others' throats, they were glad to feel reluctant; and the Christians felt it prudent to stop in their proposed purgation of the said ground. Georgius was violently hauled out of the church, and fastened to a camel, and, after being torn in pieces, burned to ashes. This insurrection was highly displeasing to the emperor, who wrote letters expressive thereof to the people of Alexandria. After this Athanasius was joyfully received by the inhabitants of that city, though the Arians, meeting in private houses, chose Lucius as the successor of Georgius. Lucifer, bishop of Caralitanum in Sardinia, and Eusebius bisho

of Urcella in Liguria, were then called home from Thebæ; when it was agreed that Lucifer should go to Antioch, which church he found in great confusion, and where he ordained Paulinus to be bishop, instead of the heretic Euzoius, and then departed. Eusebius went to Alexandria, where a council was held, and the ancient canons confirmed. This council condemned the Arians, Apollinarians, and Macedonians.

It was highly proper that Athanasius should apologize to his church for deserting them, which he did in the most ample manner. Eusebius, after the council, returned to Antioch. Here the Meletians were divided from Paulinus, and Euzoius still maintained an Arian faction. Eusebius could not reconcile them, and retired to his own see of Urcella or Verceil. At this time also the followers of Macedonius, Eleusius, Eustathius, and Sophronians, under the general name of Macedonians, laid their private conventicles, though they accursed the Acacians, and set at nought the faith of Ariminum. The emperor set himself to hear the christians fully, whencesoever they arraigned the proceedings of Constantius; but in all other cases he had a private grudge against them. Eleusius bishop of Cyzicum was commanded in two months to rebuild the Novatian church there, which he had pulled down, at his own expense, on pain of grievous punishment. The idol of the goddess of fortune, to which the emperor offered sacrifice, was also erected there in the cathedral-church. Maris, bishop of Chalcedon, though he had lost his sight, sharply reproved the emperor for his apostacy; when the emperor called him a blind fool, and said tauntingly, that his Galilean God would not restore his sight. Maris thereupon replied with gratitude to God, for withholding his sight from so ungracious a face, and he received no answer, though he was roughly handled. Comparing the conduct of the Christian Martyrs, in Dioclesian's time, and that those of the present day rather sought than avoided martyrdom, he made a law that the christians should not be trained up in profane literature. All christians also were by proclamation banished from the palace; and that none should bear office in the commonwealth. Amongst the soldiers who threw down their sword-girdles, for the sake of Christ's gospel, were Jovianus, Valenti-
anus, and Valens, all of them being afterwards emperors; but some, and amongst others Ec-
bolus of Constantinople, temporized. To sup-
port his war against the Persians, he imposed a
fine upon every Christian who refused to sac-
ifice; which was grievously enforced, and a
great sum of money procured.

Again was Athanasius compelled to leave
Alexandria, on a false charge to the emperor
of having subverted Egypt and that whole city,
and narrowly escaped to the desert, afterwards
secretly returning to the city, and laying con-
cealed until the flame of persecution was
quenched. The governors of provinces also
were not slack in vexing the Christians, as
agreeable to the emperor; oppressed them by
severer taxes than had been imposed, and
sometimes adding torments, which the empe-
ror connived at, answering tauntingly all kinds
of complaints, that their God had commanded
them to take all patiently. In particular Amo-
chius, governor of Meris in Phrygia, causing
the idolatrous temple there to be cleansed for
their worship, greatly offended the Christians;
and Macedonius, Theodulus, and Tatianus, in
the night broke into the temple, and destroyed
their idols. To prevent the mischief threat-
ened to the innocent, the perpetrators pre-
vented themselves to acknowledge their do-
ings. They prepared themselves to suffer
whate’er he should inflict, but refused to
sacrifice; when he caused them to be placed
on gridirons to be broiled to death.

Near the close of the last chapter, we noted
two persons at Laodicea, father and son, of
the name of Apollinaris. The emperor’s
dict to prohibit the Christians from the know-
ledge of profane literature, spurred them to
exercise their pens; by which, though heretics,
they greatly supported the Christians. We
next find the emperor at Antioch in his pro-
gress against the Persians, and placing a price
on all food and merchandise, by which most
tradesmen, compelled to furnish victuals and
other necessaries at a great loss, were forced
to leave off their business, and the city was
soon distressed for provisions. The people
strongly murmured, and the emperor in return
threatened, but soon removed to Tarsus in
Cilicia, where he stopped no longer than to
provide himself with necessaries. On this oc-
casion Libanius, before mentioned, addressed
an oration to the emperor, to intercede for
those of Antioch, and another to them to tes-
tify the emperor’s displeasure. It is said they
were never published, but that the emperor
was induced to relax of his threats, though he
defamed the city in his oration of Misopogon.
In the mean time he had commissioned Salus-
tius, his lieutenant-general, to punish severely
some Christians who had sung psalms on re-
moving into the city of Antioch from Daphne
the remains of Babylas the martyr, which
appeared to reflect on the Pagans; but though
some were imprisoned, we read of none who
were severely tortured, a young man excepted
of the name of Theodorus, whose body was
grievously lacerated with the lash of the whip,
though at length he was discharged with little
expectation of life. Yet he afterwards reco-
vered, and survived many years.

The emperor next ordered the Jews, who
had been required to sacrifice, to rebuild the
temple of Solomon, and all the expenses to be
paid from the public treasury, on being told
that they could not sacrifice any where but at
Jerusalem. They hoped that the season of
their restoration was come, and therefore
cheerfully engaged in the work; but Cyril, bi-
shop of Jerusalem, thought that the prophecy
of Daniel would now be fulfilled, as well as
our Saviour’s, that one stone should not be
left upon another. The night following there
was a grievous earthquake, which turned all
remains of the temple to the ground, and the
contiguous buildings, at which the Jews were
struck with terror, and many persons came
from distant parts to see the ruins. Fire also
fell from heaven, and consumed all their tools
and instruments; hammers, graving irons,
saws, axes, hatchets, were all alike a prey to
the flames. On the following night also forms
of crosses were marked in their garments,
shining like sun-beams, which they could not
displace. We need only add here, that soon
after he had encountered the Persians in an
obstinate battle, as he would listen to no terms,
was struck with an arrow in his camp, which
occasioned his death; but whether by a fugi-
tive Persian or one of his own soldiers, has
been greatly doubted.

Though Jovianus had tendered the resigna-
tion of his military character, when required
to sacrifice, being a tribune, he was in this
war retained as one of his captains. The sol-
diers chose him emperor, which he refused,
as being a Christian, who could not admit heathens for subjects; on this the whole army declared themselves Christians, and he accepted the government. He made peace with Persia, his army being in great necessity. The return of the emperor caused the return of sedition in the churches. The bishops of different opinions contended with one another for gaining the emperor to their own party; when he publicly declared against the Arians, and restored Athanasius once more to Alexandria. The bishops exiled by Constantius, and omitted in Julian’s recall, were now restored. The Pagan temples, and their idol-groves, were all shut up. But the contending factions of the Christians were renewed; when the emperor cooled their zeal with this reply to the Macedonians, “I tell you I cannot admit any contention, for such as embrace unity and concord, I do both honour and reverence.” And both they and the Acacians, in a council at Antioch, confirmed the Nicene Creed with their subscriptions, when they found that the emperor would countenance no other. But this promising happiness was of short duration; for in about seven months he died of an obstruction in the lungs at Dadastana, between Galatia and Bithynia. In eight days after, Valentinianus, of Cibele in Pannonian, was proclaimed emperor, and he repaired immediately to Constantinople, making his brother Valens his co-adjutor or fellow-emperor. They were both Christians; but Valentinianus adhered to the Nicene faith, and Valens to the Arian, as having been baptized by Eudoxius, the Arian bishop of Constantinople. Valentinian did not molest the Arians, but Valens grievously persecuted the Nicene professors. Liberius was bishop of Rome, and Athanasius of Alexandria; but at the latter place still continued the Arian bishop Lucius. Euzoius was bishop of Antioch, and an Arian; but Paulinus governed the true Nicene advocates, and Meletius those who maintained his tenets. Cyrilus then was bishop of Jerusalem. At Constantinople the defenders of one substance assembled in a little chapel in the city; but the Macedonians, who differed from the Acacians at Seleucia, were openly countenanced. Not contented with this, they prevailed on Valens, who remained at Constantinople, whilst important affairs took away Valentinian to the west, to summon a council; for he was ignorant of their variance from Acacius and Eudoxius. The council assembled at Lampsacus, on the Hellespont; but the emperor greatly persecuted those who defended the Nicene clause; and, amongst others, he banished Meletius, though he spared Paulinus for his singular gifts and virtues. The other churches of Antioch, which refused to communicate with Euzoius, he harassed grievously with penalties and punishments; and many, it was reported, were drowned in the river Orontes, which runs by the city.

When Procopius the tyrant rebelled, it gave respite to the persecution. At Lampsacus, seven years after the council of Seleucia, they confirmed the creed of Ariminum, and gave sentence that Acacius and Eudoxius should be removed. Eleusius, bishop of Cyzicum, with others, for a time maintained the Macedonian heresy; but, on the return of Valens from the expedition against Procopois, whom he vanquished and executed, his exertions to support Arianism, or rather perhaps Eudoxius, were more determined than ever. A council of Arian bishops was summoned to Nicomedia, and Eleusius was compelled to subscribe to their faith, to escape banishment and confiscation, as he afterwards declared at Cyzicum; and the inhabitants still adhered to him, though Eunomius was chosen his successor by the bishop of Constantinople, and the emperor commanded the removal of Eleusius. His followers then built a church without the city for assembling.

It must be observed, that Eunomius was a scribe of Aetius, the heretic already mentioned, and skilled in his sophistical subtleties; and when the citizens of Cyzicum could not bear his insolent mode of preaching, they banished him, and he lived a private life at Constanti-

The next year was remarkable for a wonderful
hail-storm, with stones of vast magnitude, and generally regarded as a warning from heaven against the emperor’s having banished so many priests and bishops, for refusing to communicate with Eudoxius. In the following year were grievous and alarming earthquakes in Bithynia, where the city of Nice was over-turned, twelve years after that of Nicomedia, and at Germa on the Hellespont. Yet Eudoxius and the emperor Valens in no respect relaxed in their furious rage against the Nicene supporters; but though many bishops were banished, and priests deprived, Basilius bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, and Gregorius bishop of a small city near it, being men of great piety, escaped.

Vexations were multiplied against the supporters of this obnoxious clause, in which the Macedonians were strictly comprehended. They proposed to escape, from necessity, to Valentinian and Liberius bishop of Rome, and rather to their faith, than be compelled to communicate with Eudoxius. They deputed from Seleucia, Eustathius bishop of Sebastian (who had often been deposed,) and Silvanus of Tarsus, and Theophilus of Castabula, bishops of Cæsarea, to agree to the will of Liberius on the clause of one substance; but Liberius rejected their letters as being Arians, when they affected repentance, and by word and writing denounced their former tenets. Various letters passed on this occasion; but the answer of Liberius required them to convene a council at Tarsus in Cilicia, wherein they ratified their assent to the Nicene council; which Eudoxius, being in favour with the emperor, resisted. Yet Sabinus, in his collection of the council, states that the Macedonians, by their legates, ratified the Nicene creed.

The Arians were not at unity among themselves. Eunomius separated from Eudoxius, because he persisted in admitting Etius into the church, because the faction disliked Etius. At Alexandria was greater disturbance. Eudoxius produced a writ to the governor there, by means of which the church was greatly molested; and Athanasius, to prevent any hasty rash conduct of the people, again secreted himself for four months; but the clamour of the people, on losing him, greatly incensed the emperor, though he allowed by his letters, that Athanasius, as they wished, should quietly enjoy the bishoprick, by which means he quietly retained it until his decease. But Eudoxius speedily died, which detained the emperor at Nicomedia, in his way from Constantinople to Antioch. Demophilus was placed by the Arians in his room; but the favourers of the contested Nicene clause chose Evagrius, who had been consecrated bishop by Eustathius, some time bishop of Antioch. He had been recalled by Jovianus, and at that time, though secretly, was in Constantinople. The Arians at this time furiously persecuted the faithful Christians, so that the emperor, to preserve the peace, sent a large military force thither from Nicomedia, commanding that the consecrator and the consecrated bishop should both be banished, but into separate countries. Bizya in Thracia was the appointed place of exile for Eustathius. The Arians, thus encouraged, grew insolent. They scourged, reviled, imprisoned, fined, and imposed the most intolerable burdens. The emperor withheld all relief from their oppressions; but assembled until measures had been taken for their certain apprehension, and premeditated destruction. The menaces of exile were disregarded; yet were they conveyed on ship-board, and orders given, when in the main ocean, to set fire to the ship, the mariners being first secured in a cock-boat. But a strong eastern breeze drove the ship to the haven of Dacidizens, though, together with these godly men, it was there ultimately consumed. The famine in Phrygia, soon after, was by many considered as a divine punishment for so inhuman an outrage, though it did not in the least abate the furious rage of the emperor’s malice.

Turn we next to Edessa, a city of Mesopotamia, to notice the emperor’s conduct there towards the faithful followers of the Nicene canons and creed. The temple of St. Thomas the Apostle there was a sumptuous building, frequented by great numbers. The lieutenant, unwilling to perpetrate the mischiefs comprehended in his orders, to destroy all such conventicles, and murder so many godly citizens, was struck by the emperor for his neglect and disobedience; notwithstanding which, information was secretly given to absent themselves from it, though not one of them would listen to the advice; but flocked to it the next day in greater numbers. To satisfy the emperor’s violence, the lieutenant proceeded to it with a large military force. A woman with
with a child broke through the ranks; when the lieutenant, seeing her eagerness, asked whither she was so rashly running, and she answered him, that she was hastening to the same place as the others, that she might be a martyr with the rest, because all who were found there were to be executed by the lieutenant. He thereupon paused, and returned to the emperor, saying that they were hasting in crowds to the slaughter, and stating, by every means of persuasion, the rashness of destroying so many persons at once, until he was appeased, and the order revoked.

Laying aside the execution of those whose names began with the letters Theon, which, it was pretended by a certain necromancer, should begin the name of the successor of Valens, occasioning the execution of Theodorus, Theodotus, Theodosius, Theodulus, and a young nobleman of Spain, Theodosiolus, with others; we need only say, that many were obliged to change their names, to avoid being involved in the massacre from this innocent cause. But we have now to notice the death of Athanasius at Alexandria, after being forty-six years bishop, and often in extreme peril of life. Peter, a godly man, was chosen his successor; but Euzoicus, then at Antioch, on the emperor's being informed of it, repaired thither in all haste to confirm Lucius the Arian in the bishoprick, with the emperor's approbation and authority, accompanied by Magnus the treasurer. The governor was required to aid and assist, so that Peter was imprisoned, the rest of the clergy banished, and Lucius forcibly installed. The acts of Lucius, though suppressed by Sabinus, must not be overlooked; such as the imprisonment of some, the tormenting of others, and exile of others. Peter, having got out of prison, escaped to Damascus bishop of Rome; and the Arians, though fewest in number, held all the churches in Alexandria. Not content with this, the religious houses of the faithful in the desert were spoiled and overthrown, and many of the people miserably massacred by the soldiers.

CHAP. XIII.

Continuation of the persecutions of Valens. History of John Chrysostom, bishop of Constantinople.

This virulent emperor was not satisfied without establishing by law, throughout Egypt and Alexandria, that persecution should be practised against all who defended the doctrine of One substance. Hence some were imprisoned, and other quiet and peaceable subjects grievously tormented, through the fury of Lucius. The monasteries and retired places of Egypt, used for devotion, could not be free from the violence of the governor and this Arian bishop. They were not only driven from their solitary habitations, but insulted by the multitude, excited thereto by these persecutors. Many of them were scourged, stripped of their raiment, fettered and imprisoned, crushed with stones, beheaded with swords, and in various ways tormented, and distressed by adversity and want. Tired out by these savage pursuits, Lucius gave orders to the governor to send into exile their ringleaders only, as they termed them. Macarius the Egyptian, and Macarius the Alexandrian, to an island where there was not a single Christian. By means of their endeavours, and a miracle said to have been performed upon the idolatrous priest's daughter, the whole inhabitants became acquainted with the gospel.

In other parts we find that the busy emperor was not idle. Basilius bishop of Cæsarea in Capadocia had successfully contended against the Arians, and Valens ordered him to be brought to Antioch, to give an account for what reason he opposed the emperor's religion; when he informed the president what his opinion was of it, but commended highly the faith of one substance. On this he was threatened with instant death; but Basil rejoiced at such an idea, of suffering for his master's cause, and, after other observations, he was imprisoned. At this time the emperor's son, was in the last stage of sickness, and despaired of by the physicians; and in that night the empress was harassed with frightful dreams of devils and spirits tormenting her son, on account of the treatment of Basil, for whom, on the emperor's being informed, after musing a time, he dispatched a messenger. When he came, the emperor thus addressed him, "If thy faith and opinion be true, pray that my son die not of this disease." Unto this Basil answered, "If thou wilt promise me to believe as I do, and if thou wilt bring the church into unity and concord, thy child, no doubt, shall live." To this he would not consent; and then Basil said, "Let God deal with the child..."
as pleaseth him.” The child died, and Basil was liberated. Yet he did not cease to persecute those who differed from him in religious opinions, though, after an oration of Themistius the philosopher, stating that there were more than three hundred opinions among the heathens, and that it was no marvel if Christians in some things differed one from another, his rancour was somewhat abated, yet he still continued to punish the clergy with banishment. On account of the successful assistance rendered by Valens to a party of Goths, then divided and in warfare against the other, they gratefully embraced the Christian faith, as it was supported and maintained by the emperor, and afterwards persevered in the Arian opinion. But many of the Arian sect of Christians were martyred by the leader of the other party, as corrupters of his laws. Again, the Huns, who had been admitted peaceably into Thrace, with a view of checking the Goths, when reconciled to each other, ungratefully revolting against the Romans, occasioned Valens to cease from exiling the true Christians, and turn his attention to the rebels; from which time, going to Constantinople from Antioch, the persecution ended.

The Saracens, heretofore friendly with the Romans, about this time began to rebel. Their queen proposed a reconciliation, on condition of her receiving Moses, a monk, but a Saracen by birth, for her bishop. Being agreed to, he was brought to Alexandria, but refused to be ordained by Lucius, the Arian bishop of that city, saying, “Thou shalt never lay hand upon my head; for thy right hand is imbued with slaughter and bloodshed.” At this Lucius gently chided him for his unbecoming and indecorous language; but Moses replied, “I am not now come to reason of matters of religion, but sure I am of this, that thy horrible practices against the brethren prove thee to be altogether void of the true principles of Christian religion. For the true Christian striketh no man, revileth no man, fighteth with no man; for the servant of God should be no fighter. But thy deeds, in exiling some, throwing others to wild beasts, burning others, do cry out against thee.” Being afterwards brought by his friends to a certain mountain, he was there made priest by those who were exiled. As this reconciled the Romans, so about the same time Peter returned from Damascus, bishop of Rome, to Alexandria, with letters to confirm both the religion of Moses and the creation of Peter; and Lucius, being deposed from the bishopric, went to Constantinople. But Peter, who succeeded him, soon after died, and was succeeded by his brother Timothy in the see of Alexandria.

By the death of Valens, the church was delivered from persecution. The bishops in exile were recalled; and all Christians were permitted to profess their own opinions, excepting the Eunomians, Thetineans, and Manichees. Gratianus admitted Theodosius, a nobleman of Spain, to be joint emperor in the east, with the younger Valentinian in the west, who had succeeded his father. Upon account of a dangerous sickness, Theodosius was baptized into the Nicene faith by Ascholius bishop of Thessalonica, being entirely addicted to the faith of One Substance. At this time the Arian bishops retired from Constantinople with their followers, and Lucius, late of Alexandria, with them. A council was summoned to meet at Constantinople, to establish the Nicene faith, and the Macedonians, to the number of thirty-six, were present at it, desirous to recall them from that schism, they had again incurred in separating from the faithful, after the toleration allowed by Gratian. But now they firmly denied what before they had acknowledged, and threatened to join with the Arians rather than submit to subscribe the clause so much contested; and thereupon they retired from the city, and sent their protest into every city. Eudoxius bishop of Constantinople being dead, and Demophilus an Arian chosen his successor, he was dismissed, and the council of one hundred and fifty Nicene bishops, appointed Nectarius, the Nicene bishop, after Gregory Nazianzen had declined it. Many regulations for the good government of the church were then adopted; being divided into patriarchates and provinces, and every bishop appointed to confine himself to the affairs of his own diocese. Soon after Theodosius caused the heads of all sects to assemble in a synod, wherein each of them was required to state his form of faith, which he carefully investigated, begging God’s assistance in his determination, and ultimately confirmed the Nicene faith.

Whilst matters were thus happily settled in the East, the partiality of Justina, mother of
the young Valentinian, for the Arians, which she had assembled during her husband’s life, was manifested in attempting the exile of Ambrose bishop of Milan: but on the death of Gratian, from fear of Maximus, whom Valentinian had been obliged to receive as fellow-emperor, she was obliged to desist.

The rancour of the Arians at Constantinople was not so easily subdued. Theodosius, afraid lest Maximus should destroy the young Valentinian, advanced against him, with a design of adjusting all matters of dispute; and the Arians, availing themselves of his absence, propagated every species of falsehood relative to the war which malice and invention could supply, and at last proceeded to burn the palace of Nectarius, bishop of Constantinople. But the war terminated in a way little according to their wishes. Maximus was betrayed by his own men, without any battle, and delivered up to Theodosius to be executed, and the actual murderer of Gratian himself. At Alexandria the pagan temples and idols were destroyed by the emperor’s order; yet not without considerable effusion of blood, and much slaughter from the opposition of the heathens, in which many Christians fell victims to their turbulent ravings and violence, though they afterwards escaped to avoid the emperor’s resentment.

It has been stated that Theodosius allowed liberty of opinion to different sects of Christians, a few excepted; hence it came to pass, after his return to Constantinople from Rome, where he had effected some necessary alterations in the discipline of the church, especially in the mode of shriving and receiving penitents after lapse, and some other civil regulations, the Arians, Novatians, Macedonians, and Eunomians, quarreled among themselves even of the same sect, to indulge their former restless practices. The time of keeping Easter, duration of Lent fasts, and various other matters, in which there was little uniformity, served them as subjects of contention, and causes of separation from each other. But this ambitious wrangling disposition was principally manifest amongst the opposers of the Nicene clause of one substance, and occasioned many, their pride and love of turbulence being so manifestly predominant, to secede from them, especially Arians, and to join with the faithful. Soon after this, by means of a traitor of the name of Eugenius, the western emperor, Valentinian the younger, was smothered to death in his bed; and Theodosius, feeling it a duty to chastise such regicide, marched against him with a large army. In a furious battle, the issue of which was long doubtful, the emperor had recourse to prayer, after which the fortune of the day soon turned in his favour, and the usurper and regicide Eugenius was compelled to humble himself before Theodosius, and to crave for mercy; but such was the rage of the soldiers that they instantly struck off his head, and the perpetrator of the murder, unable to escape, in two days after fell upon his sword. So much fatigue, however, brought the emperor into a sick and languid condition. He sent for his younger son Honorius, whom he had created emperor before this expedition, to succeed Valentinian in the western empire, as Arcadius, before made emperor, was to have the eastern succession; and died soon after his son’s arrival, and having communicated his pleasure respecting the empire.

On the death of Nectarius, bishop of Constantinople, John Chrysostom, a priest of Antioch, succeeded, with the general approbation of the emperor Arcadius and his court and people, though not without a strong opposition from the endeavours of Theophilius, bishop of Alexandria, in behalf of Isidore, a priest of his own church. But the bishop was in the end glad to relinquish his pursuit, from causes foreign to our history to relate. John was a native of Antioch, in Coelosyria, and well descended; a disciple of Libanius, and a student in law, in which he was well skilled. Disliking it as an unrighteous trade, he applied himself to other studies, and finally to that of the scriptures. We cannot recite particulars of his biography intervening before this appointment; in which he was somewhat too rigid and austere, from his previous habits of life, so that his clergy were much disgusted, and, in particular, Serapion, a deacon of his church, personally affronted him. He was, from the strictness of discipline, and expelling many out of the church, greatly calumniated, and rendered odious; neither were his notable sermons, pretence of sickness, or his former abstemious life, any or all of them, sufficient to counteract the poison. Neither did he spare the magistrates, which occasioned much displeasure; neither was Theophilius, bishop of
Alexandria, wanting, on account of his vexatious disappointment, in the propagation of calumnies. Theophilus also raised a schism in Egypt, and condemned the books of Origen to satisfy the malcontents of Egypt, who were determined to make him recant what he had preached respecting God's having no corporeal body; though he afterwards found means, by dissimulation and hypocrisy, to heap upon them, in the common estimation, the utmost detestation, so as ultimately to drive his opponents by force from their churches in the deserts, having but just time to save their lives.

Still did the Arians hold their conventicles in the suburbs of Constantinople. Their long prayers and songs or anthems, sung interchangeably, on Saturday and Sunday night, in which they ridiculed the doctrine of one substance, occasioned John, the bishop, to frame a longer service for the faithful, to prevent their being decoyed away; but this excited the malice of the Arians, as a mode of defeat at their own weapons, and they determined to create an uproar. Briso, an eunuch of the emperor, being amongst the faithful, was struck with a stone on the forehead, and many common people on both sides were slain; on which the emperor charged the Arians to sing no more hymns.

The monks of the Egyptian deserts, persecuted by Theophilus, repaired to Chrysostom at Constantinople. Isidore, already mentioned, had become odious to Theophilus for speaking the truth respecting him, so that he also fled, and arrived there about the same time. John entertained them all, and admitted them to public prayers, but not to communion, until their case should be investigated. Yet Theophilus heard, or pretended he had heard, of his having received them to communions contrary to the canons of the church; and he therefore applied himself to criminate them all, writing circular letters to that purpose to all the bishops. He had differed in opinion from Epiphanius, bishop of Constantia, in Cyprus, about God's corporeal nature, but now coincided with him; and by this means he procured a council to be summoned in Cyprus, purposely to condemn the works of Origen, and prohibit their being read. This determined, they write to Chrysostom, advising him to abstain from perusing the same, and requesting him also to summon a council for the same purpose. He summoned a synod with the like design in his own province; but John disregarded their proceedings, until it became notorious that Theophilus intended nothing short of driving him from his bishoprick. Many of the clergy, also, and magistrates, availed themselves of this knowledge to revenge themselves of John, and by letters and messengers to convokc a council against him in his own city. The absence of John at Ephesus, to appoint a successor there to the deceased bishop, for a considerable time, on account of the contending parties, but at last, having satisfied them by an appointment of his own, he returned to Constantinople. He was informed by Serapion, already mentioned, that Severianus, bishop of Gabale in Syria, whom John had treated with the most liberal attention, had taken that opportunity to divide the churches about keeping Easter, and other matters, treating him also with scorn and contempt. On this Severianus was provoked to say, "If Serapion dieth a Christian, then was Christ never incarnate;" which the other villainously made the subject of accusation to Chrysostom, by leaving out the first part of the sentence, and affirming the latter as the assertion of the person accused. Severianus was instantly expelled from the city, with which hasty proceeding Eudoxia, the empress, was greatly offended, and caused him to be sent for from Chalcedon, in Bithynia; notwithstanding which, John would not be reconciled to him, until Eudoxia, the emperor's mother, placed her son, though young, but a successful governor, at the bishop's feet, and solemnly obtained a promise to grant her a request, and that was to receive Severianus again into friendship. But this apparent reconciliation was far from cordial.

To gratify the humour of Theophilus, of Alexandria, Epiphanius came from Cyprus to Constantinople with the decree about Origen's books, and procured some bishops then in the city to subscribe them, whilst others refused. He did some episcopal acts in that city without John's concurrence or knowledge, and also refused his courtesy to take up an abode in the palace, in a manner very ungracious. Theotenus, bishop of Scythia, in particular, sharply reproved Epiphanius for his proceedings in such a business. Origen had not been free from enemies before this time: as Me-
thodius, bishop of Olympus, in Lycia; Eustathius, some time bishop of Antioch; Apollinaris, and at present Theodosius; but Athanasius, in confutation of the Arians, gives a noble testimony of him. Epiphanius, in addition to his rejection of John's courtesy, demanded his subscription to their decrees, and the banishment of Dioscorus, the monk, and his brethren, who had escaped thither from Egypt; to which John paused, and that he ought not rashly, and without mature consideration of all circumstances, to determine anything. The enemies of John, not content with this, placed Epiphanius in the church of the Apostles, in the midst, at the communion, openly to condemn Origen's works, to excommunicate Dioscorus and his brethren, and to rebuke John for supporting him, in defiance of the canons, which he next day stated in a message to him by Serapion; when, from fear of the consequences of such a contempt, he took ship immediately for Cyprus, but died on the passage.

Information of Eudoxia's having supported Epiphanius reached John, which he much resented, and, in a sermon, violently exclaimed against women. It was carried to the empress and emperor; and the former, in revenge, instigated Theophilus to summon a council against him, to depose him, which followed at Chalcedon in Bithynia, and was attended by numbers who owed him displeasure, and those whom he had deposed on his journey to Ephesus. He was condemned and exiled, which produced violent commotions in the city; and, to pacify the populace, the emperor was glad hastily to recall him, but refused to enter the city till his innocence was proclaimed; though at last, to satisfy the people, he consented, and they likewise forced him to resume his functions and his accustomed preaching. Yet this was no welcome proceeding to Theophilus, who now began to accuse him of irregularity in consecrating Heraclides, whom they censured and attempted to judge in his absence, against which John protested, though the Alexandrians were urgent on the subject. Confusion and bloodshed was the consequence; when Theophilus, and the bishops of his party, hasted away, lest they should be called to account for the murders and injuries which had been committed; and he, in particular, fell into general contempt and hatred. Yet, on account of a picture of Eudoxia, but a small distance from the church called Wisdom, erected on a red marble pillar, both the emperor and empress, from his bitter invectives against it, became his enemies, and ceased not until they had effected his being deposed in another council. Many bishops and others retired with him, and communicated together for two months, in all which time John was never seen abroad; but, on his being ordered by the emperor into exile, some of his adherents, on the day of his departure, set fire to the church, and, from the eastern breeze blowing the flame into the senator's court, the whole was consumed to ashes.

Whether we may attribute to the judgment of heaven the miserable case of Cyrius, bishop of Chalcedon, for his saucy insolence to John, I will not determine. Many persons at that time considered it so to be. At the council of Chalcedon, purposely convened to depose Chrysostom, Maruthus, bishop of Mesopotamia, accidentally trod upon the foot of Cyrius, and bruised it so much, that the injury prevented him from attending the other bishops to Constantinople. He had called John a wicked man, and an arrogant and sullen bishop. The bruise turned to a gangrene, and successive amputations followed without stopping it; after which it fell into the other foot in like manner, until he had lost both. The wonderful hail which fell in the suburbs of Constantinople was also then attributed as a judgment on the same account; and the death of the empress, which followed within four days after the hail, gave farther countenance, in the opinion of those times, to the rumour. Every reader will judge of these things according to his own opinion; it is our business to relate them as authentic historians have transmitted them. We have only to add, that John Chrysostom, some time after, died in exile; and, not long after, followed, in the same common fate, the emperor Arcadius.

CHAP. XIV.

The state of the Christian Church to the Death of Gregory, Archbishop of Antioch.

The bishop of Synada, in Phrygia Pacatiana, named Theodosius, grievously persecu-
ted heretics, many of the Macedonians therein residing; more from avarice than a love of truth. In his absence from his see, to procure an enlarged commission from the young emperor at Constantinople to punish and harass them. Agapetus, with all his clergy and laity, embraced the Nicene faith, and possessed themselves of his church there, from which, on his return with his useless powers, he found himself excluded. On a second application to Atticus, bishop of Constantinople, he was recommended to live a quiet private life, and disregard for the future all private gain and lucre; and recommended that Agapetus should enjoy the bishopric, as most beneficial to the church.

Some time after we have the account of a conspiracy of the Jews in Syria, between Chalcis and Antioch; where they seized a child belonging to the Christians, and nailed it to a tree, in derision, and then, like madmen, scourged it to death. For this cruel act, the emperors directed that the lieutenant and magistrates should discover the authors of it, and punish them severely for their wantonness and cruelty. In Persia, however, under the reign of Baratanes, the Christians, though they had been encouraged in his father's reign, after detecting the artifices of the magicians, were grievously vexed and tormented, and compelled to escape for refuge unto the Romans. But this the Romans simply revenged. When Nestorius, the successor of Sisinius, and before him Atticus, came to the see of Constantinople, he commenced his government by a determination to overthrow the church of the Arians; when those people, to revenge themselves on their enemies, began with setting fire to their own church, and then retaliating on their oppressors. Even his own followers called him a fire-brand. The Novatians were disturbed merely on account of the good character of their bishop; and throughout Asia, Lydia, and Caria, he greatly vexed those who differed from him on the time of celebrating Easter. In Miletum and Sardis, too, was raised a great sedition. The Macedonians, also, were seriously troubled by Antonius, bishop of Germa, near the Hellespont, for which he vouched the authority of Nestorius; but so heavy were their oppressions, that they procured the death of Antonius, and Nestorius instigated the emperor to deprive them of their churches, which occasioned many of them to embrace the Nicene opinions, and to unite themselves with persons of the true faith.

In defending the declaration of Anastasius, a priest, who was his constant counsellor, that "none ought to call Mary the mother of God, because that she was but a woman, and that God could not be born of a woman," great confusion arose in the church, and he was suspected of attempting to revive the heresy of Paulus Samosatenus and Photinus. It occasioned a council to be summoned. Socrates, on a perusal of his writings, acquires him of this, but considers him as ignorant and unlearned. He had a voluble tongue, was deficient in firmness and solidity, and had never read the ancient fathers, who plainly shewed in what sense Mary was the mother of God. Afterwards a council assembled at Ephesus, though it was some weeks in collecting, and some were so tardy that the rest proceeded to business without them. Cyril, bishop of Alexandria, began with inveighing against Nestorius, when he denied that he would call him God, and immediately associated with the bishops of that opinion. The other side called him to account for this, but he refused to answer until John, bishop of Antioch was arrived. But they proceeded, on examining his sermons, to depose him; and his partizans, on the other hand, assembled to denounce Cyril, and Memnon, bishop of Antioch. When John, bishop of Antioch, arrived, he greatly blamed Cyril, as the cause of the disturbance, and his hasty determination against Nestorius; but, without farther ceremony, uniting Juvenalis to himself, he revenged himself of John, by deposing him also. Nestorius was alarmed at the violence of the discussion, and wished to palliate the difference, but was disregarded. Cyril, in his turn, was deposed by John, bishop of Antioch, in a council by him summoned, after returning to his see. They were soon afterwards reconciled, and to their respective sees mutually restored.

On the deposition of Nestorius, Maximianus was elected bishop of Constantinople, at the expiration of three months, after much division; but the canon which militated against the election of Proclus, bishop of
Cyzicum, as Socrates observes, was contrary to custom, and liable to be called in question, and he produces numerous instances of such translations. A repetition of this business was prevented in less than two years and a half afterwards, on the death of Maximianus, by the emperor's appointing Proclus to succeed; who soon caused the remains of Chrysostom to be removed from Comanum to Constantinople, thirty-five years after he had been deposed, by which his partizans were reconciled to the church. Pau-
lus, the Novatian bishop, died soon after; but how he appointed his successor we have not room to relate. And here we have to close the accounts to be collected from Socrates Scholasticus.

Having noticed already how Nestorius was detected of heresy in supporting Anastasius, and his sentence to exile, we afterwards learn that a place called Oasis was appointed for his banishment. He wrote letters to the governor of Thebais, stating his reasons for quitting Oasis, and requesting leave to reside at Panopolis; but in a second letter he says, he had been removed to Elephantina, an island in the extremity of the country, and back again to Panopolis, and lastly complains of a fourth remove to an adjacent country. All that we know farther is, that, before his death, his tongue was destroyed by worms, and that he made a most miserable exit. After Proclus succeeded to the see of Constantinople; his next successor was Flavianus, in whose time the Eutychian heresy was broached, and by a council at Constanti

nople condemned; but, by a subsequent council of particular bishops at Ephesus, afterwards restored, and other bishops excommunicated and deposed. The little credit which generally ought to be given to heretics, may be commonly discovered by comparing their assertions and glosses in their own favour, with strict and known matters of fact; for whilst Nestorius boasts of the singular good which the emperor Theodosius bore to him, with a view to censure the bishops, the emperor issued the most severe denunciations against his supporters, “We decree moreover, that whosoever do embrace the wicked opinion of Nestorius, and give ear unto his lewd doctrine, if they be bishops, that they be banished the holy churches; if lay persons, that they be accursed.

The practice of holding councils upon every little occasion, and the coolness and pretended indifference manifested by bishops who had power to depose and banish their opponents, must surely be condemned as, in many respects, wanton and tyrannical. In noticing, also, how readily those sentences were reversed by their friends on subsequent occasions, we cannot but be more indifferent to their decisions. We shall therefore pass over many of these, and confine ourselves, after these specimens of restlessness and turbulence, with regarding matters more strictly applicable to the title of our history; because, however they may be entitled to the charge of persecution, they cannot be deemed acts of martyrdom. But Alexandria, as on former occasions, was involved in disorder, after the council of Chalcedon had deposed Dioscorus, their bishop, by opposite factions, in choosing a successor; where the soldiers were most furiously butchered in the temple, and the people as savagely murdered afterwards by military, who had been sent thither to settle the tumult, their wives ravished, and their virgins deflowered. After the death of the emperor Martianus, also, the restless temper of the Arian Alexandrians led them to choose Timothy £Elurus for their bishop, through Proterius was yet living; though he did not long survive these proceedings, for the tumults occasioned by it, from their violent disposition, required military aid to quell them, this Timothy instigated a soldier, or some of the citizens, to run him through the body. By means of a rope, they dragged him to the four porches, for a public spectacle, and triumphantly proclaimed his murder; and not content with that, they drew his body through the city, like savages fed on his very bowels, and burned him to ashes.

This election, with its cruel consequences, was reprobated by the emperor Leo, and by the bishops to whom he wrote on the occasion. But Timothy insolently condemned both his letter and the council of Chalcedon; and the event was, that he was banished to Gangrena, and another Timotheus, surnamed Basilicus, or Salofoaciolus, was chosen as successor of Proterius. The banished Timothy, after eighteen years, was recalled, and at
Constantinople persuaded Basilicus, who had driven the emperor Zeno from the government, to send letters to all priests, therein declaring the acts of the council at Chalcedon, and the decree of Leo accursed. They were signed by fifty bishops; and thereupon Timothy recovered the see of Alexandria. But Basilicus, at the instigation of the bishops and monks, who had roused the people of the city to resist these measures, was soon after obliged to recall his letters, and, after two years, was dispossessed of the empire, and executed, with his family, at Cappadocia. The fifty Arian bishops then signed their recantation, and declared they had been compelled to subscribe the letters; and the usurping bishops were driven from their sees, excepting Timothy Ælurus, on account of his old age, who soon after died, and the other Timothy who had retired from a popular insurrection, was recalled.

On the subject of condemning and defending the council of Chalcedon, there was much contention, as well as on the charges of communion with heretics. In the latter, means were found to involve Acacius, bishop of Constantinople; though it only shewed the turbulence and restlessness of the malcontent bishops, and came to nothing, and Acacius in a short time died. In the reign of Anastasius, who succeeded Zeno, every means was used for the restoration of unity; though not without some bitter contentions among themselves. But that was not the fault of the emperor; and their dissensions about communicating, were productive of a determination of depositing the authors of novelties, and the introducers of new customs in any place, whether for or against the council of Chalcedon. A tax upon licences for brothels and other means of iniquity, to the great disgrace of Christians, was wholly superseded in his time; and he politicly devised means of obtaining all the records and papers, from every part of the empire, relative to the collection of the abominable tribute, of which he destroyed every trace by burning the whole, and afterwards destroying the very ashes by drowning them with water, and washing them away with the stream. In his time a clause was added to the Trisagion hymn, "Who was crucified for our sakes," which occasioned the most violent insurrection, to the great danger of the lives of the nobility, and burning many buildings; and they struck off the head of a simple monk, and afterwards hoisted him up on a pole with much derision, considering him as the occasion of it. The emperor caused it to be proclaimed that he would no longer hold the government, and that a successor should be appointed; but, on their promising to be peaceable, resumed it until his death, which not long after happened.

As Severus, bishop of Antioch, persisted in accusing the council of Chalcedon, in his letters to the bishops, very few accepted them, we are informed that Justin the emperor ordered his tongue to be pulled from his mouth; whereupon he abdicated his bishopric. Afterwards, in the time of Justinian, who was zealous for the council of Chalcedon, whilst his wife supported those of a contrary opinion, the bishops of Constantinople and Alexandria maintained a doctrine different from the emperor's, to which they had been corrupted by Severus. But the emperor, in deposing them, made no hesitation; and he commanded, by public edicts, that the doctrines of the Nicene and other similar councils, should alone be preached, under heavy penalties for transgression. But Honorichus, who succeeded Genserich in the kingdom of Vandals, violently persecuted the faithful of Libya, compelling many to embrace the Arian heresy, and others who refused to comply were burned to ashes, or executed by other horrible deaths. Some had their tongues cut out; and yet we are assured that they were enabled to speak after their escape to Constantinople. The Vandals, in their expeditions, made it their first business every where to spoil the temples of the Christians, filling them with horses and other beasts, leaving no abomination unpractised, and wallowing in sensuality and intemperance. The priests were imprisoned, their sides scourged, their backs rent with whips, and many of them degraded by the lowest offices of servitude. But this barbarity was amply compensated afterwards, at no very distant period, by the Roman captain Belisarius, the Vandals utterly foiled, the Arian opinion root-ed out of Libya, and the Christians restored to their temples. Many of the spoils of Rome, which had been brought thence by the Vandals on their possessing that city, were taken and brought to Constantinople, and Justinian
sent back to Rome the monuments which had before been appropriated to the service of religion, to be used as before.

Various opinions were, from time to time, asserted and maintained, and many dormant and condemned doctrines revived, by the bishops of different parts of the empire; so that after the middle of the sixth century, a fifth council was held at Constantinople, to discuss the several tenets which they severally espoused. The general decision was expressed in these words, “We condemn and accuse not only all other heretics heretofore condemned by the four holy councils,” by which were meant, the council of Nice, the council at Constantinople, the first held at Ephesus, and the council of Chalcedon, and by the holy catholic church, but also Theodoritus, bishop of Mopsostis, with his wicked books, together with the ungodly works of Theodorus, impugning partly the true faith, with the twelve points of most holy Cyril concerning the faith, and partly also the holy council of Ephesus, and what other things ever the same Theodorus hath published in defence of Theodorus and Nestorius. Moreover, we condemn the wicked epistle which Ibas wrote unto Maris the Persian.” Yet after this did Justinian imibe a strange opinion about the nature of Christ, and attempted to bring Anastasius, archbishop of Antioch, to his opinion, as having no doubt of securing others if he could once prevail with a man of such profound knowledge of scripture to adopt his sentiments; but it was a vain and fruitless attempt, for which the emperor threatened to banish him. He thereupon wrote a very pressing exhortation to the people of Antioch, to confirm their minds in the faith; abounding with fine and flowing sentences, an infinite number of testimonies from scripture, and with such pertinent illustrations from history, as justly to command admiration. But the sickness and death of Justinian, in a short time afterwards, put an end to the proposed edict for banishing Anastasius and his clergy.

He was succeeded by Justin, his sister’s son, whose first act, after his accession to the empire deserves to be remembered; for he gave directions, that all the bishops and priests at Constantinople, from different countries, should depart to their respective homes, to serve God in holiness, and not to practise any novelty in religion. Though he wallowed in sensuality and pleasure, he issued forth an edict containing a full account of the Christian faith, which was addressed to Christians everywhere; in which most persons agreed, though it had the effect of reconciling those who differed from the rest on the Nicene clause, at which the Arians and other heretics had taken so much offence. Yet Justin, who had been censured by Anastasius bishop of Antioch, for his prodigality, soon after deposed and banished him. At this time the Christians of Persian-Armenia, were grievously afflicted by them on account of their religion; on which they submitted themselves to the Romans for the sake of protection. This occasioned a war between the two countries, in which the Romans suffered greatly; and Justin was so much overpowered by his want of success, that he fell into frenzy and madness; neither was Tiberius, his general, more successful, and it soon became necessary to put an end to the contest, by an amicable adjustment of all differences. It was settled for three years; and Justin, in an interval of calmness, clothed Tiberius with the imperial robe, and accompanied it with a confession of his own misconduct, and being misled by the magistrates, cautioning Tiberius against listening to their advice. Tiberius, having greatly reformed the empire, especially in relieving his oppressed subjects, successfully marched against the Persians, and drove their king out of the Roman dominions, who soon after died from vexation; but not before he had made a law that no king of Persia should ever after take up armour against the Romans.

About this time, when Gregory was bishop of Antioch, it was suspected that he was too intimate with Anatolius, who had craftily attained to the office of a magistrate in the commonwealth; a man who was detected of idolatry, and charged with divers other enormities. Yet would he have escaped, but for the insurrection of the people. Anatolius and his partizans were summoned by the emperor to Constantinople, when he acquitted the bishop, but was himself and his abettors condemned to perpetual banishment. This mild sentence only served to irritate the people, who seized them immediately in a fishing-boat, and caused them to be burned alive. Anatolius was
first thrown unto the ravenous beasts in the theatre, to be torn in pieces, and then hanged on the gallows; and even the wolves, while suspended, pulled his body to the earth, and cruelly rent the mangled carcase of the hypocritical idolater, who had pretended, in his distress, to pray to the picture of Mary; but, as Evagrius superstitiously observes, his prayers were treated with the utmost detestation. Concerning Gregory, we have farther to observe, that, though charged with incest and other crimes, by his busy and malicious enemies, and tauntingly and contumeliously treated, even in the streets and the theatres, by scoffing speeches and wicked interludes, he cleared himself of every imputation, and appealed to the emperor to be heard in a council. The result was, that his accuser was condemned to the rack, and exposed in a cart round the city, and afterwards banished. On a mutiny in the army against their captain and general, Gregory was commissioned to reconcile them to their duty, which he happily effected by a pathetic oration made to them on his knees, recalling them to their duty, both as subjects and as Christians. With tears he intreated them to consider their condition. After this they craved permission to retire, to deliberate upon the matter of his address; and on their return, after a short absence, they declared their consent to his request.

In the time of Gregory bishop of Antioch, the holy martyr Golauduch is supposed to have lived, who suffered grievous torments in Persia, and was piteously handled by the magicians, and at last martyrdom. We only know that her life was written by Stephen bishop of Hierapolis. And here I must close the accounts of Evagrius, so far as they have relation to this history, which brings us nearly to the termination of the sixth century. Gregory, bishop of Antioch, being troubled with the gout, took a medicine which instantaneously deprived him of life; and Anastasius, who had been deprived by Justin, for his freedom of reproof, after twenty-three years, was restored to his bishoprick. At this time another Gregory, the successor of Pelagius, had been about five years bishop of old Rome; by whom Austin was sent into England, at the desire of Bertha, the queen of Kent, and in execution of a design before formed; John was also bishop of Jerusalem, but very soon after died, and another John, bishop of Constantinople, and Eulogius, bishop of Alexandria.

CHAP XV.

The state of the Christian Church from the time of St. Austin to the Death of Hildebrand, or Pope Gregory VII., with a copious Account of his Character.

The last chapter closed with this observation, amongst others, that Gregory had then been about five years bishop of old Rome, and that Austin in his time was sent into England, at the desire of queen Bertha. From this period we may look forward with satisfaction at the cessation, in a very considerable degree, of persecution; by which so much Christian blood had been shed so wantonly. Though the precise time of his mission has been disputed, we cannot doubt of its having been very near the close of the sixth century, as already stated. Gregory soon presented him with a pall, and dignified him with the title of archbishop of Dover; by whom an archbishop of London and another of York were appointed. The mission of Austin was very successful; but, in a few years after, the king of Northumberland, waging war against the Christians about Chester and in those parts, was so enraged at the monks of Bangor, who came forward on this occasion, amounting to a great number, that he deemed them his enemies, (by fasting and prayer, though they used no swords,) and no less than eleven hundred of them were slain.

Whether it was on account of Austin’s obsequiousness to Gregory, who nevertheless gave sufficient specimens of haughtiness in Britain, or any other occasion, in a few years Gregory assumed a supremacy over all other archbishops, as well as bishops; but more especially Boniface, during the reign of Phocas, who consented to the usurpation of Gregory, and Boniface, to ensure his protection in maintaining these very extraordinary pretensions. Various occurrences of an interesting nature happened in this century; but we meet with none of sufficient moment to notice, consistent with our design, until about 664, when a dispute arose about the time of keeping Easter, though it was farther treated of in a synod held at Thetford in Suffolk, in 680,
but not fully determined until the 17th year of the eighth century, when a rule was established for that purpose. It nevertheless happened, that very soon after the dispute commenced, viz. in 666, a new archbishop was dispatched from Rome to England, with a large importation of monks, masses, litanies, ceremonies, and Latin service, &c.; the mischiefs of which we shall have so much cause to deplore in the following books of this history, where the consequences of resisting them are painted to our view in such sanguinary colours. A synod was held in the next century, at Cluescher; (since called Cliff, near Rochester in Kent;) but the rules then laid down, excepting so far as they related to the monks and other matters of a temporary nature, varied but little from those which are annually exhibited at the present day in the churches of our own nation, and therefore need not be farther noticed.

Yet the bishops of Rome did not establish many of their innovations without great opposition, which was frequently productive of serious consequences. The resistance of Philippicus the emperor to the introduction of images into the churches, occasioned the loss of life with his empire; and Leo, for the same reason, was by one of their popes, Gregory III., excommunicated. It was an age of innovation, when the laity were humbled, and the clergy, especially the bishop of Rome, aggrandized. But it was not without various struggles, notwithstanding this usurped tyranny and insolent over-bearing conduct of the clergy of Rome, that they finally carried their point in many of their manœuvres. The several kingdoms of the Saxon heptarchy, no doubt, greatly contributed to promote the execution of the Roman see’s arbitrary mandates, though they were not too successful in other countries. For a long time, therefore, they carried everything before them with a high hand; and we must pass on to the middle of the ninth century nearly, when the church was enriched by the grant of the temporalities by king Ethelwolf, and nearly twenty years more, when the marriage of priests began to be prohibited. But the contrary opinion was soon after strongly defended, and for more than a century afterwards firmly maintained.

We can scarcely suppose that a great many of our readers, at least, are unacquainted with the history of St. Edmund the Martyr, within a few years after the prohibition of priests’ marriages, and the first defence just mentioned. But, for the sake of those few who may be strangers to the history, or have only an imperfect knowledge of it, and particularly for his resolute speech to the Pagan messenger, even after a Christian bishop and his counsellor had recommended submission, I cannot pass it over. The king paused a little upon their advice, and then directed the messenger to tell his lord, as expressed by Mr. Fox, from Fabians, that “Edmund, a Christian king, for the love of temporal life, will not submit himself unto a Pagan duke, unless he first become a Christian.” This heroic reply filled the victorious Dane, who had successfully invaded and ravaged the country, and irritated him to bring on a battle speedily at Thetford. The king’s spirit and courage merited a better fate; but unfortunately he was defeated, and the great slaughter of his men affected him with great concern. He threw himself into the castle of Halesdon, since called from him St. Edmuns-bury, where he was soon surrounded by his enemies, and compelled to surrender. And because “he would not deny Christ and his laws, they most cruelly bound him to a tree, and caused him to be shot to death; and, lastly, caused his head to be smitten from his body, and cast into the thick bushes. This head and body were taken up by his friends at the same time, and solemnly buried at the same place.

In the time of Alfred, however, it may not be improper in this history to mention, after he had obtained a victory over the cruel Danes, and compelled another Danish prince (for the former cruel savage had lost his life at Reading) to receive Christianity, learning was greatly encouraged by him. Chester, as commonly believed, had before been noted for grammar and philosophy; and now Cambridge, Cricklade, and Lecklade, were distinguished for various kinds of knowledge, and particularly Cricklade, called Greeklade, for Greek, and Lecklade, or Latinlade, not far distant, for Latin. And this naturally leads me to take notice of John Scotus, one of the learned men of his reign, who was compelled to leave France, because he was deemed to favour the Greek church rather than the Latin, and therefore accused by the pope as
a heretic. He for some years settled at Malmsbury in England, being employed in the instruction of youth; but was at length, as it is stated, murdered by his own pupils, by means of their penknives, and buried in the monastery of that place. His Latin epitaph has been preserved, stating his martyrdom, but does not state the manner or means of its being effected.

We may be permitted to pass over the accounts of various councils, held in different places, but chiefly in Italy, in which the most contradictory proceedings appear, and the popes interdicted and condemned each others’ decrees in a rapid succession, and their remains successively treated by those who followed them with the utmost contempt and ignominy. It shall be more pertinent to our history to state, that both the laws of Alfred and his successor had relation to matters concerning the government and doctrine of the Christian church as well as to the civil regulations of the kingdom; which were no less manifested during Edmund and Athelstan’s reigns. This observation we find in Mr. Fox upon this subject, as an inference, “Whereby it is to be understood, that the usurped power of the bishop of Rome did not then extend so largely, nor so proudly derogate from the authority of kings and princes; but that every one in his own dominion had (under God, and not under the pope) the doing of all matters within the same his dominion contained, whether they were causes temporal or spiritual, as by the constitutions and decrees of this king, (viz. Athelstan, who lived until the year 940,) and of others as well before him as after him, may evidently be justified.” The fundamental laws concerning tithes were also established during this king’s reign, by virtue of his prerogative royal, by which the moral and religious title to a maintenance was secured to the clergy, and from that time ought, for ever, to have been inalienable, both against monkery and kingly usurpation. But this observation being only a cursory reflection on the state of the times, the subject of this history obliges me to leave the inferences to the consideration of my readers; though we must not omit the fact that, in the reign of his successor Edmund, in 941, the monks of Evesham, as a demonstration that their character was not very highly estimated, were expelled from the monastery of Evesham, and secular canons established in their place. Amongst other things we ought to note that transubstantiation, which was so violently contended for, in the manner which the subsequent books will shew to have been a pillar and sheet-anchor of persecution, within a few centuries after, had not then received any countenance in the Christian church, after an interval of more than 900 years from the date of our Saviour’s crucifixion. Edwin, the successor of Edmund, was not less indignant against the monks, and banished their patron Dunstan; and secular canons were established at Malmsbury, Glastonbury, and divers other places, instead of the monks, (an useless and corrupt set of people,) whom he held in contempt. We may farther proceed to an advanced period of the following century, to demonstrate that the catholic or popish doctrines, which were subsequently so prevalent, and occasioned the effusion of so much Christian blood, were strongly resisted by William the Conqueror, in the disagreement with Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, about a successor to the popedom.

It is farther to be noted, that the monks of those times were not considered in any other character than that of laymen, who engaged themselves to a strict regularity and religious discipline. But the increasing propensity to monkery soon introduced a stronger disposition to superstitious fooleries; and every possible means was devised, and every effort exercised by its advocates, to support and maintain that darling absurdity. The most impudent falsehoods were invented, and the greatest villainies practised, to accomplish their infamous designs. The artifices of Dunstan, who had been banished by Edwin, but recalled by Edgar, who had also replaced the monks, are so well known in the history of king Edward, that it would be superfluous and foreign to our purpose to recite them. But these were probably roused, in the restless mind of Dunstan, on account of the king of Mercia’s opposition to his measures, in expelling the monks from many cathedrals, and substituting them with priests. It seems, however, that the ignorant vulgar were much affected by this pretended but fallacious interposition of Heaven, and that monkery, from the superstition of the times, industri-
ously propagated by its advocates, rapidly increased from the time of that abominable deception.

But a few years before the Conquest, as it is commonly called, the boldness of Pope Nicholas successfully obtained to limit the choice of popes, on a vacancy, to a few cardinals. By a subtile artifice in the Lateran council, he contrived to wrest the appointment of the popes from the emperor, and transfer it to his cardinals, and to fulminate his bulls against all who should attempt to intrude into Peter’s seat without their consent and approbation; though the emperor, a few years after, appointed a successor to the popedom, which occasioned an unsuccessful contest on the part of the emperor’s choice, and induced Hildebrand, set up by the cardinals, the more fortunate combatant, to prove himself a firebrand, and to exercise that tyranny of which his followers have so extensively availed themselves. It was not until this time that transubstantiation was established, viz. in 1059, in the same council. In the fourth year after the Conquest, about eleven years after, a council was summoned and held at Winchester, to which were sent by pope Alexander two of his cardinals. Many English bishops, as well as abbots and priors, were therein deposed, to enable the Conqueror to provide for as many of his needy Normans, apparently without any other cause than his arbitrary disposition. With respect, indeed, to Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, three causes were pretended; that he had held it wrongfully, as archbishop Robert was still living, that he had received his pall from pope Benedict V., who had been deposed for buying the popedom, and that he had occupied the pall without authority from the court of Rome. This Stigand was not only deposed, but imprisoned at Winchester until his decease; and though he had the character of being avaricious, we have not sufficient documents to prove the justice of the sentence against him, but the contrary is strongly to be suspected. The restoration of Robert did not follow, as might have been expected from such a pretended cause; for it was only done to make way for Lanfranc, a Lombard and Italian. This conduct on the part of the Conqueror was a plain and incontrovertible evidence of a persecuting spirit, and therefor not very foreign from the design of our history, though it fell short of the charge of martyrdom. In his time, the bishops of England took part with the priests against the monks, and many of the latter were displaced from the churches, and the married priests introduced. More than forty canons were thus established by the bishop of Winchester, yet it was discountenanced by Lanfranc.

It was in the time of Hildebrand, otherwise called Gregory VII., that the principal foundation was laid of all the disturbances which at that time and since have distracted the Christian World. From his example has arisen all the ambition, pride, and haughtiness of the Church of Rome, of which the following books of this history afford such numerous instances. Before his time, bishops governed under the emperors quietly, and by them were protected. Hildebrand was the first who spurned at this subjection, and encouraged all others to follow his example. The appointment to bishopricks and ecclesiastical preferments was also extorted from emperors and kings, by every means which artifice could devise, until the popes had wrested every thing into their hands; and they have even assumed a privilege of confirming or depriving emperors at pleasure. It was this Hildebrand also which effected the condemnation of priests’ marriages, which he caused to be declared an act of heresy, and a doctrine of the Nicolaifians. Both of these met with opposition; but he was equally successful in prevailing against every objection concerning both, though not without the strongest efforts and the most artful and diabolical machinations against those who resisted his proceedings. Amongst other things we may properly notice the artifice by which he caused the bishops and priests of Rome to swear to him, when great numbers of them had forsaken him; his sudden usurpation of the papal chair on the very day of his predecessor’s decease, by the voice of the laity alone, instead of waiting three days after his burial, as the canons required; his excommunicating the emperor, and hiring assassins to accomplish his death, by various means, and at various times; his prophesying the emperor’s decease, though falsely, as it provisionally happened; his attempts to break the unity of the church with the design of compelling the
submission of his opponents; his putting the laws at defiance in executing criminals; his treachery and violation of promise to Centius, an alderman's son, whom he hanged with nine men before the porch of St. Peter upon a gallows there erected.

Cardinal Beuno was so disgusted with his conduct, that he hath recorded, for the information of posterity, two letters which he addressed to the cardinals, reciting his infamous conduct. In a council convened by the emperor at Worms, the bishops there renounced all subjection to Hildebrand; and, in retaliation, by a council at Rome, condemned the said council at Worms, excommunicated all persons there assembled, deprived the archbishop of Mentz of all his dignities, and all other bishops, abbots, and priests, who joined with the emperor; deposed the emperor himself from his kingdom, and absolved his subjects from all obedience. Though the sentence, with other unjustifiable matter, contains a most audacious and impudent lie, which says, "I entered this function, not willingly, but enforced against my will," the emperor was thoroughly humbled with this fulminating declaration; he submitted to walk barelegged and barefooted, with his wife and child, waiting at the gates of Canusium three days and three nights before he could obtain admission, and that after much interdict of Matilda, the pope's paramour, of the earl of Sebaudia, and the abbot of Cluny. He first presented his crown, with its ornaments, for this proud pope's disposal, acknowledging his unworthiness of the empire, and desiring absolution. The emperor was then obliged to comply with the haughty conditions prescribed by the tyrannical bishop, to submit to his council and the penance to be enjoined, and to appear on all occasions and in all places at the pope's pleasure, to answer to all accusations and objections in the council, and allow himself to be judge of his own cause, promising to refrain from all revenge, to leave to the pope the restoration of his empire, (whether acquitted or convicted,) and to abstain, until after his trial, from using any kingly ornaments, sceptres, or crown, from every act of government, and not to exact any oath of allegiance from his subjects.

All this being submitted to, the pope and cardinals were still afraid that, upon some change of fortune the emperor might resent this forced submission. Hence they studied to deprive him of the empire, and transfer it to Rodolphus, a nobleman of the empire; and artfully persuading, by their emissaries, the people of France and other places, that the emperor Henry had been justly excommunicated, obtained their consent for Rodolphus to be emperor. The supplicant emperor depended on his league and agreement with Hildebrand, of whose treachery he had no suspicion, and, on hearing of Rodolphus' invading the empire, requested aid from the crafty and subtle pope, who excused himself, that the cause had not been heard as the law required. Thus deserted, Henry determined to try his fortune, and a severe battle was fought; but the victory was not decisive to either, though attended with much slaughter. Both appealed to Hildebrand for his determination, when he commanded both to disband their armies, and that this should be settled hereafter in a council. Before an answer could return, they had another dreadful conflict, which still left the business undecided. The pope, with a view secretly to serve Rodolphus, directed the archbishop of Treves and others to summon a council to sit in Almain to settle this dispute; but Henry would not suffer it, unless the legates would first deprive Rodolphus of his kingdom, which they declined.

In a second excommunication, which he now issued out against Henry, the falsities of the first are in good measure repeated, with a recital of the king's submission, and an affection of great regard for his spiritual welfare, replete with the most detestable hypocrisy and dissimulation. The archbishop of Ravenna, who supported Henry, was also deprived, and all priests prohibited from obedience to him. A third battle was fought between Henry and Rodolphus, in which the latter received a mortal wound; but before his death acknowledged his own perjury in violating his oath of allegiance to Henry, and commanded his supporters to return to their obedience to their lawful emperor. Henry, unable to procure any redress from the pernicious Hildebrand, determined to summon a council of bishops of Italy, Lombardy, and
Germany. This was in the year 1083. In that council he not only purged himself, but accused Hildebrand of being a usurper, a perjured wretch, a necromancer, and a sorcerer, reciting various civil wrongs and injuries he had done, as well as the numerous unjust and tyrannical deprivations he had ordered. This very Hildebrand, with others, had solemnly sworn, in the time of Henry III., father of the present Henry IV., "that so long as the emperor, and his son now, being king, should live, they should neither themselves presume nor suffer any other to aspire to the papal seat, without the assent and approbation of the aforesaid emperors; which now this Hildebrand, contrary to his corporal oath, had done, and therefore the said council with one agreement condemned this Gregory, that he should be deposed." After stating some reasons for their sentence, nineteen bishops and legates concluded with describing him as "a man most wicked, preaching sacrilege and burning, maintaining perjury and murders, calling in question the catholic faith of the body and blood of the Lord, a follower of divination and dreams, a manifest necromancer, a sorcerer, and infected with a pythorical spirit, and therefore departed from the true faith; and we judge him to be deposed and expelled, and unless he, hearing this, shall yield and depart the seat, to be perpetually condemned."

After this was sent to Rome, they elected the archbishop of Ravenna, already mentioned, to govern the church of Rome, under the name of Clement III. Hildebrand refused to submit, and then the emperor marched an army to Rome to enforce the decree; which besieged the city during the whole of Lent, and after Easter obtained it. Hildebrand fled to Adrian's tower, where he was more closely beset. The efforts of Guiscardus, a Norman, and of the abbot of Cluniac, to effect the liberation of Hildebrand, were productive of a proposal of conditions for withdrawing the army; but the emperor resisted the demand of acknowledging himself in fault, and promising obedience; after which he retired to Senas, in company with Clement, who had already been installed. During this absence, Guiscardus found means, with an army, forcibly to enter one of the gates of the city, which he spoiled, and to liberate Hildebrand, whom he conveyed to Campania, where he soon after died in a state of exile.

To discuss at some length the history of such a sanguinary and tyrannical character, I conceive to be most essentially necessary to the history before us. For it is on his doctrines solely that the papists, during the bloody reign of queen Mary, founded all their persecutions. All the histories of martyrdom published since the original and detailed accounts collected by Mr. Fox, have almost wholly omitted every part of the history of persecution, prior to the reign of the bloody queen Mary. The vast importance of deducing the origin, the progress, and the full establishment of the popish tenets in the time of Hildebrand, or Gregory VII., must be obvious to every reflecting mind. Protestants will here see, with reflections suited to the discovery, the accumulated perjury and perfidy, by which such doctrines obtained a footing in the Christian church. Who is there, among persons that are not pertinaciously wedded to bigotry and Romish superstition, that does not immediately perceive how impossible it is that a system of opinions, requiring the exercise of such violence and injustice, to say nothing of their diabolical nature, to support and establish them? Let the papists of that time, or even of the present day, give an answer to these observations. Let it be plain, firm, and manly; not interlarded with subterfuges, not fully fraught with dazzling sophistry and artful hypocrisy, but clearly, directly, and explicitly declaring, whether such a base and infamous character as Hildebrand could possibly be a sincere Christian, and not the most abominable of perfidious wretches? and whether a religion, founded upon the villainous machinations and conspiracies of so daring and artful a hypocrite, could then or ever can be deemed to be the religion of the immaculate and holy Jesus, the Son of God, who suffered death for our sakes, and to take away the sin of the world? Pardon me, gentle reader, (but I know I have the pardon of every sincere protestant, whether Lutheran or Calvinist,) for the zeal I have expressed, in reflecting upon the life and character of so shocking a wretch as that of pope Hildebrand.
CHAP. XV.

From the death of Hildebrand to the death of Pope Alexander, with his insolent treatment of the emperor.

Let us pause a little, the feeling mind will ejaculate, on the closing paragraph of the last chapter. Willing as I should be to coincide with the remark, duty compels me to proceed with this interesting history. Yet I must stop to make one reflection. I must ask, whether this is the language of enthusiastic rant, or founded on the exactest principles of reason, of morality, of civil and social government, of sober, dispassionate, and calm religion. I must ask, if it is not justifiable on the exemplary conduct displayed by our blessed Lord himself, in his severe denunciations against the persecuting Scribes and Pharisees. But I must check my feelings in saying, that Hildebrand is dead; yet, alas! the poison of his doctrines continued to rancle in the hearts of his successors and their followers. Whether it is yet exterminated, had the same power and influence been without a check, would be foreign to our design to enlarge upon. Confine we ourselves, then, to the subsequent parts of our history.

It may suffice to say, that Victor, Urban, and others, followed Hildebrand in the see of Rome in quick succession: Victor confirmed all the proceedings of Hildebrand, though Clement III., appointed by the emperor, was in his time living; but as he presided only a year and a half, we may pass on to Urban. In a council held at Rome, he communicated all lay persons who presented to any benefices, and all the clergy dependant on lay persons for ecclesiastical promotion. In Urban's time, the crusade against the Turks commenced, about four years before the end of the eleventh century; and, though many Christians, being under the command of Peter the hermit, for which situation he was but little adapted, fell into an ambuscade, and lost their lives, the invaders were very successful in general, and stopped but little until they had recovered Jerusalem, as well as many other cities, out of the hands of the infidels. But the English king, William Rufus, was far from being satisfied, with the vast exactions demanded of him for this business. In Urban's time also, all married clergy, by one of his decrees, were deprived of their order, and all subjects required to renounce their allegiance to princes excommunicate. At this time the see of Canterbury had been vacant some years; when king William II. prevailed upon Anselm, an Italian, to accept it, for which the king received his homage; but afterwards, on Anselm's requesting leave from the king to go to Rome to the pope, for his pall, he was not permitted, and Anselm thereupon appealed from the king to the pope, and the king, on the other hand, charged him with being a traitor. The two popes of Rome also became another cause of opposition between them; for the king inclined to Clement III. appointed by the emperor, but Anselm held out stoutly for Urban. The king denied that any appeal was to be made to Rome, without the king's licence, and asserted, that he who "breaketh the customs of the realm, violateth the power and crown of the kingdom." None of the bishops of England took part with Anselm; and the king had intentions of depriving him, but for some reasons postponed his design. On a message to Rome from the king for a pall for the person whom he should appoint to be archbishop, a legate returned with it, but was ordered to confer it on Anselm, and no other; though the legate stated that he would ratify and confirm any other privilege which the king should desire. The legate not only carried his point in this respect, but prevailed in the king's acceptance of Urban as the pope lawfully appointed.

Occasion was afterwards given to the king to be dissatisfied with Anselm, and Anselm was again at his appeal from the king's to the pope's adjudication. The king, after many persuasions against it, perceiving his obstinacy, charged him not to leave the realm; "and if he continue in his stubbornness still, I will assuredly seize upon his possessions, and convert his archbishopric into my coffers. For he transgresseth and breaketh his fidelity and obedience, promising before to observe all the customs of my kingdom; not being the fashion in this realm, that any of my nobles should go to Rome without my sending. And therefore let him swear unto me, that he shall neither for any grievance appeal hereafter to the see of Rome, or else let him void my realm." Though
Anselm declined to give any answer to this message he came to the king in person, surrounded by other bishops and nobles, and there stoutly asserted his right of appeal, and denied that the laws or customs of the realm were any restraint, concluding that he was determined to make at Rome his personal appeals. The king and the bishops were astonished at his insolence; and at last the king declared that he should carry nothing away with him, who replied that he would walk on foot, if he might neither have his horse nor garments. Not one of the bishops would support him. They refused all advice or mediation; the one as unnecessary to one who was wise enough, the other as dangerous to him who should be imprudent enough. On reaching Dover, he was detained there fifteen days, the wind being contrary; and, after the king had caused his clothes to be searched for money or letters, he was suffered to leave the kingdom. He stopped some time at Lyons, before he proceeded to Rome to Pope Urban, who appears to have died not long after; for, in the third year after his banishment, and a little before the death of the king, he stated his case in a letter to Pope Paschal, but with little advantage to Anselm, excepting in the empty honour of sitting at the pope’s right foot.

Some farther particulars respecting the emperor seem in this place to demand our notice. It must be considered as a most remarkable case, that he was four times communicated by four successive bishops of Rome; as Hildebrand, Victor, Urban, and Paschal. These were inducements to various conspiracies; and, amongst others, Earl Ludovicus plotted against him. In coming to the reign of Henry I., about the close of the eleventh century, or rather the beginning of the twelfth, Anselm was recalled from exile by the king; when, in a council at Westminster, the king invested the bishops of Salisbury and Hereford, without any regard to the pope; and, in convocation, Anselm deposed various prelates and abbots from dignities improperly acquired or unduly administered. After this, Herbert, Bishop of Norwich, greatly harassed the clergy of his diocese, not without considerable trouble to himself, on account of their being married, many of whom would neither forsake their wives, nor quit their benefices. Anselm advised, on Herbert’s requesting his direction, to drive both the priests and their wives out of the country, as rebels against the church. The archbishop of York had no less perplexity in his province. On the king’s continuing to invest bishops without the concurrence of the Roman see, in about three years Anselm thought fit to resist, and withhold both his consent and confirmation, at which the king was much displeased; but the archbishop of York, being thereunto requested, made no hesitation about their consecration. But the bishop elect of Winchester refused his consecration, and was deprived both of his bishopric and goods, and banished for contempt. Anselm, on being required to do homage to the king, excused himself by stating the decrees of pope Urban; and, on both parties sending to Rome, Paschal defended Anselm against the king, and denied to the latter the right of investment. Anselm roundly resisted king Henry, as before he had stoutly held out against William Rufus, though the king hinted at a similar treatment; but, at length, other messengers were sent by both to Rome for a modification, at least, of the former reply. But the stoutness of Anselm’s messengers, and the pope’s inclination, occasioned the failure of the embassy on the king’s part, after a declaration that he would not forego the right of investiture of bishops, which his predecessors had exercised, notwithstanding application had been made for a pall for the archbishop of York, and had been readily granted.

After this, Anselm was persuaded to go to Rome; but, after an appearance of accommodation on the pope’s part, and observation of the ambassador put an end to the business, from the haughty reply of Paschal. The ambassador, having perceived that nothing favourable could be effected, posted after Anselm on his return to England, whom he overtook at Placentia, when he sufficiently alarmed him in stating the consequences of his return under such circumstances. Anselm then wrote to the king, but stopped at Lyons, as a place of more safety, for a year and a half. To enumerate the particular occurrences which led to a reconciliation of the king with the archbishop and the pope, would little consist with our history, but only
as it demonstrates the haughty demeanour of the pope and his adherents; even in this struggle they obtained a new acquisition of power, admitting, indeed, that bishops elect should do homage to the king, but he was to have nothing to do with the investiture by staff and ring, &c. In this interval the priests and canons had again received their wives; but, on Anselm’s return, were again compelled to relinquish them. By a council held at Westminster, in 1106, Anselm obtained the establishment of canons, in conformity to all the usurpations of Hildebrand, and his own subserviency to the Roman see. This haughty behaviour of Anselm gave occasion to Thurstan and Becket, his successors, to treat the monarchs of the realm with insolence.

By the machinations of pope Paschal, who had first deposed all the bishops and abbots appointed by the emperor, it afterwards followed that the emperor himself was deprived, and his son Henry substituted in the empire. He soon after died of grief, after a reign of fifty years. His body was taken up, after his funeral, by the pope’s order, removed from its situation, and kept unburied, at Spires, for five years. Before Henry could be crowned, the pope compelled him to renounce for ever, for himself and his successors, all claim or right of intermeddling in the election of the bishop of Rome, or any other bishops. In an insurrection, which happened at Rome at this time, the emperor defended himself by his own personal valour, and made the pope a prisoner; and then he not only demanded his coronation, but his restoration to the right of election of bishops; and yet the emperor was no sooner departed, than the perfidious pope called a synod to reverse all he had consented to, and to establish every thing on the footing of his first stipulations. Wearied out with such determined opposition, the emperor consented to relinquish all claims of interfering in elections of spiritual persons; but not until they had tried their fortune in the field in a pitched battle, in 1115.

Notwithstanding this agreement, on the death of Paschal, in 1118, two popes were set up, one by the emperor, and the other by the cardinals. The latter was compelled to escape to France, and soon died; after which, the cardinals remaining at Rome, for most of them had fled to France with Gelasius, elected another, who succeeded in driving his opponent from Rome, and also excommunicated the emperor for the breach of his agreement. This pope finally established every thing which either Hildebrand or Urban attempted, or Anselm endeavoured, to support and maintain. In the mean time, we should notice the disputes of the archbishops of Canterbury and York, about the latter’s subjection and obedience, the discussion of which took place at Salisbury, when Thurstan, rather than submit, renounced the see of York, though in two years after he was consecrated to that see by the pope, in opposition to the king, in consequence of having obtained the kings’s licence to go to the council of Rhemes, where no fewer than 434 bishops were present, to plead his cause. He had first promised the king to do nothing injurious to the church of Canterbury; yet the king secretly requested the pope not to consecrate Thurstan, and obtained his promise, though he soon violated his obligation. The king then forbade Thurstan to enter his dominions. The acts of that council were so nearly similar to the regulations already decreed, that we need not repeat them; which they sent to the emperor for his assent, who replied, that he would not recede an atom from the customs and rights of his ancestors on the subject of investiture, though he submitted to the rest. For this firmness the emperor was excommunicated.

Great spoil having been committed in England by impositions of the popes’s legates, the king, on an interview with the pope, obtained that, without the king’s special approbation, no legates should be sent from Rome thither, the archbishop of Canterbury alone excepted, and that the king should retain all the customs of his forefathers both in England and Normandy. But the king absolutely refused to admit Thurstan’s return, unless he would acknowledge subjection to the church of Canterbury, as his predecessors had done, to which also by his oath he was obliged; when the pope said, that he could for his oath, by apostolical authority, give him dispensation. (Observe, reader, how these ambitious popes pretended to justify perjury, and violate the scriptures at their pleasure!) To this the king replied, that he would con-
fer with his council, and then make answer; when he admitted him to return, on the single condition of allowing subjection to the church of Canterbury. Thus did the dispute remain for the present; but in the following year, 1120, the pope interdicted both the churches of Canterbury and York, with all the parish-churches of both these cities, from divine service and burial of the dead unless Thurstan, within a month, and without any subjection, should be restored. Baptism of children, and absolution of persons dying, were alone permitted. This fulminating bull effected the pope's and Thurstan's purpose.

In a council at London, in 1125, it was decreed, that married priests should be punished; but the king granted licences, on paying for them, to many priests, to retain their wives, by which considerable sums were obtained. The pope died in this year; but the cardinals failed in their choice of another, the citizens succeeding in the person they had adopted. Honorius II. being fully settled in the popedom, in the following year sent a legate into England and Scotland to regulate the conduct of the clergy, and, at length, coming to London, in a synod there, made a decree against their having any society with women, beyond their mothers, sisters, or aunts, which precluded all suspicion, on pain of confiscation of all his property as a cleric. Decrees of affinity against the marriage of others were also carried inclusively to the seventh generation. But in the very next night this lordly cardinal was detected in revelling with his concubines, in the most shameful and scandalous manner. In the time of this Honorius, also, was an eminent martyr, called Arnulphus, who boldly preached the truth of Christ's gospel, in the true spirit of reformation, at Rome, and inveighed against the profligacy of the clergy, by which he acquired the greatest reputation with the nobility, but, as he himself declared beforehand, occasioned the cardinals to accomplish his death secretly. About this time a book was written, in the style of Arnulphus, either by him or some other person, complaining of numerous enormities and abuses in the church, similar to his mode of preaching, which I am sorry our limits should compel me to suppress, as not being immediately within the design of this history, and therefore is unavoidably omitted. The same pope Honorius also interdicted the realm of France, because of the king's having one woman, who was not his wife legally, and deposed the king of Portugal as insufficient to govern; though it must be manifest that pleas would never be wanting for such wanton exercises of tyranny, if offences of such inferior magnitude or uncertainty of being founded were admitted, on the most frivolous occasions.

On the death of Honorius, Innocent II. was chosen pope in 1130, though the Romans elected Anacletus. But it had now frequently occurred, that the contending factions set up a separate and distinct pope of their own party, so that there were often two, and sometimes three popes at one time. This, as the others, also occasioned much contest, for Anacletus was supported by the duke of Sicily; but the emperor was the firm friend of Innocent, and the duke was driven out of Italy. By this pope Innocent it was decreed that the punishment for striking a priest should be that of excommunication, and the pope's absolution alone should be valid. In the eighth year of king Stephen, or 1142, in a parliament at London, the bishops denounced the king accursed, with all those who did any harm to the church, or any of its ministers. During this reign of king Stephen, Gratianus, a monk of Bononia, compiled the book, called, "The Pope's Decrees," and Peter Lombard, bishop of Paris, his "Four Books of the Sentences." These two principally, though some unite with them Petrus Comestor, writer of the Scholastical History, established the blind doctrine, of which we shall hear so much in the following books, about the sacrament, "that the only similitude of bread and wine remained, but not the substance of them; and this they call the spiritual understanding of the mystery." Yet Matthew Paris has related an instance of Stephen's reserving to himself, during his reign, viz. in 1133, "the right and authority of bestowing spiritual livings and investing prelates;" and Lotharius the emperor was restoring the same right; but, for the sake of peace, was dissuaded from it, though he was the only emperor who did not receive his crown from the Romish pontiff.

We must not pass over the year 1144,
without noticieng that pope Celestinus, succesor of Innocent II. in a council at London, where William, bishop of Winchester, was president, the form and manner of cursing with book, bell, and candle, was devised. Celestinus was succeeded by pope Lucius, who made war upon the senate of Rome, whom he proposed to destroy in the senate-house, but an intimation of his design was the means of their preservation, being prepared to defend themselves; and, mixing in the conflict, he was so pelted with stones, and received so many blows, that he soon after died. Eugenius, who succeeded him, pursued the same conduct, and proceeded to excommunicate the Romans, and, when that was unavailing, he compelled them with an army, in 1145, to submit to abolish the consuls, and accept senators of his appointment. Anastasius IV. succeeded, and Adrian IV., an Englishman, of St. Albans, trod in the precise steps of Eugenius, in expelling consuls and subjecting everything to his own pleasure. Because the emperor Frederic had placed his own name, in a letter sent to the pope, before his, an answer of reproof for his disrespect to St. Peter was returned, which was followed by the emperor’s vindication of right so to do, and that returned with a thundering bull of excommunication, accompanied with every effort to instigate the bishops of the empire against him. We have passed over the story of this emperor’s mistaking the left side for holding the proud pope’s stirrup, instead of the right, and the emperor’s excuse that he was but little accustomed to such offices, and how it was rectified on the following day, by which the prelate restored him to his favour; and have here to observe that, whilst the pope was fomenting mischief against the emperor, the other dispersed letters through the empire, in vindication of his conduct. Yet was not the emperor much at his ease during Adrian’s life, but had much greater trouble from his successor.

It happened, as usual, that the choice of Alexander III. for pope was not unanimous, and that the emperor and nine cardinals, though some say but three, appointed Victor IV. The emperor was requested to decide on the merits of the election; but Alexander disdained to appear, and Victor was introduced into the papal see. Alexander issued a fulminating bull against the emperor, and sent letters out of France, whither he had fled, throughout Christendom against them, as persons to be expelled from all Christian company. Flattery and money were not spared to bribe the Roman citizens, with but too much success, and Alexander, about the year 1164, was received into Rome, though compelled to leave it, and sail to Venice for safety, on the emperor’s approaching the city with an army, and demanding that the dispute should be settled in his presence. The emperor, designing to follow him thither, first deputed his son Otho, with men and ships well appointed, to lay before the place, but not to undertake any thing until his arrival; but the imprudent son was hardy and disobedient, attacked his enemies, was vanquished, and made prisoner, and, to recover the son, Alexander compelled the emperor to submit to the utmost degradation, to obtain absolution, and to restore peace; but not until the haughty pope had set his foot on the neck of the emperor. His election being thus established, he held the popedom twenty-one years; and in his time were several councils, in which the decrees of Hildebrand and other his own predecessors were confirmed, more especially as concerning the chastity of priests, as if chastity consisted in celibacy or a single life only, however polluted by fornication, or whoredom, and adultery.

CHAP. XVII

The history of Thomas A. Becket, some time archbishop of Canterbury, with his untimely death.

As a contemporary of Alexander lived Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, usually deemed a martyr from the manner of his death, and canonized and registered as such by the Romish church in their calendar. His conduct gave him little title to the character of a martyr; he ought rather to have been deemed a rebel, and it is only to be regretted that he was not brought to justice by a criminal process instead of the summary and illegal punishment inflicted on him. It certainly had its effect, and perhaps
was permitted by providence, though irregular and unwarranted by human laws, as a venial proceeding, considering the prevalent spirit of those times. Mr. Fox here makes a reflection, which he wishes to be taken charitably, that "if the emperors had done the like to the popes contending against them, when they had taken them prisoners, and had used the law of the sword against them, and chopped off the heads of one or two, according to their traitorous rebellion, they would have broken the neck of much disturbance, which long time after did trouble the church," and occasioned dreadful havoc.

That Becket was of a nature stubborn and severe, has been admitted by all historians. Self-will, too, was a predominant trait in his character; and pride and haughtiness increased with promotion. His devotion was void of all true religion; and his zeal totally destitute of knowledge. His superstitious servility to the pope was so unbounded, that towards his lawful prince he was utterly rebellious. Against the king's mandates he sought to convey himself out of the realm, and fomented discord, when out of the realm, between the pope and his lawful sovereign, and also with the French king; in violation of all honesty, civil obedience, and true Christianity. After he became archbishop of Canterbury, by the king's express will, contrary to the wish of the convent or chapter of that city, he opposed the king on the appropriation of hide-money, then collected for the defence of the country, in protecting murderers being priests, and impartially punishing such of the clergy as had deservedly made themselves obnoxious to the king. A synod of the archbishop, bishops, and clergy was convened at Westminster, to consider this partiality; when the king required that such wicked clerks as reviled the magistracy of the realm should have no privilege of their clergy, but be delivered to the keepers of the civil prisons, to be dealt with according to their sentence. The archbishop, after consulting with the bishops and clergy, recommended gentleness, and conformity to ancient decrees; and that, as to any change to be made in the laws, he frequently said, he neither could nor ought to suffer it. The king felt much displeasure, and demanded whether the archbishop would condemn the laws and customs, which, in his grandfather's time, had properly been allowed; to some of which he consented, but to the far greater part positively dissented, and many of the constitutions of Clarendon, both he and the pope, Becket being fled out of the realm, resisted. He would not even admit the king's ordinances, without the qualifying clause of SALVO ORDINE SUO, SAVING HIS ORDER, which might be interpreted to sanction any villany; and all the bishops followed his example, the bishop of Chichester excepted, who on perceiving that the king was exasperated, softened the expression into BONA FIDE, OR TRULY AND HONESTLY. Both the king and nobility perceived the latent poison of the expression; but were aware that to the archbishop alone this evil was to be attributed, as they had little doubt that the other bishops would have submitted.

So much was the king displeased, that he left the bishops without any salutation; and all the bishops rebuked Chichester for changing the exception. On the following day the archbishop was deprived of all the honours and lordships which the king had given him when he was chancellor. Soon after this the king left London, unknown to the bishops to go to Normandy. The bishop of London followed him thither, to solicit his favour, and persuade him to reconcile some of the bishops to his sentiments and wishes; which was in great measure effected, a few of them only continuing to abide by the archbishop of Canterbury; though, after much persuasion of the danger both of himself and his friends by a determined perseverance, he acceded with the king. Yet, in another assembly of bishops at Clarendon, he refused to ratify such consent. The bishops of Salisbury and Norwich, in particular, represented the danger of such resistance to all his friends, as well as to himself, but to little purpose. With no better success he was importuned by two of the nobility, though they expressed the necessity of using violent measures if he did not submit. Two of the rulers of the Templars, also, in vain attempted to convince him of their danger. At length the king sent a peremptory message, what he was to expect by farther resistance, which he reluctantly obeyed; and BONA FIDE declared that he would maintain the king's
customs, which was followed by the other bishops. An instrument or indenture tripartite was then prepared and produced to that effect, to be signed by the parties; of which the king was to have the custody of one part, and the two archbishops were each to have another. Again did the pertinacious Becket demur, requiring respite to consider the contents deliberately, which was readily granted; but, instead of profiting by this reasonable compliance, he suffered his attendants to persuade him that such a concession was dangerous, (which was no difficult matter with a man of his temper,) when he sent to Rome for a pardon for such submission, which he readily obtained. Ultimately, therefore, he resolved upon resistance. The king was informed that he refused to seal the instruments; he attempted to escape, but in two attempts failed. His design became notorious, and the king ordered his goods at Canterbury to be seized on the king's behalf, which his unexpected return thither alone prevented.

At this time the king was at Woodstock, whither the archbishop hastened. The king humourously taunted him, by observing, that his realm was not large enough to contain them both. Becket soon saw, and informed his friends, that he must either speedily submit, or determine to brave all hazards. In vain the archbishop of York, as a mediator, endeavoured to produce a reconciliation. The king would hear nothing without subscription to his laws. The archbishop proceeded to censure the king's laws; approving some persons who favoured his cause and that of the Romish pontiff, and condemning others who supported a contrary opinion. A foreign archbishop also was sent by the pope to effect a reconciliation; but the king demanded that the pope should ratify his ordinances, which was refused. The king then demanded that the pope should transfer the office of legate to the archbishop of York, which the pope in his turn denied; but at the request of the king's clergy, he was himself allowed to be legate, which the king, with disdain, rejected, and returned his letters. The pope had but one, and that an old, game to play; he secretly conspired with one, and openly dissembled with the other. He appointed the archbishop of York his legate, but with this reservation, that Becket should thereby be no way injured. At the same time he secretly encouraged Becket for his protection. The king soon detected more than an hundred murders, constraining the offenders to be arraigned and tried; who, being found guilty, were first deprived, and then committed to the secular powers. Much of this, but on the contrary side, appears in the future history of Mary's bloody government. Becket resisted these arraignments. He denied the jurisdiction of civil judges to sit in judgment on ecclesiastical persons, before they had been deprived for some ecclesiastical offence. Both the king and the nobles, and most of the bishops, condemned this obstinacy. Being cited to appear at Northampton, he deputed another person to appear for him; and the reason assigned for it was, that the king's horse and horsemen had been placed in the archbishop's lodging. His contempt was followed by the confiscation of his goods, leaving it to the king's clemency to remit the penalty. The contempt was parried with slender arguments, such as his being the king's spiritual father, and that the bishops were culpable in sitting to the purpose of his judgment.

On the next day an action was entered against him for five hundred marks, being lent to him, when chancellor, by John, who was now the king's marshal; but Becket pleaded that he had received it as a gift, though he could produce no proof of it, and therefore it was immediately demanded. At length five persons came forward to give security for one hundred marks each. The next day he was required to account for the vacant bishoprics and abbacies in his hands to the king's use, during several years. But the bishop of Winchester observed, that, on his coming to Canterbury, the archbishop had been discharged from all bonds and reckonings of temporal courts, of which they were all fully ascertained. The bishop of London recommended a surrender of the archbishopric; an example which the bishop of Winchester considered as most dangerous to the Catholic church. The bishop of Chichester advised submission for a time at most advisable; and the bishop of Lincoln advised to the same purpose. The bishop of Exeter also considered that the times were
dangerous, and that submission was most advisable under present circumstances. The bishop of Worcester stated the hazards of perseverance or submission, but gave no determined opinion. Against all these observations, the archbishop answered in a lofty tone, calling them time-servers and traitors to their heavenly trust, to gratify an earthly monarch. He then named two earls, whom he desired to speak to; and, on their entering, said, “As touching and concerning the matters between the king and us, we have conferred together; and forasmuch as we have them not present with us now, who knew more in the matter than we do, whose advice we would be glad to follow, therefore we crave respite for another day, to give our answer unto the king.” With this message were the bishops of London and Rochester deputed; and London, to promote a reconciliation, added, that the archbishop desired a short delay to prepare such necessary writings as should declare his mind towards accomplishing the king’s desire; which request, by the mission of two barons, was immediately assented to, but under the condition of no farther evasion. The archbishop denied his having sanctioned any such proposition; yet he would next day attend to give his answer. On this most of the bishops separated; and he then summoned the poor, the halt, and the lame, as the persons through whom he might sooner obtain the victory.

Being Saturday, nothing could be done on the next day, but he kept his bed from the disorder of the cholic, though most persons considered his sickness to be counterfeit. On the next day some of the chief nobles summoned his appearance, being also commissioned to enquire into his sickness, and he that day escaped. He was advised to have a mass next morning, in honour of St. Stephen, to preserve him from his enemies that day. The bishops and prelates then came to persuade him, but indirectly, as they dared not to attempt it openly, that he would submit himself, his goods, and his see, to the king’s will, to avert his indignation; otherwise he would be accused of perjury for violating his oath of fidelity, to keep the king’s laws and ordinances. In answer, he complained grievously of their having already for two days sat in judgment against him, who should in duty have supported him. He then requested them to be present at his judgment; and appealed to the church of Rome as the refuge of the oppressed, and strictly enjoining them to exercise their censure ecclesiastical against all secular persons who should attempt to lay hands on him. In reply to this declaration, London appealed from him, and left him; and all the bishops departed to the court, excepting the bishops of Winchester and Salisbury, who remained to comfort him. He then went to mass in full dress, having on his pall, for which London accused him afterwards; the king’s servants being present at it. When finished, he was unrobed, and afterwards went to the court, taking with him privily the sacrament as a protection. On entering the king’s chamber, to await his arrival, the archbishop, at the door, laid hold of a crosier, with the cross and cross-staff, leading in the bishops, though the bishop of Hereford, amongst others, offered to bear it for him; which he declined. One of the bishops said, but whether the archbishop of York or the bishop of London, authors differ, that the king, on seeing him in his chamber armed, might be tempted to draw his sword, and then this proceeding would but little avail him; when the archbishop said, “If the king’s sword do cut carnally, mine cutteth spiritually, and striketh down to hell. But you, my lord, as you have played the fool in this matter, so you will not yet leave off your folly,” and so he came into the chamber.

When the king understood that he was come, and the manner of his entrance, he soon came, where he found Becket sitting, with the bishops about him. Then the crier called together the prelates and lords of the temporality, to take his place according to his degree. The king then complained of the manner of the archbishops’s entering the court, as a traitor and not as a subject. All present bare witness to his general pride and vanity; his unworthiness of honours and preferments, which he had so grossly abused. His sullen obstinacy was visible, and none dared openly to give him countenance, though some of his friends secretly comforted him. The king’s marshal thereupon proclaimed, that no person should with him hold any conference. The bishop of Exeter then seriously importuned him to consider his con-
dition, in which they would most probably be involved, and, as well as his own, to manifest some compassion for their situation. An order will be published, said he, that all persons taking your part shall be treated as open rebels. The bishops of Salisbury and Norwich, it is said, are also to be conveyed to the place of execution. On this the archbishop, looking at him earnestly said, "Avoid hence from me, thou understandest not, neither savourest those things that be of God."

Consultation was then had among the bishops, separated from the nobility, which the king permitted; and at length they determined to cite the archbishop to Rome for perjury, obliging themselves to the utmost of their power to accomplish his being deposed from the archbishoprick, but on condition of their own personal safety, and a discharge from the peril of any judgment which might await them. Under this obligation to the king, the bishop of Chichester, in the name of the rest, addressed the archbishop, "Once you have been our archbishop, and so long we were bound to your obedience; but now forasmuch as you now are swearing your fidelity to the king, do now resist him, neglecting his injunctions and ordinances, concerning and appertaining to his terrene honour and dignity, we here pronounce you perjured; neither be we bound to pay obedience to an archbishop thus being perjured, but putting ourselves and all ours in the pope's protection, we do cite you up to his presence." A time for his appearance being then assigned, the archbishop acknowledged that he had heard him well enough, and he afterwards lost no time in stating the whole of his case to the pope, from whom as speedily as possible he received an answer, encouraging him against all his opponents in the matter of his appeal.

But he was not so easily permitted to depart the council as he had expected. The earl of Leicester was, after a little pause, in which the whole court was in a clamour, and the sound of traitor echoed from side to side, directed to make demand of "all things that he had received as the profits and revenues of the realm, in the time he was chancellor, and specially for the thirty thousand marks, for which he was accountable to the king." To this the archbishop replied, that the king well knew how often he had accounted of these things, which now were demanded of him; and his son and heir Henry, with all his barons, and the chief justice of England, had all told him, that he was quit from all computations and receipts, and all secular exactions on the king's behalf. With this discharge he entered into his office, and he neither could nor would make any other account. The king, on receiving this answer, ordered his barons to perform the law, and he was accordingly apprehended, and committed to prison. The earls of Cornwall and Leicester were then sent to him, to state his judgment; to which he replied, "Hear, my son and good earl, what I say unto you; how much more precious the soul is than the body, so much more ought you to obey me in the Lord, rather than your terrene king. Neither doth any law or reason permit the children to judge or condemn the father; wherefore, to avoid the judgment of the king, of you, and all others, I put myself only to the arbitrament of the pope, under God alone, to be judged of him, and of no other; to whose presence here before you all I appeal, committing the ordering of the church of Canterbury, my dignity, with all other things appertaining to the same, under the protection of God and him. And as for you, my brethren and fellow-bishops, which rather obey man than God, you also I call and cite to the audience and judgment of the pope, and depart henceforth from you, as from the enemies of the Catholic church, and of the authority of the apostolic see."

While this answer was transmitting by the barons to the king, and the archbishop was departing through the throng, he mounted his palfrey, having his cross in one hand and his bridle in the other; when the courtiers, following him, exclaimed, "Traitor, traitor, tarry, and hear thy judgment." Having passed the outer-gate, which was opened by one of his servants, a bunch of keys hanging near which he laid hold of, he proceeded to a house of canons, where he was expected to remain for the night; he proposed, after supper, to go to bed early, instead of which he secretly conveyed himself away, having changed his name and dress, first to Lincoln and then to Sandwich, by which means he escaped into Flanders, and thence into
France. Of the fact of his escape there has never been any doubt, though of the manner of the escape the accounts are somewhat different in different writers; but whether it was on the same night or on the following night, or whether it was with the king's connivance or in the midst of a negotiation to meet the king's wishes, is of little importance. The French king did not exactly accord with King Henry's wishes, who had sent the bishop of London and the earl of Arundel to his court to prevent Becket's being countenanced there; for, instead of this, he not only received him, but wrote to the pope to favour the archbishop's cause. These first ambassadors, disappointed in their embassy, returned; after which the king sent a splendid embassy to the pope, then being at Sens in France, but with no better success, as the pope would do nothing until Becket was present. Their limited time being expired, they left the Romish court; and in four days after Becket arrived, and stated his case to the pope, presenting a scroll, containing, as he said, the English king's customs, which in general he condemned and accused; blaming Becket rather for too much condensation than for his ultimate resistance to these ordinances. The next day Becket resigned his see into the pope's hands, though he had received it from King Henry; and, after much argument what was best to be done, he was restored to it. He then resided two years in a monk's habit at Fontiniac Abbey in France, and afterwards at Senon for five years more. The king was equally disgusted with the pope's conduct as with Becket's, and directed, on his arrival in Normandy, that all the ports of England should be closed against any emissaries of either of them, attempting to introduce any interdicts or curses, on pain, if religious, of having their feet cut off, and if priests or clerks, of losing their privy members; if laymen, to be hanged, and if lepers, to be burned. Bishops, fearing the pope's interdict, might depart, having nothing but a staff. Students beyond sea were recalled home, or lose the liberty of returning. Priests refusing to sing, on account of any such interdict, should lose their privy members; and all rebellious priests, their benefices, &c. The violence of the opposition may be well inferred from such measures; for which severity enough has been related for the king's justification. Such a tyrannical prelacy was totally inconsistent with all civil government; and, whatsoever may be our ideas of maintaining the dignity of the church, we should duly watch over every innovation or encroachment, derogatory to its purity and honour. The relatives of Becket, in 1166, were also exiled, but with the preservation of their goods; and the king wrote to the abbot of Fontiniac to expel him from his house, on pain of exterminating all the monks of his order. After this Lewis, the French king, placed him at Senon.

We cannot produce the numerous letters which passed during this interval of Becket's exile, between him, the pope, and the king, interchangeably, or the comments upon such of them as appear to need correction or illustration. In a reply to one of the pope's letters, by some of the clergy, with the king's approbation, Becket is represented as astubborn trespasser, and no martyr; and, in a letter of Becket to the bishop of Norwich, it appears that he had excommunicated the bishops of London and Salisbury for discharging their dutiful allegiance to the king, with divers other inferior persons, and several others are therein threatened by name as having been cited for the same purpose. After this we have a seditious letter of his to the pope, to instigate the revenge of his quarrel, an interesting letter from the suffragans of the church of Canterbury, with his obstinate reply, abounding with false arguments, and a brief refutation of it. Then we have a letter of the Empress Maud to Becket, in 1169, by the pope's desire, offering her mediation; at which time the king himself appealed to the pope to authorize legates to hear and determine all differences, to prevent Becket from having recourse to a personal excommunication of himself. Becket's stubborn disposition was equally manifested here; for he refused to meet them in Normandy, as directed by the cardinals, and would go no farther than Grisortium, and there his obstinacy subverted the whole design. In the report of the cardinals, we find that Becket was fomenting discord between the kings of England and France; that he insisted upon his Salvo's, as before, that he would neither submit
to judgment nor trial. Yet in all this it appeared that he had greater veneration for the see than desire of the church’s peace. A conference followed between these two kings and Becket, after the cardinals were departed, in which the latter still rested upon his Salvo’s. After this, king Henry said, “There have been kings in England before, both of greater and less puissance than I am, and bishops of Canterbury many, both great and holy men. What the greatest and most holy of all his (i.e. Becket’s) predecessors have done to the least of my progenitors, let him do the same to me, and I am content.” Then there was a general exclamation, that the king had debased himself enough to the bishop. On his pausing, the French king remonstrated, “Will you be better than these holy men? Will you be greater than Peter? You have peace and quietness put in your power, if you will take it.” The archbishop then admitted the goodness and greatness of his predecessors; but that each of them, in his time, had corrected some things, and there still remained something to be corrected as repugnant to God’s honour, and by many like words attempted to gloss over and justly his own conduct. His arrogance and obstinacy were manifest to all the nobles; and one of them in particular exclaimed, that “seeing the archbishop so refused the council and request of both the kingdoms, he was not worthy to have the help of either of them; but as the kingdom of England had rejected him, the realm of France ought not to receive him.” Nevertheless his own chaplains reported, that the French king repented of what he had said to Becket, and desired absolution for it; that they were thereby reconciled, and that the French king continued to protect him against king Henry. His continuance in France for several years after, gives some degree of countenance to this representation; but may not that support, subsequently received, be attributed rather to political than religious motives, as Becket could give him so much information about English affairs? Is that continuance of support, I would ask, sufficient to acquit the chaplains of partiality in this representation of the French king’s repentance and desire of absolution? The faithful historian will pause before he draws such an inference from such a partial source of information.

In the following year, 1170, king Henry returned to England, and convened a parliament at Westminster; where he caused his son Henry, with the consent of the clergy and nobility, to be crowned king by the archbishop of York and four other bishops. Becket’s stomach boiled at his being disregarded; and the French king was displeased that his daughter was not crowned with her husband; on which he marched a great army into Normandy. But king Henry promised that he should again be crowned, and then his daughter should be crowned also. But Becket was not so easily pacified. He complained, in a grievous manner, to the pope of the daring infringement of his peculiar privilege, without knowledge or licence; whereupon he issued excommunication against the bishop of London, and suspended the archbishop of York, with the bishops of Durham, Salisbury, and Rochester. He cited various clergymen of the court and the king’s familiars escape his malediction, for holding church goods, comprehending all who should thereafter receive any without his consent. The bishops represented their case to king Henry, with which he was greatly affected, and the French king incited the pope also to excommunicate him. Two legates at length arrived, to accomplish a reconciliation, or to fulminate the pope’s interdiction; and the result was, that Becket was restored to his see. On his arrival, the censured bishops applied to him for release from the sentence; when he refused, without various exceptions, which induced them to repair to the young king’s father, then in Normandy. The young king had ordered Becket to remain at Canterbury, and keep his house; yet, on this visit of the censured bishops, the old king, perceiving the tendency of Becket’s doings, vehemently lamented that he had no person, amongst so many whom he had bountifully treated, to revenge him of his enemy.

This earnest complaint induced four of his dependants speedily to cross the channel,
and repair to Canterbury. They made their way into the palace, and then endeavoured, by words, to induce him to conformity with the king’s wishes, which they had brought, and submitted whether those about him should be present to hear them. His company being ordered to withdraw, they said, “You are commanded from the king beyond the sea, to repair to the king his son here, and to swear fidelity for your baronage and other things,” which he denied to do; and on this he recalled his company. They proceeded in their statement, and then came to the subject of the excommunicated bishops for crowning the young king; but this he shifted off as the pope’s act, with which he could not interfere. But Reginald, one of the four, answered, that it was done by his instigation, which he again parried, but admitted that this act of the pope was not offensive to him. But they said that this sequestration of the bishops, in contempt of the king’s majesty, was pleasing to him, and this opposition to the new king indicated a design of dispossessing him of his crown, and becoming king himself. He denied that he aspired to the crown, and said that the old king had allowed him to refer to the pope for remedy. They asked whether he meant to charge the king as a traitor to his son; when Becket told Reginald, that he was present, and heard it himself; but he swore that it was untrue, and was not to be suffered by the king’s faithful subjects. Drawing nearer they declared he had said enough against his own head, and harsh words followed; when Becket replied, that he had been sent back to live in peace, whereas he had sustained every injury, when they referred him to obtain reparation by law, or apply to the young king. He said he was prohibited from approaching him, and neither could have the benefit of law or reason; but he added, “such right and law as an archbishop may have, that will I exercise, and let for no man.” Then they exclaimed, he threatens to interdict the whole realm and us altogether; when another ejaculated, “he shall not, he hath interdicted too many already.” Then they drew nearer, and said, he had spoken words to the jeopardy of his own head, and immediately rushed out at the doors; but not without charging the monks, in the king’s name, to prevent his escape. Becket replied, he would neither stir a foot for the king, nor any man living; and they said, he should not.

Going to harness themselves, they returned on the same day, but found the hall-door shut against them. But, finding an inward back-door, leading into the orchard, they broke open a back-window, then opened the door, and proceeded to the place. It was the time of even-song, and the archbishop was in the church; the monks attempted to shut the door, but, according to the history, the archbishop would not suffer it. Meeting him on the stairs, they severely struck at his head with their swords, and put an end to his existence in 1171.

CHAP. XVIII.

From the death of Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, to the death of King Henry the third.

One cannot but feel astonishment at the perversion of those faculties of reason, which God has given to men, and alone distinguish them from the brute part of the creation. The predominance of any one human passion, though conferred upon us for the best purposes, must generally lead to the most serious evils. We cannot here expatiate on the history of God’s providence; but the actions of a Hildebrand, an Alexander, and a Becket, seem sufficient to paralyze all the best feelings of human nature, to outrage the ferocity of savage beasts and monsters, and to degrade the most perfect work of the Deity into the most disgusting creature of the universe. Such does man become to man by the abuse of that reason, which was originally designed to be his peculiar characteristic. We shall close our reflections on his life and character, without either agitating the question of his future condition, or relating any of his blasphemous or impudent pretended miracles.

That the resentment of Becket’s death by the pope was a natural expectation, no one will dispute. Henry, therefore, could expect nothing short of his most solemn anathema; and in that he soon found that he had not deceived himself. A commission was, there-
fore, sent to Rome with the king’s excuse; but the pope was lordly, and would hear nothing. At length some of the cardinals, who were favourable to the king’s messengers, undertook to inform the pope, that they had power to swear to the pope the king’s submission to the punishment and penance he should impose, to prevent the customary interdiction on Good Friday, and the imprisonment of the bishops. The four knights were sentenced to go barefoot to Jerusalem in linen clothes; but the hard service so shortened their days, that they died within a few years afterwards. The king was kept longer in uncertainty of his sentence, and prepared to pass over into Ireland with a great army, charging, at the same time, to prohibit the introduction of any briefs or letters into England, by whomsoever brought, or allowing any persons, of what rank soever, from leaving the kingdom without the king’s licence. Ireland was then governed by five kings; and as Henry went thither with four hundred large ships, four of them speedily submitted, but the fifth long resisted. Two cardinals came to the king in Normandy, and next year he returned thither. In the mean time, the bishops of London and Salisbury had obtained their absolution from the pope. Henry returned by way of England into Normandy, and swore to the legates that he was neither aiding nor consenting to Becket’s death, though he admitted that he had spoken rigorous words against him. After this, the conditions of his absolution were, that he should send means for equipping or supplying two hundred knights in the holy land, that after Christmas he should himself personally fight there for three years, unless otherwise dispensed with by the pope, that he should employ part of this time in fighting against the Saracens in Spain, that no appeals to the pope should be prevented, that he and his son should remain firmly united to Alexander and his successors, that freedom of return for persons outlawed on Becket’s account should be allowed, and restoration of his goods as existing the year before his departure, and all decrees established against the church to be superseded and repealed. Fastings and alms, and other penalties, were also enjoined: and Mr. Fox has elsewhere stated, from an ancient chronicle, that he gave to the court and church of Rome, for the death of Becket, forty thousand marks of silver, and five thousand marks of gold.

The blind superstition of those days is farther to be noted, if historians be correct, in his visiting Becket’s tomb barefooted, with bloody steps, and submitting by monks to be scourged; but, if incorrect, the slavery even of princes to the tyrannical mandates of popes and their creatures must be obvious. Reconciliation was made between the archbishop of Canterbury and York, in about four years after Becket’s death, concerning precedence, and what bishopricks were under the jurisdiction of the latter, in a convocation held at Westminster, by consenting to the determination by appeal to the court of Rome. Yet this was not litigated without some animosity, as the archbishop of Canterbury had excommunicated the clergy of St. Oswald’s in Gloucester, though it was afterwards remitted by the pope’s legate, and a suspension of every thing agreed on for five years. In this interval, about 1177, we have a letter of the pope to the archbishop of York and bishop of Durham, describing the submission of the emperor to him, as described in Chap. XVI. for preserving Alexander’s history complete, and holding his stirrup as he mounted his palfrey. A council was this year assembled at Westminster, on account of cardinal Hugo, who had been sent from Rome to procure money for the pope; but the same day was dissolved, on the revival of the old quarrel between the two archbishops, and the cruel treatment which the archbishop of York received from the servants and adherents of the other.

Seldom has the advantage of being raised to a throne or an empire in the life-time of a father, been productive of much good to any state. Let us, nevertheless, hope that there may be some exceptions; though the preceding accounts of the joint emperors of Rome, and the occurrences of the time of king Henry II. are but too prominent evidences of our observation. All his sons, in a greater or less degree, were hostile to him, which doubtless brought on a premature death. We have here only to add that, in the time of pope Alexander, an oath was established to be taken by every bishop to be faithful to the
bishop of Rome; but we cannot help noticing the clause it contained, against all alienation of the possessions of their respective churches, either by sale, mortgage, lease, or otherwise; on which we cannot but note the perjury of those who submitted to these things, though the oath was confined to the bishop of Rome's consent.

It has been related by Roger Hoveden and others, that, in 1178, in the city of Thouless, many persons were persecuted as, and condemned for, heretics; that some of these were scourged naked, some chased away, and some compelled to abjure. We have before mentioned Gratianus, master of the decrees, and Lombardus, master of the sentences; and we have now to notice Franciscus and Dominicus, who were as remarkable for maintaining blind hypocrisy, as the others for supporting lordly prelacy. To counteract their poison, the Waldenses, otherwise called Albigenses, rose up, so called from Waldus, a chief senator in Lyons; of whom we have now to give some account, though, for want of room, I must use a discretion in brevity. Yet I think it not amiss to remark, on this reference to the origin of the Waldensian reformation of religion, that when Hildebrand, Alexander, and Becket, had obtained their ends in their successful tyranny over emperors and kings, a new opposition was raised up by Providence to prevent the entire suppression of truth, and operate as a check upon their unchristian proceedings. Even in the midst of these oppressions of the haughty bishop of Rome, and the perverseness and obstinacy of the ungrateful and perfidious archbishop of Canterbury, did this new and unexpected spirit of reformation commence. The year 1160 is generally considered as the era of this change, though its formation was progressive, and its consolidation a work of time and labour. The sudden death of a citizen, at the time of a promenade in a summer evening, raised the deepest reflections in Waldus, a witness, amongst others, of the fatal occurrence. The necessity of seriousness and repentance was impressed on his mind, and the expediency of acts of beneficence was obvious, as a demonstrative proof of that repentance. He considered also the importance of becoming truly acquainted with the real nature and design of the scriptures. It appeared to be a duty not less necessary, to endeavour, as much as possible, to enforce upon others, by arguments and persuasions, the same obligations of reformation and amendment.

The great resort of persons, either on account of his generous and bountiful liberality to the poor, or from the wish of others to learn their duty from his illustration of the scriptures, soon offended the bigoted followers of popery to threaten him with excommunication. But he disregarded their menaces, resolving to obey God rather than man; yet did they not cease to persecute him, until they had driven both him and his followers out of the city. Their profession, as drawn out into articles of faith, was strictly consonant, so far as it goes, to the true protestant doctrine at this day maintained by the church of England. Æneas Sylvius, the pope, in his history of Bohemia, hath also stated their opinions nearly to the same effect. Opposition was made to them by Dr. Austin, principally on the subject of the real presence or transubstantiation, but with arguments too weak to be maintained.

Their expulsion from Lyons was productive of the most beneficial effects, though productive of trouble to themselves; for Bohemia, France, Lombardy, and other places, thereby received the purer doctrines of the gospel, but not without consultations among bishops, especially in France, of the best means to be used for their extirpation. The persevering bishops themselves have appealed in their writings to the knowledge of all, what numbers of infidels, as they called them, had been condemned to death and suffered. The councils of Thouless and Rome also condemned them. They had not much better treatment in Bohemia, where they suffered under the name of Taborites.

Passing over many occurrences of a civil nature, little connected with our history, we have only to remark the continued and persevering pride of the popes, with divers of the English bishops, who treated kings and princes, even their own, with the utmost haughtiness and tyranny. Among other instances may be noticed pope Innocent III's interdict of king John, discharging all his subjects from obedience; in whose reign also, we may properly notice how, by order of
the same pope, in 1212, one hundred persons were martyred in one day in Alsatia, for differing from the tradition of the popes about eating flesh. In 1215, the Lateran council was held at Rome, on account of various pretended heresies, which had for some time been propagating, and on account of which not only John, king of England, had been excommunicated, but the emperor and divers other kings and nobles. Uniformity of religion was pretended, but the humiliation of princes was designed, and the accumulation of money intended. It was therein decreed, that the pope should from that time have the correction of all Christian princes, and that no emperor should be admitted until he had been first sworn to him, and crowned by him. Transubstantiation also was therein established, and priests were thereby required to abjure lawful matrimony. The archbishop of Canterbury, too, had now incurred the pope’s displeasure, and was suspended, notwithstanding he solicited absolution. In this council, in particular, the abbot Joachim was condemned, with his books, as an heretic. In 1220, the city of Thoulouse was besieged by Lewis, the young French king, to expel the Albigenses, which scarcely differed, if at all, from the Waldenses, perhaps to extirpate them; but they were not only providentially protected, but a grievous famine and pestilence seized the French army, which compelled them to desist from their enterprise. In 1226, also, after great preparation, and solemnly cursing the earl of Thoulouse, and interdicting his whole land, for supporting the Albigenses, or heretics, they met with much difficulty at Avignon, though it was at length taken by the treachery of the pope’s legate, after a loss of 22,000 men, by drowning, famine, and pestilence. During the siege, the French king died before the city. Three years after, the French plotted to destroy the earl of Thoulouse, but were defeated in their attempt.

About the year 1231, on the election of Ralph Nevill, bishop of Chichester, than whom the prelacy had not for a long time been blessed with a man of more uprightness, to the see of Canterbury, on the monks visiting Rome, at their own expence, for he would not contribute a halfpenny for the journey, he was set aside by the pope, at the instigation of Simon Langton, archbishop of York. That malicious backbiter represented Ralph as hostile to the church of Rome, and declared that, between him and the king, all subjection to the holy see would be destroyed. This was enough; and the pope commanded the monks to proceed to the election of some man who would be more devoted to his interests; thereby superseding the lawful election of a good man, to make way for some minion of the Roman court and dignity. On choosing their prior to be archbishop, on account of age, when no other pretence could be found, he was set aside. At this time, the chief justice of England, who was the king’s favourite counsellor, caused to be published, through the realm, a statement of exactions of the Roman see, respecting benefices, tithes, charging the farmers of such benefices to withhold further payments of rents for the same to the Romanists, but, on a day assigned, to render the same to the king’s proctors, on pain of plunder and destruction of their property. A general spoliation of Roman or Italian priests, who had been thrust into the benefices, thereupon ensued; which at length terminated in excommunications against the real or supposed offenders, by the bishop of London and others. The pope was soon acquainted with these proceedings; and thereupon he sent menacing and mandatory letters to the king, to punish the insurgents, to the bishop of Winchester and abbot of St. Edmund in the south, and to the archbishop and John, a canon of York, and the bishop of Durham in the north, to detect and punish the offenders. Divers of all denominations were implicated, as bishops and king’s chaplains, deans, archdeacons, sheriffs, and under-sheriffs, and various other laymen; of whom many were imprisoned, many escaped; but Robert Twing, otherwise William Withers, with five others, boldly avowed themselves to the king as the ring-leaders, from enmity justly entertained against the exactions of the Roman pontiff and his minions, who had wrested from him the patronage of his own single benefice. The king successfully interceded with the pope to grant him absolution, and to restore him his patronage.

That the chief justice, who was suspected as the cause of these outrages, should become the mark of inveterate malice from those who were obsequiously devoted to the see of Rome,
is a natural inference. They incited the king
to remove him from his office, and he was
soon called to an account for all money re-
ceived into the exchequer office, and all debts
due to the crown from his father's time, be-
sides various other oppressive demands. Here
we see how little dependance can be placed
on the favour of princes. The chief justice
replied, that he could shew his discharge from
king John, on whom he placed every confi-
dence for fidelity; when the bishop of Win-
chester impudenty asserted, that this was of
no force after his death, to prevent the pre-
sent king from requiring an account. Hubert
had no remedy but to require time to rebut the
weighty charges so insidiously brought for-
ward; in which interval he fled for protection
to the priory of Merton. The king was en-
raged when the chief justice refused to appear,
for want of safeguard, and the king ordered
the posse comitatus of London to be raised to
fetch him forcibly, neither could the danger to
the church of Merton or the city prevail on
the bishop of Winchester to undertake any
modification of the order, from the ancient
grudge he bore to Hubert.

Not less than 20,000 citizens were assem-
bled next morning to go to Merton to fetch
one old man; but it was represented to the
king, by the virtuous bishop of Chichester,
whom the pope would not confirm in the
election to the see of Canterbury, that the
great danger of exciting such a vulgar and
unruly multitude to acts of spoliation and
destruction could scarcely be foreseen, and
that the scoffs and taunts of Frenchmen
would be incessant and insupportable for
such a treatment of his youthful preceptor.
Upon this, orders were immediately dis-
patched for their retreat by two messengers;
one of which was sufficiently expeditious to
accomplish his business, whilst the other
loitered in the hope of Hubert's being mur-
dered, to whom he bore an ill-will, before his
arrival. But he speedily broke his neck, by
the stumbling of his horse, which occasioned
his falling backward, and received the just
reward of his malice and treachery. The
archbishop of Dublin then prevailed to obtain
nearly four months farther time to answer; in
which time he proposed to go to his wife at
St. Edmund's Bury, but halted in Essex, in a
town belonging to the bishop of Norwich, of
which the king was speedily informed. Fear-
ing some commotion, the king dispatched sir
Godfrey Crancombe, knight, with three hun-
dred men, to apprehend him there, and bring
him to the Tower of London, on pain of
death. He had but just time to escape to a
chapel, naked from his bed, contiguous to the
inn, where he held in one hand the cross, and
in the other the sacrament. Refusing to come
out, they laid violent hands on him, and, with
his legs fastened under the horse's belly,
brought him, as commanded, to the Tower.
But the bishop of London, next morning,
demanded that he should be sent back to
the chapel, and protested that he would ex-
communicate every person connected with
so flagrant a violation of ecclesiastical pri-
vileges. The king was obliged to submit,
but commanded the sheriffs of Hertford and
Essex, on pain of hanging, to encompass
the chapel, and prevent his escape.

The archbishop of Dublin continued faithful
to him, in defiance of the king's prohibition
even to mention his name in his presence;
and, at last, after much importunity, the king
gave him choice of abjuring the realm, per-
etual imprisonment, or confessing himself
a traitor; when all of them were refused,
though, for the king's satisfaction, he did not
object to depart from the realm for a season.
Continuing in the chapel, his servitors were
withdrawn, so that he was left to die by
famine; when he offered himself to the she-
riests, to submit to the king's mercy, rather
than to perish from hunger, by whom he was
again brought to the Tower. The king,
being informed that Hubert had much treas-
ure in the house of the new Templers in
London, the prior, on being interrogated,
admitted that there was treasure, but how
much he could not declare; when the king
required the house to surrender it to him,
asserting that it was stolen from his treasury,
and they answered that it was faithfully com-
mitted to their trust, and, without his assent,
they neither could nor would deliver it. On
the king's sending to him, he willingly gave
up all, as well as himself, to the king's
disposal. His enemies were thereupon fur-
nished with a new argument, that he ought
to be hanged for his robberies, the treasure
being very great, as appeared from the inven-
tory, and could not, they said, have been
honestly obtained; but the king demurred to such a proposition, and began to recount his great services to his uncle, his father, and himself, though he might have displeased him in some things; but these, said he, have not been proved; and he shall never from me suffer a death so villanous. The king then granted him his possessions, as well those given by king John, his father, as those he had himself purchased.

Mercy having thus begun to expand, the nobles also relaxed in their envy, and four of them became sureties for him; so that he was afterwards removed to Devizes Castle, to be kept there by four soldiers of their appointment, and allowed to have the liberty of the castle. The crafty bishop of Winchester procured from the king the custody of the castle, artfully avoiding any mention of Hubert; but he, aware of so dangerous a keeper, got himself conveyed, fettered as he was, to the parish church by two servants, who with him there remained. Yet was he soon brought back by the keepers to the castle; though the bishop of Sarum, having been informed of this violation, insisted on his being returned to the church, and the keepers were excommunicated for having obstinately refused to obey his commands. Both this bishop and the bishop of London, and others, went to the king with the same demand, and would not leave him until his restoration to the church was granted; yet, from some cause, he was soon surrounded by guards, as before, in Essex. The king and the nobility were now so much at variance, on account of the overbearing conduct of the bishop of Winchester, and the introduction of foreigners into all offices, that the latter absolutely refused to attend a parliament at Oxford; in which the king was told in a sermon by a Dominic friar, that the bishop of Winchester, and Peter Rivall, his kinsman, and the foreigners, must be removed from his counsels, to secure the peace of the kingdom. Richard, earl Marshall, conveyed Hubert into Wales, until their differences were settled, in a council held at Winchester in 1234, in which Hubert was included, though before that happy event the bishop of Winchester had devised means to circumvent Richard in Ireland, and cause him to be slain, by means of forged letters.

About this time great numbers of the Catini, who were deemed heretics by pope Gregory IX. and the papists, were destroyed in Germany, and of the Albigenses in Spain. In this year broke out a violent dissension between the pope and the citizens of Rome, until it came to an open rupture, in which the latter greatly suffered on the first commencement. At this time, from his avarice, the eastern or Greek church totally separated from him, but not without the martyrdom of many Christians in the island of Cyprus, by the pope's army, in revenge; but they first seem to have been engaged in wordy war, before they engaged in bloody war. The pope at this time, and for several years after, grievously oppressed the English, and by means of his legates, large sums were annually squeezed out of their pockets; and, not content with that, he was continually fomenting disturbances between the king of England and other nations. Attempts were often made to shake off the yoke, both by the king and his nobles, and other subjects, as intolerable; but they were generally bullied and threatened into submission. At length, in a parliament in 1247, certain persons were deputed to Rome, to state the intolerable burden of their exactions, which in his answer he promised to lessen their causes of grievance, though the last thing which he intended to perform. By means of the pope's machinations, also, not only were 80,000 persons sacrificed in the holy war against the Saracens, but the French king and his two brethren were taken captive, whose ransom cost 60,000 marks; for the aid of the emperor would have been an effectual resistance to the infidels, from which he was prevented by a disgust at the pope's crafty proceedings. In this manner was the profusion of Christian blood avenged, which, through the pope's treatment of Christian princes, had thus been wantonly spilled; for the election of Romish bishops by the emperor had again been for a short time restored by a council, though the pope never ceased from his opposition until he had effectually annulled the decree. It was for the accomplishment of this design that the pope had been guilty of so many sinister practices, and raised so many stumbling-blocks in the emperor; though, at last, he did proceed upon his voyage, and accomplished a peace with the Saracens, one of
which articles, that he was to be crowned emperor of Jerusalem.

Instead of being grateful for so happy an occurrence, the pope was greatly chagrined and mortified. He had hoped that the emperor would fall by the hands of the Saracens; so that he stirred up a new mischief by setting his son against him, first inducing him to remove his faithful adviser and counsellor, whom he afterwards treacherously caused to be murdered, and for which, and other traitorous acts, he was committed to prison, where he died. This manoeuvre occasioned the emperor's speedy return, in a private manner, out of Asia, to counteract the pope's villanous practices; which he soon effectually did, though he was not openly hostile to the pope, but solicited, for quietness, what he little regarded. Yet the wicked disposition of the pope kept him in continual agitation, and the emperor in particular felt the force of his malice, though England was commonly the object of his disturbance, unless he was daily fleecing and skinning the poor sheep of its nation. The struggle between them terminated in the emperor's renouncing all subjection, and the pope died of a broken heart at the emperor's good fortune both by sea and land. A successor was elected, who died within eighteen days. But when Innocent IV. was established, he was not less subtle and crafty than his predecessors; but he was presently after found dead in his bed in Naples, when he was come to seize that kingdom and Sicily, immediately after the emperor's decease, though the reputed cause is unknown.

We should have mentioned a great persecution in Suevia, in the time of Frederic, on account of divers persons preaching against the pope; and afterwards of one Arnold Newton, (or De villa nova,) a Spaniard, whom the pope condemned for a heretic. William Love, (or De S. Amore,) master of the University of Paris, for writing against the friars, had also the like condemnation; and proving the dangers of the church, and the difference between true and false teachers by thirty-nine arguments, which Mr. Fox has preserved. About the year 1253, died Robert Groshead, bishop of Lincoln, who had considerable trouble with the pope for refusing to admit a cousin or nephew (a common name for a bastard) of the pope's, being under age, to a canonry in his church. The refusal excited his choler; which yet was so just reasonable, that the bishop was commended even by the cardinals. Various other instances of resistance to the popish power occurred in England, and within a few years after, indicating that it was speedily approaching its wane, and that the customary exactions were less frequent and less readily acceded to.

CHAP. XIX.

From the beginning of Edward the First's reign to the end of the reign of Henry the Fifth of England.

To find some respite in relating the bloody tales of persecution and martyrdom, is no small consolation and relief to the mind from the horrors of such tragical scenes. In the course of more than thirty years we meet with but one solitary instance of martyrdom, independent of massacres occasioned by civil broils and commotions, which was in 1290; and that was of Peter John, whose remains the pope caused to be dug up after his death to be burned, because he could not apprehend him when living. It has before been stated, that the Greek church would no longer submit to the usurped authority of Rome; and now we have an instance of Pope Clement's pronouncing the sentence of excommunication against the emperor of Constantinople for such refusal, in 1306, declaring him a heretic. In the following year, in a parliament at Carlisle, very heavy complaints against the pope's legate by the nobles of the realm of the intolerable exactions and heavy oppressions of the churches and monasteries; which occasioned a denial of first-fruits to the pope. About the same time also there was a similar discussion in a parliament held in France on similar subjects. In the beginning of Edward II.'s time, in 1310, happened at Paris, the massacre of fifty-four Knights Templars, with the great master of the order, at once; but as it was not on account of their religious principles, or the purity of their tenets, we cannot in any respect consider them as martyrs, but as sacrifices to policy. In England, also, the archbishop of Canterbury excommunicated the bishop of Coventry, for being friendly to
Peter Gaveston, who had been driven from the king's councils, and banished. At this time the nobles would not suffer the pope's legates to remain in England, though they gained admittance about six years after; but when they had advanced into the county of Durham, and from thence deputed an embassy, not only the Scotch clergy refused to receive them, or to give them any answer, but the country people, or some other persons, robbed and plundered them of every thing they possessed. On their return southward, as they had before demanded four pence in every mark from the clergy to support their expenses, now they demanded double to indemnify them also for their losses. But they refused to supply them with more than four pence; and the king issued a prohibition against strange taxes and impositions. Peter-pence also were at the same time prohibited, and due notice sent to the dignitaries of the church of every denomination for the information of the clergy. The pope's restless disposition was also manifested about the time that Edward II. was deposed against Lodovick the emperor, who was again denounced as a heretic, and a new emperor set up; but the rightful emperor, often as he had before escaped, now fell a sacrifice to public and secret treachery, and died by poison, though he had surrendered his empire. Enough has been stated in our pages to shew, that he was justly entitled to the character of a martyr. On a new emperor being elected, as they would not accept of the usurper Charles, the same fate befell his successor.

Of martyrs for about twenty or thirty years in these two reigns, we have no very particular accounts, though we read of several writers within the same period, who were excommunicated by name as heretics for expressing the same doctrines as those which are generally held by protestants of the present day. Yet here we may observe of Michael Casenas, provincial of the Grey Friars, that, about the year 1322, many of his followers were slain by the pope, others condemned, and that some were burned.

Nothing remarkable appears until 1343, when all communications from the pope were forbidden to be received in England, by the king and his nobles, and his two proctors or exactors driven out of the kingdom. The clergy at this time granted to the king the tenth of their revenues for three years. About the year 1353 two friars were burned at Avignon in France, being of the Franciscan order, for declaring the church of Rome to be the whore of Babylon. In the same year a priest at Avignon cast down the pope's bull before his feet, having proved its inutility for three years, for which he was scourged, imprisoned, and burned, though it might probably have been one of the two preceding martyrs. Reformation was now, almost every where, upon the down, though in many places it experienced much interruption. The pens, as well as the tongues, of the reformers were not idle. The Prayer of the Ploughman, as it was edited by William Tindal, was written about the year 1360, as it is preserved by Mr. Fox, and included in all the editions of the Harleian Miscellany, describes these proceedings and opinions; but its insertion, from its length, is here impossible. The archbishop of Armagh in Ireland was a firm opponent of the Romish antichristian spirit, for which he was cruelly persecuted, being one of those who defended the curates, or vicars, in their opposition to the incroachments of the friars, as in the original history at large appears. Though he was preserved from martyrdom, he died in exile at Avignon, after seven or eight years banishment, about this time. In 1364 a noted sermon was preached before pope Urban and his cardinals, in Advent, describing the several states of the church, at different periods, with its true nature.

About three years after, in the fifth year of this pope, a change commenced in England, in transferring the offices of the realm from the clergy to the lords temporal. By procurement of the pope, a Bohemian, called Militzius, was imprisoned for preaching the truth, and asserting that Antichrist was already come. In the following year, also, were some contentions between the pope and Edward III. about benefices, which were reconciled by mutual relaxations; a matter worthy of notice, on the part of the popes, who had so long domineered over princes and emperors. This was about 1374. Prophecies of reformation had, for the last century, been prevalent, and now were rather augmented than diminished; and writings to the same purport abounded. About the year 1374, on account of disputes
between the king of England and the pope, an embassy of various lords, accompanied by the celebrated John Wickliffe, then divinity lecturer in Oxford University, to the pope, with full powers of adjusting all differences. Of Wickliffe, whom we have here, for the first time, introduced, we have only to note at present, that the bishop of London was personally hostile and insulting to him, though he had been selected by the king’s express desire for the purpose. He is supposed to have died soon after. The result of this embassy may be inferred from what follows: that in 1376, the fiftieth year of Edward III., a great parliament was assembled at Westminster, for the express purpose of clipping the pope’s wings, in which many important regulations were established, in addition to others which had before been enacted during this reign in various parliaments. Soon after this, the king grew very infirm, and, being little fit to govern, a regency was appointed; and, having lost his son, surnamed the Black Prince, he speedily languished, and soon after died.

Coming now to the reign of his grandson, Richard II., we shall see much more of the history of Wickliffe. The duke of Lancaster and lord Percy were his firm supporters; but, being desirous of promoting reformation of the doctrines of the clergy, he soon perceived that he should have to contend with the whole weight of the hierarchy, as well as the thunder of Rome, and therefore felt the expediency of proceeding warily. When he came to touch on the sacrament, the monks and richer priests took offence; and Sudbury, archbishop of Canterbury, who had already deprived him of his benefice at Oxford, cited him to appear to his defence. The duke selected a friar from each of the four orders, to accompany him, as he and lord Percy did; and to assist him therein. Thus guarded, they at length entered St. Paul’s through the crowd; when lord Percy desired Wickliffe to sit down, as he would have much to answer, but the bishop of London resisted it, and a violent altercation ensued. The bishop raved in scolding; but at length the duke of Lancaster threatened, that he would humble the proud prelacy, and that the earl and countess of Devonshire, his parents, should be no protection to him in particular. The populace then took part with the bishop; and the matter was immediately laid before the parliament then sitting, as lately mentioned; but the Londoners sought both the duke and lord Percy to murder them, and to rescue lord Peter de la Mere, a traitor, murdering a priest who there resisted them.

But the duke and lord Percy had escaped to Kingston; and the princess, having there the young prince Richard, sent a message to the Londoners to cease from their violence; which was effected for the moment, on certain conditions, but with great humiliation afterwards on their part for the violence of their conduct. In stating these occurrences, we have, for a little time, lost sight of Wickliffe, on whose account they originated. Wickliffe, on the council’s breaking up from the interruption, for that time escaped. Particulars of his doctrines were then collected, dispatched to the pope, and by him condemned as heretical, and in the mean time Sudbury enjoined him to silence. In the next year came a bull to Oxford, reproving them for suffering his doctrine, when the heads of houses deliberated whether they should receive it. Letters also came to the archbishop of Canterbury and bishop of London, to procure the apprehension and imprisonment of Wickliffe. Another letter, also, was written to the king on the same subject.

In the convocation of bishops, assembled by virtue of the pope’s letters, eighteen articles were exhibited against Wickliffe from his writings; but a person of the young king’s court, entering in, commanded them not to proceed against him with any definitive sentence, by which he was again preserved, though not before he had given in a protestation, and an exposition of the said articles. On dismissing him, they charged him again not to preach or teach to the laity, which, as before, he disregarded. Pope Gregory dying soon after, and a schism of almost forty years duration succeeding between two successions of popes, we shall hope to find that much of our history will be thereby passed over with brevity. Yet it did not so turn out, but that a few monastical doctors of Oxford, and a smaller number of others, united, without any particular authority, to issue an edict against the followers of Wickliffe, and he himself was threatened with
farther imprisonment, and the greater excommunication, if he did not amend. The duke of Lancaster recommended that he should submit to the archbishop’s mandate, when he so qualified his answers to the articles as to mitigate the rigour of his enemies. Yet in a council which next year was convened at London, nine articles were stated and condemned to be heretical, and fourteen decreed to be erroneous. The archbishop of Canterbury then addressed to the bishop of London a letter against Wickliffe and his adherents; after which, being about to examine him more strictly, they were prevented by an alarming earthquake, and, at a future day, a few persons coincided with the determination of the council. After this a letter was directed by the archbishop to the chancellor of Oxford, to hinder such heresies, with a letter monitory to the commissary. John Ashton, otherwise Laurence Redman, of whom Mr. Fox in another place relates that, on refusing to recant, he was sentenced to imprisonment for life, which terminated in 1382, Nicolas Herford, bachelor of divinity, and Philip Reppington, a canon regular, who seems afterwards to have recanted, to have been made bishop of Lincoln, and to have become a violent persecutor, suspected by name in the archbishop’s letter, were required to answer on a short day, which they did. On being required to give farther explanations, in general they said they could then give no farther answer; and on this the two last were allowed a week’s farther time, and Ashton till the 28th. when Thomas Hilman also was required to state his sentiments. Hilman submitted; but Herford and Reppington did not appear, and were excommunicated, under date about a fortnight after, at Paul’s Cross, and a citation sent to the chancellor of Oxford for their appearance within fifteen days, after he had excommunicated them.

The archbishop, William Courtney, then procured a law to be made for burning such as professed a different religion, being in the young king’s minority; but, as it was done without the commons, they required its repeal. Though the king ratified the repeal, he wrote letters to the archbishop against the favourers of Wickliffe; and to the vice-chancellor of Oxford, to apprehend Wickliffe and the others just mentioned, and all other favourers of him, to expel them from the university, and commit them to the archbishop, and to seize all the books which they had written. But the vice-chancellor and provosts secretly favoured Reppington, and he afterwards became bishop of Lincoln; but, on farther proceedings against them, Herford and Reppington fled for safety to the duke of Lancaster who, from fear afterwards deserted them. Three months after Reppington and Ashton were reconciled to the archbishop; and Reppington afterwards became a great persecutor, and sentence against Ashton was prevented by the interruption of the Londoners, who forcibly broke into the court. Herford, not appearing, was afterwards taken and imprisoned, but escaped; and the archbishop thereupon wrote a cruel letter to the king against him. Wickliffe, it is probable, was now in exile; for about this period he addressed a letter to pope Urban VI; but he was too much engaged against the French pope Clement, either to answer it or to molest him.

In an answer to king Richard II. on the right and title of the king and the pope, Wickliffe maintained the king’s right to retain its treasures from the pope to defend the kingdom. Wickliffe had many enemies, especially among the clergy; but he had many friends, and some among the nobility. Yet the earl of Salisbury, for disliking the carrying of the sacrament to his house, was enjoined by Ralph Er- gum, bishop of Salisbury, to erect a cross of stone there, relating all the story, to which he was to repair barefoot every Friday, for the rest of his life, and bareheaded in his shirt, there for the fact to kneel upon his knees to do penance.

To proceed with the reign of Richard II. we find William Swinderby, a priest of the diocese of Lincoln, accused of heretical opinions, and certain articles exhibited against him in 1389, by three friars, which he never taught, and he hardly escaped out of their hands, threatening to burn him, even in extorting from him an abjuration of the doctrines falsely allledged to his disquiet. He soon removed thence into the diocese of Hereford, where the turbulent friars again persecuted him, and excited the bishop of Hereford to issue process against him in 1391, on account of heresy, and articles exhibited to the number of
seventeen. In this interval we have a godly sermon preached by R. Wimbledon, in 1389, which our limits and our design unite in compelling us to disregard. After pointing out, first, the falsity of the articles, generally, and correcting, he, secondly, proceeds to state and answer them orderly. He was soon after cited personally to appear before the bishop, and on four several days he neglected to appear; after which he appears to have been apprehended and imprisoned, and charged with various conclusions from his writings or preachings, to all of which he gave copious answers. Then follows the sentence of being a heretic, from which he appealed to the king, and also transmitted a letter to the parliament. We have no account whether he died in prison, or whether he suffered martyrdom, or whether he continued in prison until the death of Richard. The same process and articles were also exhibited in the same year, and by the same bishop against Walter Brute, and are followed by twenty-eight conclusions, which William Swinderby abjured; against which he made a most admirable defence, treating Rome and the pope with much severity. The bishop, answering nothing, required a fuller account, which was by him afterwards prepared, containing a most ample history of the gospel, and of popery and its doctrines. Out of this were thirty-seven articles collected and transmitted to Cambridge to be confuted; and two eminent men, named Colwill and Newton, were employed for that purpose. William Woodford, the friar, employed his pen also on the like occasion. But of the death of Brute we have no account; and it is probable that for this time he escaped. Yet we find a severe letter against him from the king, about two or three years after, when the archbishop of Canterbury and others had succeeded in inflaming the king's mind against the heretics. About this time also many persons were greatly troubled in and about Leicester, by means of the archbishop, and compelled to abjuration and penance. In the following year, 1395, various conclusions relative to reformation were presented to parliament, and public exhibition of them made on the door of St. Paul's; and, in answer to a letter of pope Boniface, after his election, the king, in 1397, returned a long answer; in which the schism of the two contending popes was treated with much freedom, but with little effect.

In drawing towards the close of Richard's reign, we must observe that his government was far from being favourable to the usurped authority of the Roman see. The parliament rolls afford numerous documents of a determination to reduce this usurpation. Civil history relates in what manner his government terminated; and our present task is to hasten to the proceedings in the time of his successor. The year after his accession, in the year 1400, William Sautre, a faithful priest, was accused in convocation, the parliament being assembled, of heretical doctrines, and soon was convicted as a heretic; and process being issued against him, he was compelled to recant, of which he repented afterwards, for which he was degraded. The king's mandate being issued for his death, he was burned at a stake in the city of London; being the first martyr which was executed by fire for the cause of Wickliffe, as king Henry IV. was the first English king who began the unmerciful practice of burning for the support of popery. Henry, says Mr. Fox, "was to the godly terrible, in his actions immeasurable, of few men heartily beloved. His reign was full of trouble, of blood, and misery." But our concern being only with martyrs, general details of sanguinary proceedings must be omitted.

We must not overlook in due place and order the testimony of Oxford University, in October, 1406, of the great learning and good life of Wickliffe, who, it seems, was now dead; and the declaration of John Hus, that he was no heretic, which naturally accompanies it. Yet the council of Constance, collecting certain articles to the number of forty-five, condemned them; and eighteen were collected by William Woodford, a friar, and censured in his writings. Walden also, Friar Tissington, and others, wrote against him. In the following year, William Thorpe was brought before Archbishop Arundel, and boldly maintained the doctrines of Wickliffe and others, giving full answers to the articles objected against him, as by himself is at large described; whereunto is annexed a treatise, by way of testament, containing heavy complaints against vicious priests. But whether he was kept in prison, which is probable, or was at any time burned, we have no account. In 1409, John Badby, tailor, was accused of
heresy, and had articles exhibited against him, to which he made answer; on which he was condemned by the bishop of Worcester, and soon after, notwithstanding every allurement to make him recant, he firmly surrendered his life in a tun, which was set on fire. In 1409, we find that Henry IV. of England wrote letters both to pope Gregory XII. and to the cardinals at Rome; the former respecting the vast numbers of persons slain through popish dissensions, and the latter relating to the council of Pisa, which was to assemble in the following year; at which a new pope was chosen, superseding both Benedict and Gregory; and hence there were three popes at one time existing. A bloody statute ex officio passed also in this reign; and a constitution, consisting of thirteen articles, was also issued against the gospellers, by Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury. No priests were to preach but by permission of the bishops; nor suffer a strange person to preach without being privileged; to confine themselves to the vices only of the clergy or laity; to preach only the popish doctrines of the sacrament of the altar, &c.; the same to schoolmasters; Wickliffe’s books prohibited; against translations of scripture not sanctioned by the ordinary; no conclusions against the catholic faith; to sanction the pope’s decrees; to demand letters of orders from strange preachers, to make inquisition in the colleges of Oxford; suspension of three years to all offenders; and that offences against the bishops exceed them against princes. Notwithstanding which constitution, many persons firmly maintained the articles of Wickliffe’s doctrines, whilst many others were intimidated, and submitted to abjure them.

By means of Queen Anne, married to Richard II., who was a native of Bohemia, and a favourer of the Wickliffites, that people came to the knowledge of the true gospel, and many of Wickliffe’s books were conveyed thither. The pope’s jealousy could not long submit to this; and he directed a bull to the archbishop there, to cite John Hus, and others, to give an account of their faith, and to prohibit the teaching, preaching, or otherwise defending or maintaining any of Wickliffe’s doctrines; but although this abated by the death of pope Alexander, he was again accused to pope John, and excommunicated by one of his cardinals, to whom the accusation and defence had been referred, who would hearken to nothing of the latter. He proposed three questions for discussion; “whether we ought to believe in the pope; whether it be possible for any man to be saved, who confesseth not with his mouth unto a mortal priest; and whether any of the doctors do hold or say, that some of Pharaoh’s host being drowned in the Red Sea, and of the Sodomites being subdued, be saved.” And the first he denied with Bede, the second he affirmed from Peter Lombard, and the third he also affirmed from St. Jerome. But, in a council held at Prague, for the purpose of condemning all the forty-five articles collected out of Wickliffe’s writings, with divers other matters, to the number of eleven comprehensive propositions, they were all answered by Hus, or protested against as unscriptural. Nevertheless, he was banished out of Prague; yet he boldly objected to the decree of the doctors in eighteen distinct arguments, and his banishment created great dissatisfaction in the laity. Pope John’s epistle to the king of Bohemia, against Wickliffe and his followers, was in aid of their proceedings.

We shall not here recite at large the story of the owl, which annoyed this pope John two days in a council at Rome, until she was destroyed. But we must take notice briefly of the council of Constance, at which time no fewer than three popes were living at once, each striving to subdue the other; all of them hereafter being compelled to resign their pretensions, never to be re-chosen. John had been set up by the Italians, Gregory by the French, and Benedict by the Spaniards. At this council was present an immense number of persons, of all classes and characters; abbots, doctors, princes, dukes, and other persons of dignity, to the amount of 16,000; with barbers, minstrels, cooks, jesters, common women, and other foreigners, from Easter to Whitsuntide, inclusive, to 60,500. Yet, notwithstanding the numbers, and long duration, nothing was done of moment in this session of the council, but only “that the pope’s authority is under the council, and that the council ought to judge the pope.” But the council decreed Pope John’s deposition, and directed his imprisonment, where he was three years detained, and then, by pope Martin, restored
to the rank of cardinal. This council also condemned the memory of Wickliffe, and confirmed the sentence of the council at Rome, for condemning and burning his books, at the same time directing that his bones should be burned, after he had been buried forty-one years. If this account be correct, he must have died about 1374, as already alluded to in this chapter. In this council, also, in 1415, John Hus was condemned; but afterwards received a rescript of the emperor's safe conduct to the council, and was supported by the testimony of the bishop of Nazareth, and a public document of his acquittal signed by the inquisitor-general of heresies at Prague.

His progress to the council was, in every city, most loudly quoted; a matter of no small degree of envy in his enemies; and though he defended himself against all their articles, he was there imprisoned, in violation of all public faith, and soon fell into a troublesome sickness. The nobles of Bohemia afterwards transmitted to the council a supplication for his release, stating the cruelty of his usage; to part of which an answer was made by the bishop of Louthenis, and followed by a reply from fifty-four nobles, stating the infamy of his treatment after safe conduct obtained. This was succeeded by another, which also was disregarded; which occasioned Hus to make a solemn protestation against their proceedings. Then the council argued his case; and the patriarch of Antioch declared that he must not be bailed, and that no faith was to be kept with a heretic; which they amply verified. Letters were also addressed in his behalf to the emperor and the king of Bohemia; but the cardinals compelled them to break their promise; and the emperor, in particular, not only persuaded him to recant, but made against him and Jerome of Prague a public oration to the presidents of the council. Much disputation followed in the council, the applications for him having obtained him at least a hearing, though the assembly was often very tumultuous; being falsely accused on one side, and obliged, on the other, boldly to defend himself. A long list of thirty-nine articles was exhibited against him in the council, and he replied to all of them, bitterly complaining how the papists wrested and tortured his writings. In answering the twenty-first article, he appeals from the pope unto Christ, and the appeal follows; after which, the rest of the articles, with their answers, are given. Condemnation soon after ensued; and before sentence was pronounced, a butchery sermon was preached against him by the bishop of Londy. John Hus was not suffered to speak, though he frequently interposed a word or two, especially denying what they had charged him with, that he was obstinate. They speedily proceeded to degradation, and soon after to execution. His books were burned before his eyes at the church doors, when he smiled at their malice; and he died a martyr for his zeal against popery, though, with some of their most objectionable doctrines, he in some measure accorded. The emperor, partly ashamed of his prevarication and tame submission to the haughty pope and his cardinals, and perhaps not without regret for the event; attempted to excuse himself, as Pilate did, from the imputation of destroying him.

Our limits preclude us from giving his godly letters to the people of Prague, and others, and we must now turn our attention to Jerome of Prague, as he has been usually denominated. He had been cited by the council of Constance to appear, which he did voluntarily, on the emperor's and king of Bohemia's declining to give him letters of safe conduct, though, as we have seen, they would have been useless; but not without the protestation of the nobles of Bohemia against the refusal. He was apprehended, and brought in letters to the council, and cruelly treated in prison, until they had forced him to abjure. Yet they forged new articles against him, and did not liberate him from imprisonment; and he was permitted, with difficulty, to defend himself before the council, to maintain his favourable opinion of John Hus, notwithstanding his forced abjuration. He had then been in prison 340 days (more than eleven months); but they made speedy work at last, and soon read his sentence of condemnation, and was soon followed by his execution.

Return we now to England, where, about the beginning of this council, Henry Chicheley succeeded to the primacy of Canterbury; in whose time, as he was zealous for the pope, many were compelled to abjure, many were forced into exile, and some were burned. The
practised against the Bohemians, as before have been partly related. Articles were now exhibited against them. On the deposition of pope John, pope Martin was elected, and the emperor hasted to kiss his feet. At this time also great wars were stirred up, after the death of Weneclaus, king of Bohemia, between a nobleman called Zisca, a great warrior, who was much displeased at the death of John Hus and Jerome, and the emperor; when the latter was glad to submit to peace. After a victory of Zisca, on the river Iglaria, the consuls of Prague circumvented John Premonstratensis, and nine of his adherents, and treacherously slew them in the council-house; which was soon speedily revenged by the citizens, who demolished the house, spoiled many others, and executed eleven of the ringleaders. Pope Martin issued a bloody bull against the followers of Wickliffe, Hus, and Jerome, and also directed a most bloody inquisition on twenty-six articles of John Hus, said to be collected from his writings. The Bohemians were actively employed in exposing the corruption of the popish clergy; and as they had been condemned at Rome for heretics, and the kingdom had been interdicted, that letters of safe custody were no protection, and that their applications for Hus and Jerome had been so contemptuously treated, they boldly told the emperor, after the death of Zisca, that their army was not so small to prevent their providing for their own honour, and that they were not to be overcome by words.

Wars still continued to be fomented by the pope, to the advantage of the Bohemians; so that a message was sent from a council assembled at Basil, to request their presence there, with the letters of the emperor’s safe conduct thereto. The Bohemians, having had so recent example of his breach of faith, it was debated how far on such grounds they could place any confidence or reasonable security; but three hundred horse were at last deputed as an ambassage, amongst whom was Procopius, famous for his great victories, and Peter, an Englishman, of distinguished ability as an orator. When admitted into the council, one of the cardinals addressed them on the protestants being without the ark, and other matters to the like purpose; to which they replied, in terms showing their causes of dissent, of the necessity of receiving the com
munion in both kinds, that civil rule by God’s law was forbidden to the clergy, that preaching should be free, and that no crimes should be exculpated under pretence of avoiding greater evils. Procopius rose and protested against begging friars, as unwarranted by scripture. At length four on each side were selected to discuss these disputable matters. But before the business of that investigation took place, we must close this chapter with mentioning the death of Henry V. king of England, at Blois in France, or, as some call it, Bois de Vincennes, of a bloody flux, in August 1422, leaving an infant son under a year old.

CHAP. XX.

From the accession of Henry the sixth, to the accession of Henry the eighth.

The reign of the young king, under the protection of Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, his uncle, commenced with blood, in the martyrdom of William Taylor, priest; who had been apprehended and compelled to abjure in archbishop Arundel’s time, and had again been brought, in 1421, to answer to certain articles about hanging scriptures round the neck, against worshipping human persons, and calling upon saints. Other articles were laid against him by the four orders of friars; and he was condemned and degraded, and on the first of March 1423, but six months and one day after the young king succeeded, being then only fifteen months and sixteen days old, according to the minutest computations, martyred in Smithfield. In this year also we have an account of Henry Radtgeber, a priest of Ratisbon, who there suffered for religion; and in 1424 John Draendorfe, of noble birth, and a priest, at Worms, by means of fire suffered martyrdom. In August 1424, John Florence, a turner, was compelled to abjure; and on three Sundays compelled to submit to scourging, both in Norwich cathedral, and as many Sundays also in his own parish church of Shelton. About the same time, also, Richard Belward, of Erisam in the same diocese, was forced to recant, and give sureties not to teach any heresy. John Godsell also purged himself in like manner, and was dismissed in that year; and sir Hugh Pie, chaplain of Ludney in the same diocese, was obliged to purge himself by witnesses, on charges of uttering opinions against pilgrimage, begging, and worshipping images. The pride and intolerance of the prelates of those days ought not to be omitted in our history, as related in archbishop Chicheley’s letter to the monastery of St. Alban’s, requiring them to ring bells, and do such other homage to the church of Canterbury, being within his province, as should be a complete acknowledgment of their submission to a superior authority. In 1426, we have a notice of Peter Thoraw’s suffering at Spire, and not long after of Matthew Hager, at Berlin in Germany. In 1428, letters were sent from the king, particularly to apprehend William White, priest, and Thomas, late chaplain of Setling, and William Northampton, priest, and all others suspected of Lollardy; on which were taken and troubled, between that and 1431, about 120 men and women, in the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, who had embraced the opinions of William White, a follower of Wickliffe. When he was brought to the test, it appeared that he had ceased from his public ministration and benefice, being married, but not from teaching and writing. He had been compelled to recant his doctrines against the Romish church in 1424, at Canterbury; but in 1428, being then in Norfolk, he was again taken, in consequence of the king’s letter, condemned, and burned at Norwich in the same year, in the month of September. He was not suffered to speak at his martyrdom, and his wife suffered much from the persecutions of this bishop. Father Abraham, of Colchester, and John Waddon, priest, also suffered, about the same time, on the same articles. Many others were forced to abjure, as, Thomas Pie, and John Mendham of Aldborough, who were scourged in October; John Beverly, or Batnrd, a labourer, was condemned to be publicly whipped, and to fasting; and afterwards to be banished from the diocese, for eating flesh on Easter-day, not having been shriven in lent, nor received on Easter-day. In like manner John Skilley, of Flixon, miller, was sentenced to seven years imprisonment, to fasting every Friday, for seven years, and afterwards to be punished, and do penance in Norwich cathedral; and many others also. Of these was
John Baker, otherwise called Usher Tunstall. He had a book, with the Paternoster, Ave Maria, and Creed, in English, with other articles about fasting, confession, and invocation of saints and images, which he was compelled to abjure, and submit to similar penance. What became of Margery Backster, we have no account, though every means of subornation was used against her by the popish fanatics.

About this time there were severe persecutions in Suffolk and Norfolk, as already intimated. In 1430, Thomas Moone, of Ludney, and his servant, John Burrell, were both compelled to abjure, and submit to the usual penance; and John Finch, of Colchester, in the diocese of London, was apprehended at Ipswich for heresy, and obliged to do open penance, besides many others. Richard Hoven-, a wool-winder of London, was burned near the Tower for maintaining the opinions of Wickliff. Nicholas, canon of Eye, was forced in the following year to submit to the bishop of Norwich; and Thomas Bagely, priest, of Monenden, in Essex, suffered martyrdom by burning, in Smithfield; and in the same year Paul Cran, a Bohemian, was burned, but it is not stated where.

The year 1431 was remarkable for the assembling of the council of Basil; but in a short time afterwards pope Martin died, and Eugenius IV. succeeded, who was hostile to the council, which he therefore wished to dissolve, but could not. For they maintained their superiority to the pope, being a general council, as had before been determined at Constance. In the council there, in 1438, an understanding was effected between the Bohemians and the council, to be perfected afterwards, though it suffered much discussion before it was consummated. In 1439, we have an account of one Richard Wiche, priest, who was burned at Tower-hill for heresy; and in the following year, lady Eleanor Cobham, and sir Roger Olney, priest, were condemned, the one to death, and the other to perpetual imprisonment; for she was sentenced by archbishop Chicheley, in resentment for the duke's opposition, to bear a taper three several times along Cheapside in penance, and outlawed to the Isle of Man. This lady Eleanor was wife of Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, regent for the young king, against whom the cardinal of Winchester had taken umbrage, because the duke considered it his duty to resist his obsequiousness to the pope, to the degradation of his lawful sovereign. In procuring this sentence against her, therefore, we may suppose, without breach of charity, that the malevolent passions were not wholly dormant on this occasion; as the disposition of popes and popish prelates has been already demonstrated sufficiently in this history, and will be more abundantly exemplified in the future books, so as to exclude all grounds for hesitation. His treacherous plan, first by removing the king, having obtained the queen's favour, and concerting the measure of a parliament at Bury, in 1447, where, on the second day, the duke was seized and imprisoned, and very soon after found dead in his bed; and others of his household were arraigned and part executed as traitors, but cut down before they were dead, and then pardoned. But this bloody-minded ambitious cardinal, who expected to purchase the pope's good by bribery, was cut off in 1448; and in the same year, when the cardinal of Winchester attempted to force himself upon the king as legate from the pope, the king in council absolutely refused to admit him, not being thereof unto desired, as by the laws of the realm was the right and privilege of the king of England. In that year, also, Mat. Palmerius was martyred at Corna, in Florence, by fire, for writing a book about angels, for which the pope condemned him. The duke of Suffolk, another of the duke's enemies, in about two years after this, in 1450, was impeached of the duke of Gloucester's death by the commons of England, charged with the loss of Normandy, and plundering the king's treasure. In a parliament, soon after, at Westminster, the duke of Suffolk, the bishop of Salisbury, and others, were accused. The king, to appease them, submitted to banish the duke for five years; but the ship, on his passage to France, was attacked by an English ship of war, and taken, and, being brought back into the road of Dover, his head was struck off on the side of a ship's boat.

Some years after, in 1457, Reynold Peacock, bishop of Chichester, felt the scourge of the persecuting popish prelates, for encouraging discussion about the presumptuous pretended prerogatives of the see of Rome,
and compelled to retract; but he was still detained in prison, and, as some suppose, was there privately assassinated. Soon after this, in 1459, commenced the wars of Edward IV. which are foreign to our present history; in which happily we find a chasm until 1473, when John Goose was burned upon Tower-hill, for the sake of the gospel, on the same day on which he was condemned. Yet we must not omit the account of Ladislaus, king of Bohemia, a bitter enemy to the followers of Hus and Jerom of Prague, who had designed to cut off in a body all the Hussites at Prague; being providentially intercepted in his purpose by his great enemy, death, either of some pestilential disease, or, as suspected, from poison, whilst preparing to solemnize his marriage. This was in 1461. Again, in 1475, John, a keeper of cattle, thence surnamed Neatherd, of Nicholas Hausen in Franconia, was condemned and burned, for a heretic, for saying that the life of the clergy was ignominious and abominable. In 1479, doctor John Wesalia was troubled respecting his opinions, and compelled to ask pardon; but this did not satisfy the turbulent papists, but he was compelled to answer interrogatories, and afterwards obliged to revoke his doctrines.

We come now to the death of Edward IV. in 1483, and the accession of the young king Edward V. then about twelve years of age; but by the instigation of his uncle, who had been chosen protector, he and his younger brother were both barbarously and traitorously murdered in the Tower; after which he usurped the government as their lawful king. By the favour of some, and the destruction of others, who were hostile, he effect his purpose: nevertheless, his favorites soon quarrelled with him, the earl of Richmond was sent for out of Britany, who was the sole representative of the Lancaster branch, his mother being the great grand-daughter of John of Gaunt, the spurious line having been legitimated by parliament, and it was proposed for him to marry the princess Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Edward IV. and thereby establish an union with the York branch. The result of this was, that the bloody usurper, Richard III. was slain in the battle of Bosworth Field, and Henry VII. immediately succeeded to the government, and the proposed union was effected. In this year, 1485, various persons of Coventry were troubled for religion, and compelled to recant, but not without the injunction of penance; and, in 1488, the wife of James Goyt, of Asburn, was troubled in like manner, and had a similar treatment on recanting. About this time, or soon after, also, John Picus, earl of Mirandula, of great learning, was much vexed by pope Innocent VIII. and Alexander VI. for his bold challenge at Rome to dispute with any persons in Christendom on ninety conclusions, including some upon the sacrament, &c., which none of the popish clergy dared to accept; but though they secretly harassed him, he escaped their open censures, and died at the premature age of only thirty-two.

After John Wesalia, above mentioned, was Basilius, or Weselus Groningensis, perhaps about 1490, who wrote very pointedly against the pope's supremacy; and in 1494, not long after the death of Weselus, on returning to our English martyrs, we find Joan Boughton, widow, mother of lady Young, was brought to the stake in Smithfield, at the age of four score, for her stout maintenance of most of Wickliffe's opinions. In 1497, various persons were sentenced to bear faggots at St. Paul's, on different Sundays, as part of their penance, their books being burned before them at the cross. In the next year a priest was burnt at Canterbury, in the king's presence, because he would not revoke; and in 1499, Savanarola, with two godly friars, were first openly hanged at Florence, and afterwards consumed to ashes, which were cast into the river. In this year, 1499, many were apprehended in Kent for heretics, brought to Paul's Cross to bear faggots, and were abjured; and soon after thirteen Lollards, amongst whom was a boy, with his mother, and seven other women, were placed there with faggots on their necks before the procession. Accounts differ as to the year when Babram of Norfolk was martyred, a godly and constant professor of the gospel, whether in the year 1499 or 1500; and an old man, not long after, in the latter year, suffered the pains of burning in Smithfield. In 1500, also, we meet with William Tylsworth, who was burned at Amersham, or Agmonds-ham, in Bucks; when the cruel savages compelled his only daughter, as a penance for Lollardy, to set fire to her father's burning; and her husband; and at least sixty more, many of which are given by name, were obliged
to bear a faggot, and afterwards to wear badges, and to be exhibited in several market towns. William Page, and some others, were also burned in the cheek; and Robert Bartlet, a rich man, was sentenced to lose his farm and goods, imprisoned in the monastery of Ashrigg seven years, with a badge upon his right sleeve. Robert Cosin was also burned at Buckingham, on the same day with Tylsworth, or the day following, being a miller of Missenden; when about twenty persons were compelled to bear faggots, and submit to other penance. About the year 1503, also, Thomas Bernard, a husbandman, and James Morden, a labourer, were burned at Amersham. William Littlepage was there burned in the cheek, and father Rogers; as was also father Reive, who afterwards suffered martyrdom. Father Rogers had been in the bishop's prison fourteen weeks, oppressed with cold, hunger, and irons; and, when discharged, was so lame in his back that he could never afterwards stand upright. At this time thirty more were burned in the cheek, and bare faggots; and when they were thus branded with the mark of persecution, their necks were tied fast to some stake or post, &c. with towels, and their hands held or secured, and in this state the hot iron was applied. Richard Smart is said to have been burned this year at Salisbury.

In the year 1506, Thomas Chase, of Amersham, was apprehended and conducted to the bishop of Lincoln, at Wooburn, in Bucks, and by him was committed to his prison there, called Little Ease; where he was strangled and pressed to death, as Mr. Fox states, on the authority of the woman who there attended him, though they reported that he hanged himself. In 1507, Thomas Norris was condemned by the bishop of Norwich, and there burned. In 1508, Elizabeth Sampson was troubled in London for religion, and compelled to abjure before the chancellor. About the same time we may regard the burning of Laurence Ghest, at Salisbury, after being imprisoned two years, having a wife and seven children. At the same time William Russel was burned in the cheek. We have also an account of a godly woman, who, near this time, surrendered herself to the flames at Chipping Sodbury, in Gloucestershire; and another soon after.

Drawing near the close of Henry VII's reign, we cannot but notice the remarks of Mr. Fox on the duration of the king's reigns from William the conqueror to this king, inclusive. He mentions king Henry II. and III., and king Edward I. and III., as those whose reigns were of longer continuance than others, or more eminently flourishing; to which, as an anticipation which my readers will excuse, we may add the reigns of our Elizabeth, and perhaps of George II., but most certainly of his present majesty, George III., whose long reign has no exact parallel in our annals, being of full age to rule on his accession to the throne of his ancestors. Henry II., as we have seen, stoutly withstood pope Alexander III. and his proud imitator Thomas a Becket. Henry III. resisted the pope's usurpation to the utmost extent which the times would allow. Edward I. strenuously maintained his independence on the popes, the Scots, and all other foreign powers; not only withstanding the pope's subsidies, but excluding from its protection all the bishops of the realm who supported the pope. Edward III. was no less valiant in resisting all the pope's subterfuges and evasions and provisos, defending his subjects against impositions, and boldly claiming a right to the French dominions. And, as beyond the line of our history, I shall only refer my reader, as a demonstration of the above additional remark, to the histories of Elizabeth, George II. and III. respectively, for the pertinency of the proposed extension of Mr. Fox's observation. Popery has, in those reigns, received no improper countenance; and, we trust, the child is yet unborn who shall be witness of so dangerous and fatal a measure. Persecution we most cordially disclaim, but the necessity of preservation we most firmly support.

CHAP. XXI.

History of persecution in the time of Henry the eighth to the death of Queen Anne Boleyn.

By the accession of this king to the English throne, persecution for the sake of religion does not seem to have been abated. In the following year, 1510, several persons were troubled in London diocese for their faith and
opinions; amongst whom we shall first mention Joan Baker, for refusing to worship the crucifix, and for calling lady Young a martyr, and saying that the pope had no power to give pardons. William Pottiver was charged with affirming that there are six gods; and he admitted each of the three persons of the trinity to be God; but answered that the others were only so figuratively, by setting an undue value on lawful things, or giving importance to unlawful things. Thus a priest of those times made a god of his concubine; any wicked person, without repentance, makes a god of the devil; and that some might attribute so much to animals or other things, as to make gods of any thing, according to their idle fancies. Thomas Forge and his wife, and their son John, with Thomas Goodred, Thomas Walker, John Calverton, John Woodrofe, Richard Woolman, and Roger Hilliar, were troubled for speaking against pilgrimages and invocation of saints, but examined on denying the corporal presence in the sacrament, and that Richard Woolman in particular had called St. Paul's church a house of thieves. We find also the names of Thomas Austy and his wife, Thomas Grant, John Garter, Christopher Ravins and his sister, Thomas Vincent, Lewis John and his wife, and John Webbe, in the same or the next year, apprehended and examined on the sacrament, and charged with speaking against pilgrimages, and reading English books against the Romish church. The wife of Lewes John also was specially charged with speaking against all holy days but the sabbath. William Cooper and his wife also were charged, but especially the wife, with speaking against pilgrimages and invocation of saints. In this year, 1511, William Sweeting and John Brewster, in the month of October, were burned together in Smithfield, for their opinion on the sacrament; of whom Sweeting had before been compelled to bear a faggot at Paul's Cross, and at Colchester, and compelled to bear the badge of a faggot on his left sleeve, until it was removed by the parson of Colchester. Brewster had abjured about six years before, and was sentenced also to wear a badge, until it was removed by an overseer of works under the earl of Oxford. In this year also several persons were induced to recant, more from simplicity and ignorance than design; amongst whom we may mention Ellen Heyer, and Robert Berkeway. It was called the year of the great abjuration. We have also a list of thirty-nine persons this year who abjured to archbishop Warham; besides five martyrs, who then suffered under him for withstanding the popish doctrines. Their names were William Carder, Robert Harrison, John Brown, Edward Walker, and Agnes Grebil. Against the last, at the age of sixty years, her own husband and two sons were compelled to accuse her to death; who, with Carder and Harrison, received condemnation, and suffered martyrdom, as did others. Brown, who had been persecuted by a popish priest, for differing in opinion about the mass, was taken to Ashford to be burned. In 1514, Richard Hun, a merchant taylor of London, was hanged or strangled in Lollards' Tower; concerning which many depositions were produced, besides his body being definitively sentenced to be burned, which was done sixteen days after his murder. In 1516, Martin Luther first began to write against the pope's indulgences; and it is remarkable that this was just a complete century after Jerome of Prague, in 1416, had predicted the rise of the future instrument of a successful reformation.

In the year 1517, we have a catalogue of thirty-seven persons, who were compelled to abjure in that year, or within a short time afterwards; and, in 1518, we have an account of John Stilman, who in the month of October was openly condemned, and delivered to be burned in Smithfield. Within a few months after, Thomas Man was condemned also by the bishop of London's bloody chancellor, and executed without the king's warrant. In the same year, also, it appears that Christopher Shoemaker, of Great Missenden, was burned at Newbury; and, in 1519, six men and a woman were at once executed at Coventry, for teaching their children the Lord's prayer and ten commandments in English. In this year the famous Dr. Colet, dean of St. Paul's, and founder of St. Paul's school, who inclined to the persons called heretics, is said to have peaceably departed this life, having obtained the king's favour in spite of his enemy, the bishop of London. In 1520, we find that one mistress Alice Doly was troubled for speaking against pilgrimages, and accused at Staunton Harcourt for the same; but I have no.
met with any account of the result. But, in 1521, we have a copious account of persons accused in Lincoln diocese, wherein the several branches of a family were forced to accuse one another of reading the scriptures in English, and about the sacrament and images, particularly a family of the name of Bartlet, with seven other persons; and also the sister of John Phip was suborned against him by bishop Longland, with the design of convicting him of perjury; and William Phip, after he had abjured, accused his own son Henry. The family of Bernard were also set to convict each other of opposing pilgrimages, worshipping saints, &c.; and also a family of the name of Pope, for having English books of scripture, and others of Collins and Edmunds. Seven others were accused by W. Chedwell, of Amersham, on account of having English books; and divers others, to the number of thirty-seven, were charged by Roger Bennet, on oath, for the same, and for censuring the priests; and it is remarked that James Morden, with other more abjurers, were enjoined for seven years to visit the church of Lincoln twice annually, and others for five years to the image of our lady at Missenden. But he, from the distance, thinking the other would suffice, was farther troubled for violating the bishop's injunction, and for absenting himself six months from the diocese, being enjoined to the contrary, though it was to procure a livelihood; and also for saying his paternoster and creed in English, having forgot many words of the Latin. But as it would be tedious to enumerate all, with their special charges, to the amount of some hundreds, and many of them for having English books of scripture, &c. Most of these were simple labourers, or artificers, though they delighted in procuring such books, and gaining knowledge from them. But though we have lists of great numbers of persons who were made to abjure, with pence, and though many others were accused, of whose fate we are wholly ignorant, yet some were condemned for having relapsed after abjuration, and delivered to the secular power to be burned; and of these we find the names of Thomas Bernard, James Morden, Robert Rave, John Scrivener, Thomas Holmes, and Joan Norman. Of these it is observed, that the children of John Scrivener were compelled to set fire to their father; and Thomas Holmes, though he had detected many to gain the bishop's favour, was condemned with the rest, and probably executed with them. In the same year Robert Silket, who had escaped from Coventry two years before, was retaken and burned there on the day after he was brought thither, merely for having the Lord's prayer and the commandments in English; for they could not prove, as pretended, that they were martyred for eating flesh on fasting days.

The following year, being 1522, the pope addressed a railing letter against Martin Luther to the princes of Germany, to instigate their indignation against him, and to cause his condemnation, with instructions to his legate to the same purpose; but the nobles, assembled in the diet of Noremberg, in their answer, supported Luther against the Romish grievances, and excused themselves by the favourable disposition of the people to this zealous reformer, requesting that a general council may be called for restoring the Christian church to an unity of faith and practice. Amongst other things, the ministers of Strasbourg had begun to marry, of which the bishop complained; but Luther stated the expediency of such a permission, though contrary to the pope's law, as bearing with human weakness, and no way inconsistent with the gospel, neither contrary but rather favourable to good manners and chastity. He likewise explained the other articles agreed upon by the nobles in the diet. The bishop had unjustly complained of this, because it had been agreed with the senate and citizens, that the bishop should execute no judgment, without the concurrence of the magistrates, and therefore the senate would not permit him to molest them. In 1523, two friars, for their adherence to Lutheranism, were condemned, degraded, and burned at Brussels; and in 1524 was burned at Dietmar, on the borders of Germany, Henry Sutphen, a monk, for the same opinions, and John Clerke, at Melden or Meaux in France, for opposing the pope's pardons. In the same year one Nicholas, of Antwerp, was apprehended at Melza, by two servants of a butcher, for preaching in the absence of the curate, who was a Lutheran, put in a sack, and drowned in the river; and John Pistorious, a learned man, was first imprisoned, with ten malefactors, then condemned and
in Lincoln diocese, and more particularly in Buckinghamshire, for possessing English Testaments, or parts of them, and even for having the paternoster and commandments in English, we now find bishop Tunstal prohibiting their use by an official instrument, and commanding all English books on religious subjects to be surrendered within two months, into the hands of the vicar-general. This was done with the design, amongst others, of suppressing the book, called "The Petition of the beggars to king Henry VIII." of which we shall speedily take farther notice. A list of books, with the New Testament in English, hereby proscribed and interdicted, is then added, both in English and Latin, according to their titles; though the second list in Latin was not declared until 1529, in which year king Henry VIII. published a proclamation against the gospellers, with another list of English books, which were also forbidden.

We must now advance to the year 1527, wherein is recorded the martyrdom of George Carpenter, of Emering in Bavaria, who was burned there for denying some of the leading articles of the popish creed. But he resisted all their artifices to procure his recantation, or any semblance of it, and cheerfully submitted to his fate. In the same year we find Patrick Hamilton, of St. Andrew's in Scotland, who, after receiving the benefits of the reformed religion at the university of Marpurge in Germany, returned home, and attempted therein to instruct his countrymen. But he was soon cited to appear before the archbishop, and, determined against all demonstration and argument to silence him, he was condemned, and in all haste on the same day there executed. And the widow Mendelmuta, in Holland, also in this year was burned at the Hague, after condemnation, seals her faith with her blood. In 1528, many persons in England were forced to abjure; amongst which we find the names of Geoffrey Lome, for translating and dispersing the writings of Luther, Sigar Nicholson, a stationer of Cambridge, for selling them, according to report, was suspended by his secret parts, and John Raimund, a Dutchman, for bringing 500 of Tindal's Testaments into England from Antwerp. George Scherter, at Rastadt, was also this year condemned to be burned alive, though intercession was made with effect as degraded, being a priest, brought to a stake to be strangled, and afterwards burned.

As a martyr in 1525, we find the name of Dr. John Castellane, who was apprehended for preaching the gospel in Metz in Loraine, and imprisoned above eight months; after which he was condemned, degraded, and burned at Vike, the episcopal seat of the bishop. At Ensitheim in Germany, also, master Peter Spengler, after long imprisonment for the Lutheran faith, besides the most cruel tortures, was thrown into the river, and drowned. Wolfgang Schuch, also, an enemy of idolatry and superstition, being settled as a pastor, at St. Hippolitus in Loraine, which the prince of Loraine threatened to destroy by fire and sword, for encouraging a heretic; whereupon, to save the town, he went to Nancy, the chief city, to render an account of his faith. But he was speedily seized, and thrust into a stinking prison for twelve months, and otherwise brutally handled. At last, being conducted to the house of Gray Friars, there he confuted them all, as they were very ignorant, but was condemned for denying the sacrament of the mass; and soon after was led out to be burned. In the same year a schoolmaster was hanged in Suabia, for speaking against the mass and relics; and a godly priest, after being commanded to counsel sixteen noblemen before they were beheaded for exciting commotions, had his head struck off, from a hatred to the gospel, without any sentence. James Panane, a schoolmaster of Paris, after recanting and repenting, was also this year burned in that city. In England, we find Roger Hachman, of North Stoke in Oxfordshire, to have been accused, relative to his opinion of obtaining salvation; but he seems to be comprehended in the list of abjurers.

In 1526, we find that John Huglein, a priest, was burned at Merspur in Germany, for differing from the pope of Rome in some points of doctrine; and Leonard Keyser, of Rawbe near Passau, being decoyed by his own family, compulsively, as may be concluded, to come thither from Wittenberge, was there taken, and, with little ceremony, ordered, as determined by the duke of Bavaria, to be burned alive, which was as speedily effected. Returning to our own country, where, within a few years preceding, we have seen how improperly so many people were troubled, especially
to his mode of punishment in being first beheaded, and his body ordered afterwards to be committed to the flames; but, on account of moving long after the decapitation, it was permitted to be decently buried. Denys, of Meaux, was also burned for saying that the mass is a plain denial of Christ's death and passion. The next year, as abjurers, we find Paul Luther, warden of the Gray Friars' house at Ware; Roger Whaploade, a merchant-tailor; Dr. William Godridge, who at St. Paul's Cross revoked his praying for the soul of Richard Hun, who suffered about fifteen years before; Robert West a priest, for prohibited books and opinions; Nicholas White, of Rye, for opposing the popish doctrines; Richard Kitchen, priest, for the same; William Wegen, priest; William Hale, of Tottenham; and William Blomfield, of Bury, for the same. Whether it was in the same year, or soon after, that Edward Freese, a painter, became a martyr, is not altogether certain; but he was cruelly treated in the bishop of London's prison at Fulham, where other persons of Essex were also confined, and, by a continuance of barbarous usage, he was at length driven out of his senses. His brother suffered at the same stake with his wife, in the city of York, for the same cause.

In the prison at Fulham was one father Bate, of Rowshedge, whose wife interceded much for him, and at last presented herself a petition to the bishop, who sent her into Chancery-lane, where she obtained a letter back to the bishop, which was intercepted, by advice of her friends, and found solely to relate to additional matter to ensure his condemnation. By the delay he found means to escape, though he soon after died. Father Roy, in Portugal, this year, also suffered martyrdom. In a few years after the martyrdom of Mr. Patrick Hamilton, but whether in this or some following year is uncertain, we find Henry Forest, of the same city of St. Andrew's, was martyred for asserting that the other had received the crown of martyrdom by burning; and, within a year after, James Hamilton, brother to Patrick, was troubled, and advised by the king to abscond; and, though he was condemned, he fortunately escaped. Others, at the same time, were brought to abjure. In the year 1529, also, Peter Fastidius and Adolphus Clarebachius were burned at Cologne, in Germany, for denying many of the tenets of popery; William Swole burned at Mecklin; and, at Gaunt, Nicholas Van Pole seems to have been beheaded.

The year 1530 was also fertile in persecutions. To begin with England, we find John Ryburne, of Risborough, in Lincoln diocese, accused compulsively of his own sister, of saying that a time would come when no elevation would be made; and that the church-service was corrupt; but what was the result we do not find related. John Eaton and his wife, of the same place, John Simonds also, and various others, were in the same year compelled to abjure. Simon Wisdom, of Burford, also; James Aiger, of Aiger; and John French, of Long Witham; were driven to the like submission. In this year, also, we find Thomas Hitten, of Maidstone, in Kent, who was there burned. It seems probable that most of the following were abjurers; as, John Tindal, for sending money to his brother beyond sea; William Worsely, priest, for preaching at Halstead; John Stacy Tyler, for opposing purgatory; Laurence Maxwell, tailor, for opposing transubstantiation; Thomas Curson, for disregarding montery, and having an English Testament; Thomas Cornwall, for tearing off his badge after he had bore a faggot, was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, but escaped; and Thomas Philip, for having Tracy's testament and eating butter in Lent, was excommunicated for contumacy, but what afterwards became of him does not appear. To these we must add the story of one Still, which we find in another part of Mr. Fox, who was burned in Smithfield near the latter end of Bishop Tunstall's time, who was this year translated to the see of Durham. A book of the Apocalypse was there also burned with him; at which he rejoiced.

Arrived at 1531, we have to notice occurrences relative to Thomas Bilney and Thomas Arthur, at Norwich, though he had been charged with heretical opinions, as they were called, or at least suspected of them, so far back as 1527. Deserting the university of Cambridge, in company with Thomas Arthur, at which time Hugh Latimer was cross-keeper, in readiness for processions, he commenced preaching in divers places, which was not long unknown to Wolsey, cardinal and archbishop of York, from their free repre-
hension of the Romish clergy; before whom and many other bishops, &c. in 1527, Bilney and Arthur were brought to be interrogated as to their preaching the opinions of Luther, or any others contrary to the catholic church. Bilney was then sworn to make answers to such questions as should be demanded of him; after which Arthur was interrogated and sworn, and time given them to deliberate until the afternoon, Arthur having denied his saying any thing derogatory to their sense of the sacrament. The cardinal then commissioned the bishop of London and two other bishops to take their examinations. Articles being produced against Arthur, he submitted to the church; Bilney, on the contrary, refused; and the bishop of London then exhibited various documents against him, digested into thirty-four interrogatories, to many of which they agreed, and, by their answers, modified others. These things were done in 1527. Again were other articles produced against Bilney; after which we have a dialogue between him and friar Brusierd, about images, followed by his submission, but not until he had been declared convict of heresy, reserving to another time the rest of the sentence, and not till after an interval of three days, on each of which he had refused his recantation, and after much importunity from a friendly mediator. His penance was to walk bareheaded before the next procession in St. Paul’s, with a faggot on his shoulder, and to stand before the preacher at St. Paul’s Cross during the whole sermon. Then follow his letters to the bishop of London, and a long defence against sir Thomas More; with an account of his sorrowful life for having recanted from 1529 to 1531. The testimony of the venerable Latimer, of whom we shall hear so much in the following books, who was converted by Bilney, must render every other demonstration and evidence superfluous. They did not relinquish him until he had been condemned; after which, being in prison, waiting for his martyrdom, he made an essay on his finger, how far it could endure the fire, by holding it in the flame of a candle. His death in a short time followed, with the utmost composure and calmness, and with the most manly and magnanimous resolution.

This heroic conduct of Bilney produced the conversion of many eminent men in Cam-
doctrines; but he was finally condemned and delivered to the secular power, Jan. 15, 1531, and soon executed by fire at Liverydole, near that city.

The chancellor's rancour would not suffer a man to escape his suspicion, who had married a person so very obnoxious to him. Mrs. Bainham had refused the friars saying their gospels in Latin at her house; and she had only escaped from his grasp, on account of her young daughter then laying sick at home of the plague. Sir Thomas More caused Mr. Bainham to be arrested in the Middle Temple, being a gentleman of good knowledge in the law, and conveyed to his house at Chelsea. He there kept him for some time as a free prisoner, and afterwards restrained him to a more close confinement; after which, having whipped him at the Tree of Truth, as it was called, in his garden, he committed him to the Tower, and ordered that he should be racked, being present himself, because he would not accuse his friends in the temple, nor make any discovery of his books. His wife, for denying that they were at his house, was sent to the Fleet; and their goods were confiscated. He was at last brought to the bishop of London, to be examined upon articles; and again, on the following day before the said bishop at the chancellor's house at Chelsea. After this he was committed to one of the compters, where, for about two months he remained, and then was again brought to the bishop's chancellor, and to the consistory, when, with great difficulty, he was brought to abjure, fined £20. to the king, to walk before the cross in procession at St. Paul's, to stand before the preacher on Sunday with a faggot on his shoulder. But he was not discharged from prison for some days; after which he greatly lamented his want of firmness, wrote letters to the bishop and others respecting his situation, so that he was apprehended again in a short time from his discharge, when he was most savagely treated, having been near a fortnight in the bishop's coal-house, with irons on his legs. Being carried to sir Thomas More's, he was two nights chained to a post; after which he was a fortnight at the bishop's at Fulham, and most cruelly handled. In the Tower he was a fortnight, scourged with whips, to make him revoke his opinions; removed first to Barking, then to Chelsea, to be condemned, and lastly to Newgate, preparatory to his burning four days after.

Brevity requires me to curtail the subsequent accounts, in the last years of Henry VIII's reign. Of Richard Bayfield, some time a monk of Bury, we have to say that he was burned in Smithfield in November, 1531. After his conversion he had been imprisoned by his own brethren, and scourged, with other punishments, for three quarters of a year, until Dr. Barnes, by whom he had been converted, procured his release, and removed him to Cambridge. He had formerly been driven to abjure, but now firmly maintained the opinions of Tindal and Frith; then we have a relation of thirteen articles, with his answers; with his condemnation, degradation, and martyrdom. John Tewkesbury, leather-seller, of London, had articles of examination tendered to him in 1529, to which he submitted; but, on his recovery, was condemned, in the house of sir Thomas More, at Chelsea, and committed to the secular power in December, 1531, and, without the king's warrant, burned in Smithfield. In the same year this merciful herd extended their benevolence to the remains of William Tracy, a gentleman, of Gloucestershire, on account of his will, which came to be proved nearly two years after in the prerogative court of Canterbury; when a commission was sent from the convocation to Dr. Parker, chancellor of Worcester, to cause him to be taken out of the ground, and burned as a heretic. The king, on hearing it, indignantly punished the chancellor, for daring to do such an act without his knowledge, and it cost him £300. before he could obtain his pardon.

In 1533, we have an account of several French martyrs; as John de Cadurco, of Limosine, who was accused, degraded, and burned, for expatiating on a sentence, "Christ reign in our heart's: five others were condemned, and burned in Paris, for calling the mass an abomination, and stating other superstitious absurdities, and one of them had his tongue bored through, and fastened with an iron wire to one of his cheeks, and was also burned. Alexander Canus, priest, otherwise called Laurence Craceus, was also burned in Paris, for Christ's religion, and tormented by a slow fire; and a surgeon of the same city, after condemnation, and on his way to
execution, for refusing to bow to an idol as he passed, had his tongue cut out before he was burned. Peter Gaudet, a knight of Rhodes, after long torments in a prison at Geneva for religion, was there also martyred by burning. Returning to England, we find that John Frith and Andrew Hewet were burned this year in Smithfield, in the month of July; the former of which had been cruelly persecuted by sir Thomas More, to say nothing of his being put in the stocks, at Reading, as a vagabond, till released by means of a schoolmaster there, and was at last taken, and committed to the Tower. His book against sir Thomas More on the sacrament, which was so highly valued afterwards by archbishop Cranmer, did not tend to lessen the chancellor’s indignation. After various examinations at Lambeth and Croydon, he was at length condemned by the bishop of London to be burned. Of Andrew Hewet, it may be observed that, being first taken, he made his escape from the bishop of London’s house, though in irons, but was soon treacherously retaken, and examined on the sacrament; yet, being firm in his religion, he was condemned, and they both suffered together.

The next year presents us with a few French martyrs for religion, as Quoquillard at Besançon in Burgundy, Nicholas, a scrivener, John de Poix, and Stephen Burlet, at Arras, and also Marie Becaudella, at Fountains. This year, 1534, was remarkable for king Henry VIII’s proclamation to abolish the pope out of England, and for the bishops taking the oaths of allegiance to the king, and, amongst others, of Stephen Gardener, bishop of Winchester; which was followed by a bull of pope Clement VII against the king of England. In 1535, one Henry Fleming, a friar, was burned at Dornick, for having laid aside his habit, and married, and refusing to treat his wife as a harlot; and John Cornon, a husbandman of Mascon in France, was in the same year condemned, and burned. But, in the life of queen Anne, the protestants, in general, had much relaxation in England, so that in this year we read only of ten Dutch anabaptists who suffered in different parts of the realm, ten others who were saved on their repentance, and two who were pardoned by the king after the definitive sentence. The chancellor, sir Thomas More, and Fisher, bishop of Rochester, who had been violent persecutors, for refusing to take the oath of supremacy, were on Tower-hill executed and beheaded for treason.

In 1536, is an account of Martin Gonin, of Dauphine, who was imprisoned, and for his faith thrown into the river, and drowned. But it presents us with a far more interesting event in the martyrdom of that faithful and diligent minister of Christ, William Tindal, a native of the Welsh borders, and a zealous and indefatigable student of Oxford. His opposition to the prevalent doctrines of the times soon produced him numerous enemies, and he, amongst others, had warning to present himself to the bishop’s chancellor; after which, being much molested, he left the country, and came to London, and soon afterwards retired into Germany. There he consulted with John Frith, and determined to translate the New Testament and the books of Moses into English. He caused them to be transmitted into England, to the great advancement of religious knowledge. Going first into Saxony to confer with Luther, he afterwards mostly resided at Antwerp; where he wrote his book on the sacrament of the altar, but did not then deem it prudent to publish it. In going to Hamburg, to have his books of Moses printed, he was shipwrecked on the coast of Holland, and lost all his books, writings, and copies. In repeating this lost labour, he was assisted at Hamburgh by master Coverdale, for about eight months; when he returned to Antwerp, on account of the sweating sickness. The popish clergy declared his translation to be full of errors and heresies, and endeavoured with all their might to suppress it; and the prelates procured the condemnation of his books, and burned both them and the New Testament. The English bishops combined to secure him there, and sent over a person to act the part of a traitor, with the appearance of a gentleman, who, after a little time, contrived to lodge in the same house with Tindal. He absented himself for some time at Brussels; but, on returning, brought officers with him for the purpose of Tindal’s being apprehended, and sent to prison to Filford Castle, and his books and papers were speedily seized, by authority from the emperor’s procurer-general. Various letters were sent from lord Cromwell and others in Tindal’s favour, and answers returned from thence back to
England; and, after other letters returned, the traitor, fearing Tindal's friends would effect his release, proceeded to accuse the host of Tindal, who had been the bearer of the letters to and from England, so as to implicate him in the persecution against Tindal; and, after much harassing investigation, he at length escaped from prison in the night. But Tindal had not such fortune, and was afterwards condemned, under a decree of the senate of Augsburg, to be tied to a stake, and then strangled by the hangman, and his body afterwards to be burned, after being a year and a half in prison, and after converting his keeper and his daughter, with many of his household. When he was at the stake, he is said to have uttered with an earnest and a loud voice, "Lord, open the king of England's eyes."

During his imprisonment, as the university of Loraine was not above nine or ten miles from Filford Castle, those of that place commenced an investigation of his opinions, in the management of which he gave them full employment, to answer the testimonies and authorities of scripture, on which he grounded his opinions. His betrayer, it was said, lived but a short time after, like another Judas, to enjoy the reward of his villany; the vengeance of Heaven soon after reached him, and he was destroyed and consumed by lice and vermin. After this we have Tindal's supplication to the king and nobles of England, with two letters to master John Frith, prisoner in the Tower. In a note, he states that two martyrs had suffered at Antwerp, four in Flanders, and another elsewhere on the same day, and that five doctors had been apprehended at Paris for the gospel; by which the English might perceive that they were not the only persecuted people.

In this year died the lady Catherine, Princess dowager, and, in about four months after, queen Anne, who was friendly to the gospellers, after being married about three years, being first sent to the Tower, with her brother lord Rochford and others; and on the nineteenth day after beenhead. In three days after he married lady Jane Seymour, the mother of king Edward, who was not less hostile to the pope than king Henry. For the restless spirit of Paul III. would not suffer him to be idle; and therefore he summoned a council, to be held at Mantua, and required all kings and princes to be present, either personally or by their ambassadors. The pretences were, to suppress heresies, to restore the church, and to make war against the Turks; to which the protestants objected, stating reasons abundant why they should not resort thither; and the king of England published a long protest against acceding to his desires.

CHAP. XXII.

From king Henry the eighth's protestation against the pope to the Calais persecution.

It would be foreign to our purpose to speak of the civil commotions which took place in 1536, in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire; but we cannot omit in the following year, 1537, the mention of prince Edward's birth, which was at the expense of his mother's life. In 1538, after various injunctions of the king, for abrogating numerous holidays and other regulations in the two years preceding, is an injunction for providing an English Bible in every parish-church, and removing images abused to any superstitious purposes, &c. In the same year, on Good Friday, Longland, bishop of Lincoln, preached before the king against the pope, at Greenwich; and, in the destruction of images, an old idol, called Darnel Gatheren, was brought up from Wales, and burned in Smithfield. Yet, notwithstanding this tendency to reformation, it presents us with various instances of persecution; and amongst these, the case of John Lambert, otherwise called Nicholson, first engages our attention, who was in this year condemned and burned in Smithfield. He was a convert of Bilney, but retired from the troubles to Tindal and Frith, where he continued more than a year, being chaplain to the English house at Antwerp. But sir Thomas More caused him to be brought from thence to London; and was first examined at Lambeth, then at Oxford, upon forty-five articles, which were exhibited against him as interrogatories, to all of which he gave answers, and to most of them very copiously. Being admitted to a disputations before the king, having first addressed him, stating his case, from the archbishop's ward at Lambeth, on the subject of the sacrament,
in a copious treatise, his argument availed nothing; but, at the instigation of bishop Gardener, he was condemned as a heretic; and soon after most brutally burned in Smithfield; for, his legs being consumed, the fire was withdrawn, and the savage attendants pierced him with their pikes. In the same year, also, Robert Packington was murdered by an Italian, at the instigation of the dean of St. Paul’s, and rewarded with forty crowns, as he was crossing the street at five o’clock in the morning to go to Mercers’ Chapel, then called St. Thomas of Acres; for he was a man of bold courage, and, as a burgess of the city of London, had in parliament spoken freely of the clergy’s covetousness and cruelty. A lawyer and a gentleman, of the name of Collins, was this year also burned in Smithfield, though he had been bereft of his senses from the infidelity of a very handsome wife; and in a church, at the time of mass, on the elevation of the sacrament, he took up his dog, and, in like manner, held him over his head. For this he was condemned, and, with his dog, for the same burned. One Puttenham was the same year condemned by bishop Longland to suffer at Oxford, though his mind was totally deranged; yet whether the fire had any effect in restoring his senses, we cannot assert; but his last words were rational, on his martyrdom, calling upon Christ, and so departed. One Pudden was also, about the same time, condemned and executed in Suffolk, having been apprehended in a church in Suffolk, for blessing the empty chalice after all the wine was expended; and William Leighton, also, a monk, of Eye, in Suffolk, was burned at Norwich, for maintaining the sacrament in both kinds, and ridiculing an idol produced in their processions. N. Peake was also burned a little before this year, but seemingly in the same year, at Ipswich; but of his accusation and condemnation, we know nothing but only of the brutal conduct of doctors Heyre and Springwell, who, at his execution, struck him on the shoulder, calling to him to recant, and on his refusal, of Dr. Reading, who asserted that the bishop of Norwich had granted forty days pardon to every one who would cast a stick to burn such a heretic. In this year friar Forest was condemned to be suspended alive on a gallows in chains, by the middle and armholes, for rebelling against the king’s supremacy, and in that state to be burned; but he died as a traitor, not as a martyr.

Being now advanced to the year 1539, we therein find the fate of a Lutheran priest, in the vicinity of Basil, who was, in a pretended fit of frenzy of a wicked drunken priest of the papists, who lodged with him, basely murdered; and yet he escaped, being soon by the bishop dismissed, as having done a meritorious act in destroying a heretic. Of the occurrences of this year, we have next to remark king Henry VIII’s proceedings in giving a check to reformation, by new injunctions against English books, sects, and sacramentaries, against the saintship of Thomas a Becket, married priests, &c.; by which it appears that his former injunctions and declarations of a more favourable tendency to reformation were only suggestions of the moment, and elicited more by a consideration of gratifying his passions and resentment against the pope, than any solid or established principle of the destruction of popery. In this year we have a farther account of three martyrs, whose blood appears to have been shed, almost in defiance of common decency. Whilst John a painter, and one Giles German, were examining on charges of heresy by the bishop of London and others, a person named Launcelot, one of the king’s guard, a tall and comely man, accidentally came in; and when his motions indicated some friendship or pity for the persons accused, he was thereupon seized, immediately examined, and condemned with them to be conveyed next morning into the field of St. Giles, and there burned.

In the next year, 1540, we find one Claudius Painter, a goldsmith of Paris, was condemned to be burned by a chief captain, for endeavouring to convert his friends and relatives; but the parliament ordered farther, that his tongue should from his mouth be first extracted. Stephen Brune, a husbandman, of Ruyters, was also examined upon heresy, and condemned to be burned; but the wind completely drove the flame from him, when for an hour he continued to exhort the multitude. They were compelled to procure new faggots and vessels of oil, which failed also; when the hangman threw a stick at his head, which Brune observed was contrary to his sentence, to beat him like a dog, when he was
judged to the fire. He was then thrust through the body, which was cast down into the fire, and his ashes scattered with the wind. In the same year, also, sir John Borthwick, knight, was cited to appear before the archbishop of St. Andrew's, and other bishops and priests assembled in the cloister of the cathedral there, on accusations of heresy; but, on having escaped, they condemned his picture to be burned, and his goods to be confiscated. Then follows a detail of the articles, and his copious answers, with the sentence at large of his condemnation. Soon after this we meet with the names of five persons, two of them priests, with three or four others, who were all condemned for opposing the popish decrees, and burned on the castle-hill at Edinburg.

The death of lord Cromwell, by the factious stratagems of his enemies, left the king at liberty to indulge his disposition against the protestants; and papists, who held against his supremacy, in favour of the pope, were equally subject to his resentment. It so happened that, on the next execution, three protestants and three papists were put to death at one time. Robert Barnes, doctor, was first accused of heresy, for a sermon at Cambridge, in advent, and articles exhibited, and time allowed to answer. After some time had elapsed, cardinal Wolsey sent the sergeant at arms to apprehend Barnes at Cambridge; but the others, who had been accused, escaped. Barnes was brought before the cardinal at Westminster, and he and Thomas Parnel, whom he had brought from Lovain, were committed prisoners to the Fleet; after which he and the stilliard (query steel-yard) men were persuaded by bishop Gardiner and Fox to abjure and bear faggots, which was done on the following morning, with great state and ceremony of the cardinal, bishops, and abbots, present. After all this and the rest of their ceremonies, they were remanded to the Fleet, until they should know the cardinal's pleasure. After being half a year in the Fleet, he was removed to be a free prisoner at Austin Friars in London, and afterwards ordered to the Austin Friars at Northampton, there to be burned. This last he evaded by a stratagem, on receiving advice secretly of their design; and leaving letters, pretending to be drowned, escaped from their hands, and in disguise got away to Antwerp, and thence to Luther.

After some time, he returned as ambassador from the king of Denmark to the English court, with the Lubeckers; when sir Thomas More designed to entrap him, but was prevented by Cromwell, and protected by the king, so as to go back again in safety to the duke of Saxony and to Luther, where he forwarded the printing of his works. In the beginning of queen Anne's time he returned, and was afterwards employed in an embassy to the duke of Cleves; but Stephen Gardiner's return from France blasted every thing, and Barnes and others were apprehended and carried before the king, to Hampton Court. The king endeavoured, but in vain, to reconcile him and Gardiner; and, on being again sent for to Hampton Court, Barnes, Garret, and Jerom, (of the two latter we shall treat presently,) were thence carried to the Tower, whence they were brought out only to terminate their lives. This happened in Smithfield, on the 30th of July following, without any knowledge of their being condemned, or wherefore. At his execution he was indulged with addressing the public at great length, vindicating himself from all heresy or disloyalty, and stating the ingratitude of destroying the firmer servants of government.

To come next to Thomas Garret, who was curate in Honey-lane in London, fifteen years before, when he went to Oxford, and there sold various books concerning scripture in Latin, with various copies of Tindal's first translation of the New Testament; for which he was sought both in London and Oxford, and, after a temporary absence, apprehended there, but speedily after escaped by slipping the lock of the room. His friend, Anthony Dalaber, being charged as privy to his escape, suffered much, by threatenings and by the stocks, and even menaces, to be carried to the Tower and racked. But on Garret's being taken at Hinksey, near Oxford, both he and Dalaber were compelled to carry a faggot in procession from St. Mary's church to Fridlegate's; and afterwards sent to prison at Osney. What particularly became of Garret until his apprehension with Barnes, we are left in ignorance; it is only added, that he fled from place to place to avoid their tyranny. Dalaber also seems to have been released, and removed into the diocese of
Salisbury, where he died in 1562. Garret, on his suffering with Barnes, following his example, made a like protestation and profession of faith, but in fewer words.

Next we have to notice William Jerome, vicar of Stepney, the third of these martyrs, was a diligent preacher, but was accused of preaching against magistrates. His sentiments were similar to those of Barnes and Garret, and therefore need not be repeated; and his protestation and confession so nearly similar, that the reader, may well excuse their omission.

At the same time three papists were executed with them for refusing to acknowledge the king’s supremacy; the same crime for which sir Thomas More and bishop Fisher lost their lives. Their names were Powel, Featherstone, and Abel. Many others, as well as these, suffered for treason; but we must not consider them as martyrs, any more than we ought to include sir Thomas More and the bishop of Rochester in that number or description, with ten other refraintory monks, and nine Carthusians, who died in Newgate, making the number of twenty-four.

The business of the six articles, devised and enjoined by the king in 1540, relative to Transubstantiation, Sacrament in one kind, Marriage of Priests, Vows of Chastity, Private Masses, and Auricular Confession, was in this year violently pursued, especially in the parishes of London, notwithstanding the celebrated epistle of Philip Melancthon to the king against them, and the opposition of archbishop Cranmer. But the inquisitors continually mingled other matters with these, inasmuch that, in about forty parishes in London, we find a list of more than two hundred and twenty persons who were thereupon molested; some of which were made to do penance, some died in prison, and others were severely handled. To these we must add the condemnation of Richard Mekins, a boy of fifteen, by bishop Bonner, at Guildhall, for speaking of the death of Dr. Barnes, and on the sacrament, though two juries had refused to find any bill against him; but the bishop, resolved upon his death, would have no denial, though at his death, such was his simplicity, he was ready to have declared any thing. In the same year was John Porter persecuted, for reading the Bible in St. Paul's, though Bonner had caused six of them to be placed in that church in obedience to the king’s proclamation. Bonner sent for him, and charged him with making expositions on the text, and collecting mobs, merely for a pretence of committing him to Newgate, there to be fettered both on his legs and arms, and, with an iron collar on his neck, fastened to the wall of the dungeon, into which he was thrust. With much difficulty and some expense of a relation, he was permitted to come amongst the fellows and murderers, from whose blasphemous oaths and wickedness he gently admonished them to desist. But, on being complained of, he was replaced in the lower dungeon, with bolts and irons of a nature too horrible for description, which, in six or eight days, put an end to his misery.

Before we leave London, we may here note the orders of bishop Bonner, in obedience to the king’s mandate, to the keeper of his coal-house, Cluny, for abolishing images, though he could neither understand a word of Latin in which language it was written, nor yet scarcely read a sentence in English; though this ignorant servant was entrusted with the execution of so important a commission. The diocese of Lincoln, next requires our attention, where Thomas Bernard and James Morton, one for teaching the Lord’s prayer in English, and the other for having the epistle of St. James in English, were burned by the sentence of bishop Longland. A person of the name of Barber, in Oxford, was at the same time, from fear of the six articles, compelled to recant his opinions on the sacrament, the reflection of which appeared, by the result, to have brought on a premature death. About this time also Richard Spenser, priest, who had deserted popery, and married a wife, and afterwards commenced a player in interludes, had articles exhibited against him at Salisbury, on the sacrament also; and he, with one Ramsey and Hewet, were all there condemned and burned. In Spain, too, we must not pass over the martyrdom of Franciscus San Romanus, in 1541, who, after his conversion in the preceding year, desisted from his services to the Spanish merchants in Antwerp, who, in their resentment, procured his imprisonment, though he was afterwards liberated; but, on attending the court into Spain, he was again imprisoned for the true faith, in opposition to the mass, purgatory, &c. condemned
for a heretic, and speedily martyred. In this year also M. Nicholas was burned at Mons, in Hennegow, and Julian suffered at Aste.

We have little notice of occurrences in 1542, excepting just to notice one Constantius, a citizen of Roan, in France, and three others, who were condemned to be burned for religion, and cast into a dungeon; cheerfully regarding their death as a sweet odour to God, though reputed in this world as no better than excrements. But in the following year, 1543, was a general persecution at Lovaine, and numerous bodies of Lutherans were seized by the emperor’s procurator from Brussels, where divers were taken from their beds, from their wives and children, and distributed into various prisons. Such was the terror excited by this proceeding, that many revolted to idolatry; but twenty-eight men and women stood firm to their opinions, in defiance of all torture. An aged priest, staggering in some degree, through fear of death, was condemned to perpetual solitary imprisonment, in a dismal and stinking dungeon, and neither suffered to read nor write. Besides the above, who suffered either by penance, confiscation of goods, &c. another old man was sentenced to be beheaded, and two women to be buried alive; and two persons, who had before revoked, were burned, as well as all those who refused to abjure the doctrine of Luther. At Troyes, in Champaign in France, John due Becke, priest, was condemned and degraded for the gospel, and afterwards burned; and Aymond de Lafoy, refusing to escape, being a reformed preacher at Angeau, near Bourdeaux, was apprehended for denying purgatory. He was nine months in prison before any particular investigation of his accusations commenced; after which he was afflicted with heavier fetters, and examined by tortures to make him accuse others, but in vain. He was soon after condemned; yet was he teased with friars, and judges, and counsellors, to make him recant, but to no purpose, and, strongly protesting against all invocation of images, he would call upon no one but Jesus Christ alone. To prevent his talking to the people, the hangman haled him upon the steps so brutally as to strangle him, and his body was immediately burned. Nor must we take our leave of this year, without mentioning certain martyrs at Perth, in Scotland, for opposing the popish doctrines; as Robert Lambe, a burgess, for denying that prayer to saints is necessary; William Anderson, and James Raveleson, with Lambe, were accused of hanging up with a cord the image of St. Francis, having rain’s horns on his head, and a cow’s rump to his tail, and eating goose on the eve of Allhallowes, and Raveleson also was accused of placing on a stair of his house the three-crowned diadem of St. Peter, carved in wood. James Hunter, merely for frequenting their company, was accused, James Founleson was charged generally with the others, of violating the act of parliament, against expositions of scripture texts, and his wife Helen Stirke, for calling upon God for Christ’s sake in childbed, and not upon the virgin Mary. They were apprehended on St. Paul’s day, and condemned on the day following, and taken to the common place of execution; where the five men suffered, but the woman, after following her husband thither, was thrown into the water and drowned.

The next year, 1544, presents us with several instances of persecution. At Lovaine, before mentioned, master Percival was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, to be fed upon bread and water only, for reprehending popish superstitions; but his death is not recorded, and he probably was either famished for hunger, or secretly drowned. A Skinner of Lovaine, named Justus Jusberge, was imprisoned for having the New Testament, and certain sermons of Luther, and, on his examination, resisting the popish doctrines, condemned to be burned, which was afterwards changed, and he was only beheaded. Giles Tilman, also, a native of Brussels, an expert cutler, and a man of great charity, was apprehended at Lovain for heresy, and imprisoned eight months, and might have escaped, but would not endanger his keeper. When removed to another prison, he was there tried by tortures to make him confess purgatory, &c. and for his firmness was condemned to be burned privately, being so greatly beloved that they were afraid of insurrection. But at Ghent and Brussels were the most violent persecutions. The edict against the Lutherans was ordered to be read twice a year; and at Ghent many principal persons were burned for their reli-
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persecution in Calais, in which many suffered, and some abjured or did penance.

CHAP. XXIII.

From the modification of the Six Articles to the death of King Henry the Eighth.

The law of the six articles was so very severe in its operation; that it this year received some mitigation; and recantation was now permitted for the first offence, and to abjure, and bear a faggot, for the second. Yet Tindal's books were debarred by it, and the text of the New Testament and Bible prohibited to all but noblemen, gentlemen, and gentlewomen. Witnesses were now allowed to the person accused, which before were forbidden. Sundry persons were now troubled at Windsor, on account of Robert Testwood, suspected of heresy, being admitted among the musicians of the college; for Testwood maintained the king's supremacy, and the dean of Windsor, coming home about twelve days after, when the act for establishing it had passed in parliament, was a most reasonable confutation of Testwood's enemies. On other occasions he inveighed against the superstitious pilgrimages of the Cornwall and Devonshire people to king Henry of Windsor, for which he was in danger of being assassinated. On another occasion, a relic was made a subject of trouble to him, because he disregarded it; and at another time he took down a blasphemous paper from the choir-door, being in doggrel rhyme, to the honour of our Lady, in the sight of the dean; and though he was deemed a heretic among them, yet he for some time escaped, until Dr. London came, warden of New College in Oxford, being appointed a canon of Windsor, a violent persecutor of the gospellers, as appears by his conduct towards a goldsmith of London, called William Callaway, and his enmity against Testwood for uttering his mind at the Doctor's first residence dinner. Yet was this Dr. London afterwards sentenced, with Simois, to ride about the market-place of Windsor, both having papers in their hats, for perjury and artifice against certain persons of the privy-chamber. We...
have only farther to add of Testwood, that he was accused of despising the sacrament in the elevation, which was sufficient cause for his condemnation.

We shall, in the next place, notice Henry Filmer, churchwarden of Windsor, who was grievously offended with a sermon of sir Thomas Meister, vicar of Windsor, formerly a friar, for uttering many friarish tales; for which, with one or two witnesses, he admonished him and received his thanks, though, at the instance of one Simons, a lawyer in the town, who was greatly caressed by Dr. London, he speedily broke his promise, which induced Simons, on Filmer's opposition, to accuse him to Dr. Capon, bishop of Salisbury, which the churchwarden and his friends by about an hour anticipated. On the vicar's arrival, he could not deny the charge against him, and therefore submitted; though Simons, immediately afterwards, grievously accused Filmer, for which the bishop severely censured him, the vicar having acknowledged his error already, and Filmer had in charge that the vicar should publicly recant on the following Sunday.

By means of this confederacy of Simons and the doctor, a plan was devised to accuse all who neglected to reverence the sacrament at the time of elevation, and persons appointed as spies for that purpose; some of which were chauntry priests, and one in particular, named sir William Bows. A book of persons herein offending was sent to the bishop of Winchester, with a complaint of the Windsor heretics; and the names of many eminent persons were described as persons who favoured them, and supported Anthony Person, priest, who frequently preached in Windsor and its vicinity, a noted gospeller. Of this information the bishop availed himself of a favourable opportunity to inform the king of the great increase of heretics, not only in his court, but in his privy chamber, desiring that the laws against them might be executed. A commission was procured to search for books and letters of Anthony Person in the town of Windsor, but not in the castle. Dr. Haynes, the dean of Exeter, for preaching against holy bread, &c. and master Hobby for supporting Person, were sent to the Fleet; but were soon liberated. Robert Testwood, Henry Filmer, John Marbeck, and Robert Benet, were apprehended in this search of Thursday night before Palm Sunday, for having books in their houses against the six articles; and Filmer and Benet, on the Monday following, were sent by the council to the bishop of London's gaol, and Marbeck to the Marshalsea; and Testwood, having the gout, remained in custody of the town-bailiff. When Bennet should have been conveyed to Windsor to be examined, he was sick of the pestilence. He was intimate with Simons in every thing but religion; and at the request of Benet's wife, by this fortunate hindrance of going to Windsor, the bishop of Salisbury addressed Gardiner for his release. The others had, by this time, been condemned at Windsor; but it providentially happened, that the bearer of their proceedings, who had been seen in company with Benet's man, and intended mischief, was disappointed by the man's delivering the letter himself, and Benet was next day discharged.

The earl of Bedford was then lord privy seal; in whose house the Windsor messenger had been detained, until his papers were examined; in which discovery was made of the conspiracy of Dr. London and Simons, and communicated to the king, who granted them pardon instantly. From them he also learned the proceedings at Windsor, and the condemnation of Testwood and the others; on which the bishop of Winchester lost the king's favour, and doctor London and Simons were apprehended, with the messenger detained by the privy seal, all of whom were perjured on their examination, and sentenced to wear papers of their crimes on their hats in Windsor, Reading, and Newbury, on horseback round the towns, with their faces to the tails, and Ockam, the knavish messenger, to stand in the pillory at Newbury.

Having stated that John Marbeck was committed to the marshalsea, who, when called before the council, declared his ignorance for what he was imprisoned. Amongst his books seized, was part of a large work, the Concordance of the Bible, in English. Marbeck was thereupon questioned a little, and removed on account of other business; and soon returned to his prison, with directions for good treatment. One of the bishop of Winchester's gentlemen, named Knight, came to him next morning to persuade him to give account of heretics and their proceedings. Having left
him, he returned in two hours, and was more pressing, but with little effect, though he left with Marbeck both pen and ink, and paper, when he departed; and, on his third coming, Marbeck had written so little to the purpose, that Knight was at the disappointment, though at last he took away the paper. On the following morning the bishop sent for him to his house at St. Mary Overy’s, when the bishop produced a long roll of names of heretics about Windsor, of whom Marbeck knew but little, and would in no respect accuse any of them. The bishop went to mass, and Knight came again with ink and paper. After the return from mass, and having written no more than before, being ordered away, he passed Dr. London and two more in the great chamber, and was conducted back to prison. After much impatience, and not until eighteen days had elapsed, Marbeck’s wife, supported by one of the king’s servants, who heard her accidentally, had leave to visit her husband, attended by the bishop’s man; but was afterwards permitted to come at her pleasure. About five weeks from the first appearance of Marbeck, he was brought to the bishop of London’s house, before several bishops, doctors, and other commissioners, and was sworn to answer; when he admitted his three books of notes, and explained on what account he began his Concordance, and gave them a large specimen of his manner of writing it before last day, containing three sheets of paper. It was not till Whitsunday that he was again sent for to St. Mary Overy’s, where Dr. Oking and another gentleman were examining one of Calvin’s epistles, transcribed by Marbeck. This gentleman, being then in a damask gown, with a gold chain about his neck, was no other than Knight, the bishop’s secretary; when, after much smartness on both sides, he was again sent to prison. Marbeck, as well as the others, was afterwards condemned as a heretic, though not without his reminding them of their deceitful promise; the execution next day was unexpectedly postponed, Marbeck’s pardon was from the king procured, and the rest were burned there on the day following.

In the following year, 1545, a farther qualification of the act of the six articles passed, and other matters tending to shew the declining influence of the bishop of Winchester.

The king was authorized by parliament to appoint a committee for examining the particulars of the canon law, in order to its improvement. The recantation of John Athie and John Haywood occurred in this year; the first for ridiculing the sacrament of the altar, though the latter was on account of the king’s supremacy, and therefore more on account of treason. Yet in this year we have several instances of foreign martyrs. At Ghent we find Martin Haurrhoelke, fishmonger, a late convert from wickedness and immorality; but his attention to the heretics, as they were called, in distress, imprisonment, and at their execution, soon excited persecution from the Franciscans, and caused his apprehension. He was grievously tormented to make him discover others; which, if he should do, it would violate the duties of the second table, under pretence of doing honour to the first. He was condemned for his opinions on the sacrament, and against purgatory, &c. his goods confiscated, and himself burned at Ghent. On the day after his execution, Nicholas Vanpoule and John de Bucke were burned there for the same causes, and Bucke’s wife was buried alive. Two noble virgins lost their lives by fire at Delden, near Daventre in Germany, for disclaiming the power of the pope to save, &c. separately; when, the younger being dead, they importuned the elder to request a change of her sentence to beheading; but she disdained to forsake the fate of her sister, and also lost her life by fire. Yet would not the fire consume their bodies, and, being left on the ground, they were in the night buried privately by some good christians. At Mechlin, one Andrew Thiessen and his wife, with Nicholas and Francis Thiessen, all suffered for defending the pure religion against the Romish doctrines; and at Dornock, in Flanders, the wife of Adrian Taylor, firmly maintaining her opinions, after many threats and torments, was enclosed in an iron grate and buried alive; and her husband was beheaded. Peter Bruly, preacher at Strasburgh, came to Dornock to preach, which excited the magistrates to shut the gates of the town, and search for him. Though let down over the wall, his leg was there broken by a stone, and he was apprehended. Whilst in prison four months, he was diligent in teaching and writing; when he was sent-
tenced to be burned to ashes, and his ashes to be thrown into the river. Two others are to be noted at Dornock, Peter Mioce and Bergiban; the former a silk-weaver, but very profi- 
gigate until his conversion to the true faith of the gospel by Peter Bruly, whose opinions he maintained with undaunted firmness. The other, after being sought in his absence, fearlessly went to the magistrates to submit himself, and was sent to prison, and, after menacing him with cruel tortures, he requested to be beheaded. In this, or the next year perhaps, for the date is not given, a priest of Germany suffered for denying the mass to be a sacrifice. He was long imprisoned, and often tortured, and at length most barbarously degraded; first, by shaving the crown of his head, and then rubbing it hard with salt till the blood poured down his shoulders, afterwards by paring and raising his fingers, with cruel pain, to remove the holy oil, and four days after being brought to martyrdom. Also a godly priest of Hungary, for asserting the lawfulness of eating flesh, was first by the bishop for some weeks imprisoned, then brought out and his body surrounded with geese, hares, and hens, and thus driven into the city to be baited by dogs, and thus ended his life. James Cobbard, a schoolmaster of St. Michael in Loraine in France, was condemned, and burned for maintaining the necessity of faith in the sacraments, without which they were of no avail. One Rochas, a Brabanter, and carver of images, was imprisoned for defacing one of his own images, because he would not under-sell it to a Spanish inquisitor, and because he had become a convert to the true faith; and in three days he was sentenced to be burned. Many others, it is also said, died in prison. After this we have a summary account of twenty-eight martyrdoms or persecutions of Spaniards, but without any specific dates.

The year 1546 was very fruitful of martyrs in France; where we meet with fourteen inhabi-
tants of Melda, or Meaux, ten miles from Paris, and a weaver of Couberon. The bishop had been favourably disposed, but compelled to recant. Others congregated in a way similar to the French church at Strasburgh, and were at length surrounded and taken; and sixty-two men and women were conveyed to Paris, and of these fourteen remained firm, were condemned, and racked, to make them discover their fellows. On their way from Paris to Melda, three miles from Paris, to be burned, this poor weaver, for encouraging them, was seized, and put in the cart with them. At the place of execution, before the house of their assembly, seven confessed to save their tongues, and seven would not; and their wives were imprisoned, because they refused to say that their husbands were damned. The next is Peter Chapot, of a printing-house, in Paris, who was taken for bringing books of scripture, from Geneva, and dispersing them, and he was at length, after much disputation with three doctors of the Sorbonne, sentenced to be burned alive, but with the reserve of his tongue; but he was checked in his endeavour to speak to the people, and doctor Maillard commanded him to be strangled. The confusion hereby excited, caused a decree, that all persons to be burned, unless they recanted at the fire, should have their tongues extracted. Saintinus Nivet, a cripple of Meaux, left the city on the martyrdom of the fourteen persons just alluded to; but in the same year returned again, and was there apprehended and examined, when he declared more than they wished to hear, and boldly expostulated with his judges, "And I ask you again, lord judge, dare you be so bold to deny that which is so plain and manifest, by the open words of the scripture?" And he desired them, "for God's sake, that they would rather take care of their own lives and souls, and consider how much innocent blood they spilled daily in fighting against Christ Jesus and his gospel." But he was conveyed to Paris, and there condemned and martyred. Stephen Polliot, also, was compelled to flee from Meaux, but soon taken and kept in a dark and foul prison at Paris a long time; but was at last sentenced to have his tongue cut out, and to be burned alive, with his satchel of books hanging to his neck, which was effected. At Rome, we meet with N. Encenas, or Dryander, for disliking the pope's doctrine, was apprehended, and examined by the cardinals, and soon condemned to be burned, refusing all compromises, or conditions of recantation.

In turning again our attention to England, we find that a priest of the name of Sary, was hanged in the porter's lodge of bishop Gardi- 
er, and a man, named Henry, and his ser-
vant, were burned at Colchester. Roger
Clarke, of Mendlesham, in Suffolk, and one Kerby, being apprehended at Ipswich, were confined in the gaoler's house, who was an honest and good man, and were there visited by gentlemen to deter them from martyrdom, but to no effect. On being brought forward to examination, articles were produced against them by lord Wentworth, and others, on the sacrament especially, which they maintained according to the true faith, and were soon condemned; and Kerby was ordered to be burned at Ipswich on the following Friday, this being Monday, and Clarke, at Bury, the next Monday. Dr. Rugham, in a gallery at Ipswich, at Kerby's martyrdom, preached; and Kerby, whenever he spake what was right, bade the people believe him, but when the contrary, he advised them not to believe. Kerby was permitted to address the people, after sermon was ended, at some length; and, on finishing, he desired the sheriff to execute his office, when fire was set to the pile, in which his life triumphantly terminated. Clarke, in the same magnanimous manner, ended his life at Bury on the Monday, but suffered much torment from the green wood, which was slow in burning.

As the story of Mrs. Anne Askew has been distinguished, we cannot but give it considerable attention. She had been apprehended in 1545, and questioned on the sacrament hanging over the altar, being Christ's real body, asserted that she would rather read five lines in the Bible, than hear five masses, protested against private masses for departed souls, and stoutly parried their impertinent observations. After being eleven days in the Compter, a priest came to interrogate her on her faith; but some questions, she said, she had already answered, and to some she would give no answer. She then relates a conversation with the archdeacon, whom she convicted of unjust censures; and, when brought before bishop Bonner, he attributed assertions to her, which, as she had never uttered, she firmly denied, and to others she refused all replies. A sort of confession being drawn out, which she was persuaded to subscribe, but altered in the registers more to their own minds; but she insisted on having the expression in it, that she did "believe all manner of things contained in the faith of the Catholic Church, and not otherwise;" at which Bonner flew in a rage, but was at last prevailed on so to accept her subscription. She was then remanded to prison, and led from place to place for several days, and at last recognizance was taken for her forthcoming.

Upon some pretence of relapse, we find her again in custody, and under interrogation various times by the king's council, and at length was committed to Newgate. Being brought to Guildhall, she was there called a heretic, which she denied, declaring that by God's law she had done nothing worthy of death. To the former declarations of her faith she stood firm, and was thereupon condemned. Then she wrote to the lord-chancellor, stating her faith to the king. Being afterwards removed from Newgate to the sign of the Crown, the bishop of London and others, in vain, induced her to recant, and she was sent to the Tower. There she was urged to declare persons of that sect, and who maintained her in the Compter, and who encouraged her to persist in her opinions; but she said she could prove nothing of persons, which had been named: that her maid collected money in the streets from apprentices and charitable persons, though she knew not who they were. They said divers gentlewomen had given her money, but she said she knew not their names; and that divers ladies had sent her money, when she answered she had once received ten shillings from a man, and from another eight shillings, saying it came from ladies whom he named, but she did not know that he spoke the truth. Only she knew that her maid so informed her. She was equally constant when put to the rack; which was done by the lord-chancellor and Mr. Rich, until she was nearly dead. On being loosed, she swooned; and, on being recovered, sat on the bare floor two hours, reasoning with the chancellor. Being brought to a house, she was put to bed; and there the chancellor sent her a choice of leaving her opinion and doing well, or, if she persisted, of being sent to Newgate to be burned.

On her being racked in the Tower, she was first led down into a dungeon, where the lieu tenant commanded his gaoler first to pinch her with the rack, and he then designed to have taken her down. But the chancellor, who was present, having obtained no confes-
sion, commanded she should again be strained, and threatened with informing the king of his disobedience; when he and Rich threw off their gowns to do it themselves, and almost separated their bones and joints. After this they took horse to go to the court; whilst the lieutenant in a boat first came to the king, stated the whole of her case, and the chancellor's threats, and obtained the king's pardon, with orders to return to his charge. It seems the council were very desirous to suppress the fact of her being racked in the Tower.

False surmises of her recantation having gone abroad, she stated the case as follows:

"I have read the process which is reported of them that know not the truth, to be my recantation. But, as the Lord liveth, I never meant anything less than to recant. Notwithstanding this, I confess, that in my first troubles I was examined of the bishop of London about the sacrament; yet had they no grant of my mouth, but this, That I believed therein as the word of God did bind me to believe. More had they never of me. Then he made a copy, which is now in print, and required me to sign thereunto my hand; but I refused it. Then my two sureties did will me in no wise to stick thereat, for it was no great matter they said; so that with much ado, at the last, I wrote thus:—I, Anne Askew, believe this, if God's word do agree to the same, and the true Catholic Church. Then the bishop, being in great displeasure with me, because I made doubts in my writing, commanded me to prison, where I was a while, but afterwards, by the means of friends, I came out again. Here is the truth of that matter. And, as concerning the thing that you covet most to know, resort to the sixth of John, and be ruled always thereby. Thus fare you well.

Anne Askew.

Of her confession in Newgate, before she suffered, few words will suffice. She declared that she was "by the law unrighteously condemned for an evil-doer, though she held no opinions contrary to his most holy word." Then she referred to their doctrine of transubstantiation in the sacrament, which she denied; and for this was to suffer death. She next asserted her full belief in the scriptures, as sufficient for salvation; but the mass, as then used, she rejected as abominable idolatry.

So greatly had she been tormented, as to be unable to live long in so much distress, and yet she was not suffered to die secretly; but was brought into Smithfield in a chair, being unable to walk through her sufferings, and there bound to a stake round the middle to keep up her body, and to the sermon of Dr. Shaxton answered, like Kerby, by assenting to what was right, and declaring to what was wrong that he declaimed without book.

At the same time John Lacels, a gentleman of the court and household of the king, John Adams, a taylor, and Nicolas Belenian, a priest, of Shropshire, were burned; for whom two or three stakes were prepared. Anne Askew added to their firmness, by her steady demeanour; and, after their prayers, the fire was kindled, and flamed round them till their lives were terminated, and their bodies consumed. During their imprisonment, we have only to notice that John Lacels wrote a letter out of prison, wherein he stated the blasphemy and wickedness of the mass, and described the right use of the Lord's supper in the time of the apostles, and the power of the minister in the consecration. To this may be added the martyrdom of one Rogers, in Norfolk, who, about the same time, was condemned and suffered there for the six articles, through the instigation of the bishop of Norwich, to the duke of Norfolk. At this time also the bishop of Winchester was occupied in his old stratagem of working against the favourers of the gospel, on finding queen Catherine was well disposed towards them, and for a time caused a coolness of the king; but it was in some measure defeated by a reconciliation, though it did not altogether check his machinations, though the king was very favourably disposed towards a reformation, in pulling down roods, &c.

Yet we must neither omit a narration of the trouble of sir George Blage, a gentleman of the king's privy chamber, nor the proclamation for abolishing English books. On the Sunday before Anne Askew's martyrdom, he was sent for by the lord-chancellor Wriothesley, on an accusation made against him, committed to Newgate on Monday, and thence to Guildhall, where he was condemned; being charged with asking, "What if a mouse should eat the bread? by my consent they should hang up the mouse;" though he denied,
even when all danger was passed, that he ever spake them. But he showed some sinister tricks for decoying him, and perverted his observations into matter of accusation. This was soon known to other gentlemen of the privy-chamber, who whispered together so as to be observed by the king; on which he insisted to know the subject, and, on being informed, was grievously offended at their boldness, sending for Wriothesley, and commanding him to draw out his pardon instantly. When Blage, on his release, came into the king's presence, "Ah, my pigge, saith the king to him, (for so he was wont to call him;) Yea, said he, if your majesty had not been better to me than your bishops were, your pig had been roasted ere now." The proclamation, after these Catholic Christians had destroyed Anne Askew and her fellow-martyrs, was concerted and determined, for an entire extirpation of truth, sanctioned by the king's name and authority. Then they collected numerous errors, or heresies, as they called them, out of Tindall's books of The Wicked Mammon, The obedience of a Christian Man, and The Revelation of Antichrist, and out of the Book called, The Sum of the Scripture; to all which are separate and distinct comments. Various other good men are afterwards represented as traduced by these bloody-minded prelates. On account of an old grudge conceived against one Merial, who heard bishop Stokesly, twelve years before, make some strange expressions about purgatory, when popery was discountenanced in the time of queen Anne Boleyn, a tavern-keeper, accustomed to set up the stakes in Smithfield, found means to suborn witnesses against him of uttering expressions highly derogatory to Christ's passion, he narrowly escaped condemnation, but was put to penance and bore a faggot. Soon after this, in the month of August, we have the king's letter to bishop Bonner for abolishing holidays.

In this year, too, we find the martyrdom of Mr. George Wishart, in Scotland. Being imprisoned on a charge of heresy in St. Andrew's Castle, he was brought to the abbey-church to hear a sermon upon heresy, to which, when the preacher had finished, he made this reply: "many horrible sayings unto me a Christian man, many words abominable to hear, you have spoken here this day, which not only to teach, but to think, I thought ever great abomination." He then solicited their patient hearing, stating his reasons. The various articles exhibited against him are then stated, with copious answers; but it was of no avail, as they immediately condemned him for a heretic, and, as soon as the fire could be prepared, taken away, with his hands tied behind him, a rope round his neck and an iron chain round his middle. With great resolution he addressed the multitude, encouraging them to perseverance in the truth, and, with prayers for his enemies, submitted to his sentence to be hanged and burned.

The bloody archbishop of St. Andrew's, who condemned him, was visited, in somewhat less than three months after, by a premature death; for he was murdered in his bed, in his own castle there, on the last day of May, Wishart having suffered on the first of March; who lived like a butcher, and like a butcher died, and was more than seven months unburied, and at last, like carrion, secreted in a dunghill. And here we have to close the occurrences of this year, and the reign of Henry VIII.

CHAP. XXIV.

The History of Persecutions during the time of King Edward the Sixth's Reign.

We are now advanced to a happy season, so far as it respects England, on the subject of our history. But, to preserve uniformity, it will be necessary for us to give a brief notice of foreign persecutions, so far as they have a relation to religion. It is an early observation of Mr. Fox, relative to this young king's reign, "that neither in Smithfield, nor in any other quarter of this realm, any was heard to suffer for any matter of religion, except only two; one an English woman, called Joan of Kent, and the other a Dutchman, of the name of George, who died for certain articles not much necessary here to be rehearsed." To these we may add, "Thomas Dobbe, who, in the beginning of this king's reign, was apprehended and imprisoned for speaking against the idolatry of the mass." For this he was immediately apprehended by the mayor, accused to the archbishop of Canterbury, and
committed to Bread-street Compter, where he soon after died of sickness, when his pardon had been obtained from the lord protector. In this year, too, Bonner was deprived, but not martyred, though he might justly have been condemned for his rigorous and unnecessary cruelty during the last seven years; and we can only observe that, if strict justice had then been inflicted on him, many a valuable life would probably have been saved to the community, which he caused to be sacrificed, as the following parts of the history will sufficiently demonstrate. If his offences against the state had been justly punished, that justice to an individual would have been the greatest act of mercy. He would not, even then, have suffered as a martyr, but as a traitor. It was not until 1550, that Gardiner's see of Winchester was sequestered, nor until 1551, that he was deprived. For a farther account of Gardiner, we must refer our readers to Book IV. Chap. XVIII.

There is some uncertainty in what year to place the martyrdom of Adam Wallace, at St. Andrew's, in Scotland, whether in 1547, or 1549. But as it seems to be the only remaining instance of such an execution in this Island before the time of queen Mary, in the following books of this history, we shall make no apology in preferring this place for its statement. To pass over the form and ceremony of placing the judges and vast concourse of people assembled for the purpose of his condemnation in the abbey, we shall observe that John Lander, parson of Marbottle, was appointed to preach the sermon of accusation. Previous to his being called in, sir John Ker, prebendary of St. Giles's church, was accused, convicted, and condemned, for making out a false sentence of divorce; when he agreed to be banished for life, and to vacate his benefices. Then was Adam Wallace called in, apparently a simple poor man, who admitted that he was sometimes named Feane, and that he was born within two miles of Fayle, in Kyle. Lander then told him that he was accused of preaching and teaching various blasphemies and heresies, and mentioned the expressions which we generally comprehend by the word transubstantiation, which he denied, and observed that he had said nothing but what he found in the Bible, and he was ready to be judged by it; and if he had said wrong, they might punish him for it. He then repeated the scriptures of the institution of the sacrament, which, they said, they knew. When they could make nothing more of him on this subject, he was charged with teaching that the mass is idolatry, and abominable in the sight of God; and he answered, that he had read the Bible in three tongues, (French, Dutch, and English, for he had not much Latin, and had demurred to the word Consecration,) and could not find the word Mass. If it could be found in scripture, he would grant his error, and submit to all lawful punishment. Then he was charged with saying, that the God they worshipped was only bread; but he said that he worshipped the three persons of the trinity in one head, yet could not tell what God they worshipped. On returning to what the sacrament is after consecration, he said he had already answered. On repeating the whole, Wallace answered to them as before; and, turning to the lord-governor and others, he said, "If you condemn me for holding by God's word, my innocent blood shall be required at your hands, when you shall be brought before the judgment-seat of Christ, who is mighty to defend my innocent cause, before whom you shall not deny it, nor yet be able to resist his wrath, to whom I refer the vengeance."

No more was said, but sentence was given, and he was delivered to the provost of Edinburgh to be burned on the Castle-hill. He was instantly sent to the highest house in the town, with irons on his legs and neck. Two gray friars were sent to instruct him, but he would not hear them; and then two black friars, one an Englishman, who had no commission to enter into disputation. The dean of Roscalrigg next came to him, but he would hear nothing without evidence from scripture. They had robbed him of his Bible as soon as he was condemned, and therefore he spent the night in singing psalms; and his enraged keeper, upon this, plundered him of the rest. Next day he was kept in irons, when the dean came to him again, but he still referred only to the scripture; and when Terry, his ignorant keeper, though a minister and an imp of Satan, came, he desired to be alone in quiet. On being brought from the town to the Castle-hill to meet his doom, the common people said, "God have mercy upon you;" "And on you
too, said he.” Though the provost had commanded him not to speak, when at the fire he said, “Let it not offend you that I suffer death this day for the truth’s sake; for the disciple is not greater than his master.” The provost having expressed his anger, Wallace only added, “They will not let me speak;” on which, the cord being about his neck, the fire was lighted, and he firmly submitted to his fate.

Now we shall briefly refer to the foreign martyrdoms during this reign, beginning with this year 1547, John English is the first on record, who was condemned by the high court of Paris for confessing the true word of God, and burned at Sens, in Burgundy. Michael Michelote, a taylor, being apprehended for the gospel, was judged if he would turn to be beheaded, if otherwise, to be burned alive; and, refusing the former, he was burned at Warden, near Tourney. Leonard de Prato, journeying from Dijon to Barin Burgundy, with two false brethren, was by them accused for talking about religion, and afterwards burned. Then we have five men, with two of their wives, all of Langres, who were burned for religion; when Joan the wife of Simon Mareschall, being the youngest, and reserved to the last, heroically administered comfort to all of them. Nor must we omit here the persecution of John Frederic, the elector of Saxony. Of his wars with duke Maurice, it is not our business to treat; it must suffice to say, that, on being made prisoner by the emperor, in April, 1547, no temptation could ever make him revoke his Christian faith. For this firmness he was detained from his wife and children, and his goods confiscated, and, after five years, still continuing firm and resolute, the emperor sent him home to his wife and children, and he continued, until the day of his death, a staunch defender of the principles of his religion. Six days afterwards, Philip, landgrave of Hesse, who had in like manner been confined for the same time, and had been fined by the emperor, after much procrastination in fulfilling the promise made to both of them, was, after this long captivity, dismissed. The archbishop of Cologne, having previously reformed his church, on the emperor’s war with the protestants, had been deposed, to which he patiently submitted; but whether he lived to be restored is not stated in our authorities. In 1548, also, a lapidary merchant of Paris, Octavian Blondel, a great frequenter of fairs, was accused by his host, at Lyons, of heresy, because he declined lending a sum of money, in hopes to obtain confiscation of his goods, though his friends in that respect disappointed him. But he was imprisoned on account of his faith, and by the high court of Paris, to which appeal had been made, was condemned to be burned, which in all haste was effected, to prevent interference from the government.

In the year 1549 were several martyrs. Hubert Cherjet, or Burre, a young man, a taylor, was burned at Dijon for the gospel, from which neither the terrors of death, nor the allurements of parents, could move him. Mr. Florent Venote, a priest, was imprisoned at Paris four years, and harassed there with every possible torment; and, amongst others, was put in the hose or boot, a narrow prison or brake, so strait, that he could neither stand nor lie in it, for seven weeks; though fifteen days were always the utmost continuance, and that not without danger of life, or madness. Many martyrs were at length put to death in various parts of the city, which he was conducted to behold, his tongue having been cut off; after which he was himself burned. At the same time Leonard Galimard was martyred with Venote, having been condemned by the council of Paris to be burned for professing the gospel. During the martyrdom just mentioned, which was at the time of king Henry II’s entrance into Paris, after his coronation, a poor taylor of the street of St. Anthonie, was apprehended for working on a holy day. For saying that he knew no holy day but Sunday, and being a poor man, who subsisted by his labour, he knew of no prohibition for so doing; and his answers to some other questions, he was imprisoned; and coming to the king’s knowledge, as it was a king’s officer who had taken him, he was brought to the court, and there examined, in the royal presence, by the bishop of Mascot, to which he gave pertinent answers, and with undaunted courage. The king, astonished, began to muse; but the bishop and courtiers said, that he was an obstinate person, and ought to be sent to the judges to be punished. On this he was remanded to prison,
and in a few days condemned by the steward of the king's household to be burned alive; and the king, being present at the execution, was more and more astonished at his firmness, though the cardinals and bishops about the king were continually disturbing his ears with the necessity of extirpating the Lutherans. At Orleans, the widow of an apostate, designing to go to Geneva, was brought to Paris, and there condemned by the council to be taken back and buried. She was conveyed in a dung-cart; and her constancy and firmness were to all astonishing. Stephien Peloquin was martyred in the same fire; and his brother afterwards in 1553. Claudio Thierry also was burned at Orleans for professing the gospel, having been apprehended on his return from Geneva. At Troyes, in Champaign, was burned Maceus Morcou, for his constant profession of the gospel. Yet we must not here overlook some instances in Germany, of the severity of persecutors. Nicholas Finchman and his wife, being natives of Hennegow, passed that way on their return from Geneva to England, with Augustinus, a barber, and his wife. Nicholas, at Austin's desire, visited some brethren at his native place; but, on passing Dornick, or Tourney, where Austin and his wife were known, they were pursued and taken, all but Austin, who then escaped, about four miles beyond it. They were laid in a dungeon at Bergis, (query Bruges,) and, on being examined, though confounded by Nicholas, their doom was determined, and soon after formally pronounced upon Nicholas. The wife of Nicholas, from her womanish weakness, made many discoveries of persons of their persuasion, so that many were troubled. Though he had been forced to promise that he would utter nothing at his execution, to prevent his having a wooden ball thrust into his mouth, when he was at the stake, he could not help exclaiming, "Oh! Charles, Charles, how long shall thy heart be hardened?" A soldier then gave him a blow; to which he said, "Ah! miserable people, thou art not worthy to whom the word of God should be preached." In this manner he submitted to his fate with patience. Austin's wife also was interrogated about the state of Geneva, and administration there of the sacraments, &c.; and they sentenced her to be buried alive, which was effected with other indignities. After Austin's escape he turned pedlar, but was at length detected at Bellimont, in Hennegow, and he again fled, but was discovered and taken, and brought to Bergis; when he firmly defended his opinions, and was ultimately condemned, after much fruitless dealing of the friars, to be burned at Bellimont. Being brought to the stake, he continued firm, and most patiently departed.

The next year, 1550, presents us with John Godeau, and Gabriel Beraudinus, as martyrs to the doctrine of the church of Geneva. They were taken at Chambery, and Godeau firmly stood to his profession; and though Gabriel had his tongue cut out, and in some measure shranked from the fire, the constancy of Godeau encouraged him to persevere, and he cheerfully surrendered his life for the gospel. At Ferraria, in Italy, we meet with Faninus, a native of Faintoria, in Italy, as a convert to the faith of the gospel, and was assiduously employed in privately disseminating its doctrines; but was at last discovered by the pope's emissaries, and thereupon imprisoned; yet, on ceasing his instructions, he was liberated, though it was afterwards productive in his mind of much perturbation. He then resolved to run all hazards, and in propagating truth boldly to persevere. In 1547, he was again apprehended, and condemned to be burned; though he was removed to Ferraria, and for two years there confined, but was at length again condemned in 1549, but did not suffer until September 1550, suffering great torments in that interval of about eighteen months, until he was removed to a state-prison, in which were many great lords and noble personages. Many persons were there converted by him, as had been in other places; but, after the election of a new pope, orders were sent for his execution, and he was soon removed into the common prison, into the custody of the secular magistrate; and, on the morning of execution, the hangman, from compassion, with a cord round his neck, secretly strangled him, and about noon his body was produced to be burned. At Placentia, also, in the same year, suffered Dominicus de Basana. Having there preached for two days, about confession, purgatory, and pardons, and again of faith and works, on the third day, having proposed to speak
of Antichrist, the magistrate then apprehended him, and carried him before the bishop's chancellor to be examined, and by him was committed to a filthy and stinking prison; and, after a few months, condemned, and afterwards brought to the market-place to be hanged.

Return we now to France, where, in 1551, we find four martyrs. Thomas Sanpaulinus was a young man of eighteen, and, coming from Geneva to Paris, in rebuking a man for swearing, was suspected of being a Lutheran, and soon taken, imprisoned, racked, and miserably tormented, and at last burned with every exercise of cruelty. Maurice Seseneate, being examined by the lieutenant of Provence, so answered that little advantage against him was obtained; but, considering this as dissimulation, which greatly disturbed his conscience, he answered more directly to the chief judge, so as to be condemned, and there burned. John Put, or de Putes, surnamed Medicus, an unlettered carpenter, was accused, by a citizen of Uzez in Provence, of heresy, who suborned witnesses against him, from amongst his own labourers, and was condemned and there suffered. At Lyons, Claudius Monerius, a teacher of children, after saving a friend, was apprehended on suspicion of heresy, and interrogated by the official respecting the same, suffered much affliction in prisons and dungeons, and at last was condemned and burned. At Laus Pompeia, a city of Italy, Galeazius Trecius, being instructed by a friar of Pania, who was expert in scripture, and had converted several friars of St. Angelo, not far from the city, resided; but, for his promoting the knowledge of the gospel, was soon apprehended by persons from Laus Pompeia, having then removed to St. Angelo, and was imprisoned in the bishop's palace. He was several times examined by commissioners, and with the greatest firmness answered; though his friends at last prevailed on him to assent to some of the pope's doctrines, the reflection of which continually disturbed him, until he had an opportunity to confirm his first opinions. On being visited soon after by the inquisitors and priests, to ratify what he had granted, he boldly returned to the defence of his former doctrine; whereupon he was soon condemned, and committed to the secular power to be burned. The morning of execution being come, he was then tied to a stake in the market-place, and thus continued a gazing stock until noon. Many advised him in this interval to relax, for the sake of his family, but he continued inflexible; and at last the fire was kindled, by which, the wood being dry, he was soon totally consumed.

In 1552 was burned, for the profession of the pure gospel, at Salmure, in France, Renate Poyet, the son of William Poyet, chancellor of France. At Thoulouse were martyred, John Joyer, and a young man, his servant, who, on their way from Geneva to their own country, with books, were apprehended, and brought thither; where the master was first condemned, and the young man, in his answers, referred to his master's replies. At the execution, the young man wept; but his master comforted him, and then they began to sing. Having endeavoured that the fire should first consume the servant, Joyer then bowed down in the flame, and expired. In this year also a woman was buried with thorns under her; and Peter le Rou was martyred at Bruges. An Englishman, named William Gardiner, in the same year suffered in Portugal, being a native of Bristol, and had settled at Lisbon for the purposes of merchandise. The great idolatry there displayed, at the celebration of a marriage between the son of the king of Portugal and the king of Spain's daughter, occasioned Gardiner much trouble of mind, and he determined to close his accounts. On the following Sunday, at high mass, as the cardinal was moving the host round the chalice, Gardiner, having placed himself near the altar, made a sudden spring, snatched away the cake with one hand, and trampled it under foot, and with the other overturned the chalice. The king and the nobles were present, and Gardiner was soon wounded in the shoulder by a dagger; on which the king called out to save him. When brought before the king, he stated his country, but affirmed, that no one had employed him for this purpose. It became necessary to attend to his wound, which bled copiously. In three days after he was brought to execution, his right hand was first cut off in the vestry, and afterwards his left in the market-place; when, being hoisted up by an engine, he was gradually lowered into the fire after it had
been lighted, and in this manner was his miserable punishment protracted, till life no longer remained.

Coming to the next year, 1553, five students at Lyons claim our notice. They had been at the university of Lausanne, and, on their return to France, they delayed for some time at Geneva. On coming to Lyons, being at the table of a fellow-traveller, who had brought them to his house, they were taken and imprisoned a year and fifteen days. On exhibiting their faith severally, being well learned, they confounded all the friars with whom they disputed; but, because they opposed purgatory, confession, transubstantiation, &c. they were all condemned to be burned in that city. They comforted one another at the time of execution, and cheerfully surrendered their lives for the faith. Nicholas Nayle, at Paris, was cruelly tortured to make discoveries, and condemned for selling books, and most dreadfully treated at his execution; and Peter Serre, coming from Geneva to Thoulouse, having formerly been a priest, was betrayed there by an acquaintance of his brother's wife, and, for his answers to the inquisitor, condemned by the chancellor, to ask the king forgiveness, to have his tongue cut out, and afterwards burned. But the two first, on appeal to the parliament of Thoulouse, were remitted.

It is not impossible, from the loose and undigested manner in which the two first volumes of Mr. Fox's Martyrs are written, that some few instances of martyrdom may have escaped our attention. So far as we have taken him for our guide, after the year of Christ 600, we have exerted every rational means of digesting his history into chronological order; but as we anticipate the censure of some for a few omissions, we are satisfied of the approbation of others for the unseen labour which we have bestowed. Neither do we think it improbable, that some of our readers will rather blame us for our minuteness, than condemn us for the causes we have stated. But we must content ourselves with this remark, and submit the execution of this first book, which we are now closing, solely to their candour and determinate judgment.
BOOK II.

THE HISTORY OF QUEEN MARY'S ACCESSION TO THE THRONE OF ENGLAND, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE VARIOUS CHANGES AND ALTERATIONS WHICH WERE MADE TO THE END OF THE FIRST YEAR OF HER REIGN.

CHAP. I.

FROM THE DEATH OF KING EDWARD VI. TO THE PROCLAMATION FROM RICHMOND.

The premature death of that celebrated young monarch, Edward the Sixth, occasioned the most extraordinary and wonderful occurrences, which had ever existed from the times of our blessed Lord and Saviour's incarnation in human shape. This melancholy event became speedily a subject of general regret. The succession to the British throne was soon made a matter of contention; and the scenes which ensued were a demonstration of the serious affliction which the kingdom was involved in. As his loss to the nation was more and more unfolded, the remembrance of his government was more and more the basis of grateful recollection. The very awful prospect, which was soon presented to the friends of Edward's administration, under the direction of his counsellors and servants, was a contemplation which the reflecting mind was compelled to regard with most alarming apprehension. The rapid approaches which were made towards a total reversion of the proceedings of the young king's reign, denoted the advances which were thereby represented to an entire revolution in the management of public affairs both in church and state.

Alarmed for the condition in which the kingdom was likely to be involved by the king's death, an endeavour to prevent the consequences, which were but too plainly foreseen, was productive of the most serious and fatal effects. The king, in his long and lingering affliction, was induced to make a will, by which he bequeathed the English crown to lady Jane, the daughter of the duke of Suffolk, who had been married to the lord Guilford, the son of the duke of Northumberland, and was the grand-daughter of the second sister of king Henry, by Charles, duke of Suffolk. By this will, the succession of Mary and Elizabeth, his two sisters, was entirely superseded, from an apprehension of the returning system of popery; and the king's council, with the chief of the nobility, the lord-mayor of the city of London, and almost all the judges and the principal lawyers of the realm, subscribed their names to this regulation, as a sanction to the measure. Lord chief justice Hale, though a true protestant and an upright judge, alone declined to unite his name in favour of the lady Jane, because he had already signified his opinion, that Mary was entitled to assume the reigns of government. Others objected to Mary's being placed on the throne, on account of their fears that she might marry a foreigner, and thereby bring the crown into considerable danger. Her partiality to popery also left little doubt on the minds of any, that she would be induced to revive the dormant interests of the pope, and change the religion which had been used both in the days of her father, king Henry, and in those of her brother Edward; for in all his time she had manifested the greatest stubbornness and inflexibility of temper, as must be obvious from her letter to the lords of the council, whereby she put in her claim to the crown, on her brother's decease.

When this happened, the nobles, who had associated to prevent Mary's succession, and had been instrumental in promoting, and, perhaps, advising the measures of Edward, speedily proceeded to proclaim lady Jane Gray to be queen of England, in the city of Lon-
don and various other populous cities of the realm. Though young, she possessed talents of a very superior nature, and her improvements under a most excellent tutor had given her many very great advantages.

The account of king Edward's death could not be long unknown to Mary, as a knowledge of the public occurrences in London was soon transmitted to her; upon which she wrote the following letter to the lords of the council, and on the same day received an answer, which we shall lay before our readers.

The Lady Mary's Letter to the Lords of the Council, claiming the Crown upon her Brother's Decease.

"My Lords, we greet you well, and have received sure advertisement, that our dearest brother, the king, our late sovereign lord, is departed to God's mercy, which news how woful they be unto our heart, he only knoweth, to whose will and pleasure we must and do humbly submit us and our wills. But, in this so lamentable a case, that is to wit, now after his majesty's departure and death, concerning the crown and government of this realm of England, with the title of France, and all things thereto belonging, what hath been provided by act of parliament, and the testament and last will of our dearest father, besides other circumstances advancing our right, you know, the realm, and the whole world knoweth, the rolls and records appear by the authority of the king our said father, and the king our said brother, and the subjects of this realm; so that we verily trust, that there is no good true subject that is, can, or would pretend to be ignorant thereof: and of our part we have of ourselves caused, and, as God shall aid and strengthen us, shall cause our right and title in this behalf to be published and proclaimed accordingly. And albeit this so weighty a matter seemeth strange, that our said brother dying upon Thursday at night last past, we hitherto had no knowledge from you thereof, yet we consider your wisdom and prudence to be such, that having eftsoons (quickly) amongst you debated, pondered, and well weighed this present case with our estate, with your own estate, the commonwealth, and all our honours, we shall and may conceive great hope and trust, with much assurance in your loyalty and service, and therefor for the time, interpret and take things not to the worst; and that ye will, like noblemen, work the best. Nevertheless, we are not ignorant of your consultations, to undo the provisions made for our preferment, nor of the great bands and provisions forcible, whereby ye be assembled and prepared, by whom, and to what end, God and you know, and nature cannot but fear some evil. But be it that some consideration politic, or whatsoever thing else hath moved you thereto, yet doubt you not, my lords, but we can take all these your doings in gracious part, being also right ready to remit and fully pardon the same, and that freely to eschew bloodshed and vengeance, against all those that can or will intend the same, trusting also assuredly, you will take and accept this grace and virtue in good part as appertaineth, and that we shall not be inforced to use the service of other our true subjects and friends, which in this our just and right cause, God, in whom our whole affiance is, shall send us. Wherefore, my lords, we require you, and charge you, and every of you, that of your allegiance which you owe to God and us, and to none other, for our honour and the surety of our person only employ yourselves, and forthwith upon receipt hereof, cause our right and title to the crown and government of this realm to be proclaimed in our city of London and other places, as to your wisdom shall seem good, and as to this case appertaineth, not failing hereof, as our very trust is in you. And this our letter, signed with our hand, shall be your sufficient warrant on this behalf.

"Given under our signet, at our manor of Kenning-Hall, the ninth of July 1553."

To this letter of the lady Mary, the lords of the council returned the following answer:

The Lords' Answer to the Lady Mary's Letter.

"Madam, we have received your letters, the ninth of this instant, declaring your supposed titles, which you judge yourself to have to the imperial crown of this realm, and all the dominions thereunto belonging. For answer whereof, this is to advertise you, that forasmuch as our sovereign lady queen Jane is, after the death of our sovereign lord, king Edward VI., a prince of most noble memory, in
vested and possessed with the just and right title in the imperial crown of this realm, not only by good order of antient laws of this realm, but also by our late sovereign lord’s letters patent, signed with his own hand, and sealed with the great seal of England, in presence of the most part of the nobles, counsellors, judges, with divers other grave and sage personages, assenting and subscribing to the same: We must, therefore, as of most bound duty and allegiance, assent unto her said Grace, and to none other, except we should (which faithful subjects cannot) fall into grievous and unspeakable enormities. Wherefore we can no less do, but, for the quiet both of the realm and you also, to advertise you, that forasmuch as the divorce made between the king of famous memory, King Henry VIII. and the Lady Katherine your mother, was necessary to be had, both by the everlasting laws of God, and also by the ecclesiastical laws, and by the most part of the noble and learned universities of Christendom, and confirmed also by the sundry acts of parliament remaining yet in their force, and thereby you justly made illegitimate, and unheritable to the crown imperial of this realm, and the rules and dominions and possessions of the same, you will upon just consideration hereof, and of divers other causes lawful to be alleged for the same, and for the just inheritance of the right line, and godly order taken by the late king our sovereign, Lord King Edward VI., and agreed upon by the nobles and great personages aforesaid, surcease by any pretence to vex and molest any of our sovereign lady queen Jane her subjects from their true faith and allegiance due unto her Grace: assuring you, that if you will for respect shew yourself quiet and obedient (as you ought,) you shall find us all and several ready to do you any service that we with duty may, and glad with your quietness to preserve the common state of this realm, wherein you may be otherwise grievous unto us, to yourself, and to them. And thus we bid you most heartily well to fare.

"From the Tower of London, in this ninth of July 1553.

"Your Ladyship’s friends, shewing yourself an obedient subject."

THOMAS CANTERBURY,
The Marquess of WINCHESTER,
to fix her standard most to her advantage, at length repaired into Norfolk and Suffolk. The duke was very much hated in these counties for having subdued the rebels there during her brother’s reign; and she hoped thence, and on that account, to meet with support and assistance, and, until sufficient time had been taken to collect it, remained quietly, and with as much privacy as possible, in Framlingham castle, between Woodbridge and Bongay in Suffolk, and not Fremingham, as erroneously printed in all the editions which have come to my hands, not excepting the original one of Mr. Fox himself.

The people of Suffolk were the first to resort to her on this occasion. But, as they were zealous supporters of the reformation, they accompanied their promise of support under an express stipulation, that the protestant religion, as established in king Edward’s reign, should not be disturbed, and that none of the laws and orders publicly enacted during his reign should be altered. In consenting to this, she made no hesitation; promising them faithfully, upon the word of a queen, that she would make no innovations in religion. How sincere she was in these promises, we shall have but too many sad examples to record; and how honestly she meant to keep them, may be inferred from that common and abominable subterfuge of the advocates and partizans of popery, that, “no faith is to be kept with heretics.” Under this damnable and detestable position, all the civil and social duties of life are at once declared a nullity, whenever they interfere with the interests of those, who maintain the Romish religion.

By means of those aids which she thus obtained, she was soon enabled to meet the duke of Northumberland in the field, and to vanquish his forces. By means of a protestant army, collected under the most solemn promises, and formed under the most sacred sanctions, she secured her advance to the throne, and trampled on all the ties of political and civil obligations by the almost instantaneous revival of popery. What can the favoures of such a religion say to this? Or how is it possible for any sophistry of men or devils to remove such “blackness of darkness,” which must ever fix an indelible mark of disgrace on persons of every station and condition in life? But we shall not content ourselves with vague insinuations of her vile hypocrisy and base perjury, (for nothing can extenuate such treachery and perfidy;) but proceed to facts, which demonstrate the veracity of our observations.

When the protestants of Suffolk, on finding the queen’s proceedings against those who adhered to the religion established in king Edward’s reign, reminded her of the solemn engagement and promise she had made, we have an eminent illustration of the versatility of human nature, which so conspicuously demonstrates the difference of disposition in a prosperous and inauspicious condition. Her answer must not be omitted, as a proof of our observation. “Forasmuch, (said she,) as you, being but the members, desire to rule your head, you shall one day well perceive, that members must obey their head, and not look to bear rule over the same.” Neither were these considered as bare words; for, in order to strike terror into others, not to upbraid her, however respectfully they might touch upon her breach of trust, she punished a gentleman of the name of Dobbe for this very act of humbly petitioning her on account of her promises, with ordering him to be exposed three times in the pillory. Others were imprisoned for delivering her books and supplications, collected from the scriptures, containing exhortations to induce her to continue in the true reformed religion then established.

The scandalous hypocrisy of Mary, which deceived the people of Suffolk and its vicinity, supported her cause on one hand, whilst the injudicious orders of lady Jane’s council, in giving such restrictive orders to the duke of Northumberland, promoted it on the other. His journeys were so short, and the delays of his route so tedious, as afforded time for Mary to encrease her strength, and inclined the people to support her pretensions. Upon this the council at London changed their measures, and proclaimed Mary the eldest daughter of king Henry VIII., as the lawful successor, by authority of parliament, to king Edward VI., who had died without issue. The duke of Northumberland, in consequence of this, was left destitute at Cambridge; but though, from motives of policy, he then proclaimed Mary to be queen of England, it availed him nothing. He was soon arrested, with some of his sons, the earl of Huntingdon, and a few others, who
were all, as traitors to the crown, committed to the Tower.

On this harsh treatment, Mr. Fox makes some very pertinent reflections. "Such is the condition of man's nature, (as here you see,) that we are for the most part more ready always to seek friendship, when we stand in need of help, than ready to requite a benefit once past and received. Howbeit, against all this one sheet-anchor we have, which may be a sure comfort to all miserable creatures, that equity and fidelity are ever perfect, and certainly found with the Lord above, though the same, being shut out of the doors in this world, be not to be found here among men."

In this manner did Mary's reign commence. Her mind was by no means strong, and her person was far from agreeable. Nor did her bigotry, superstition, and cruelty, improve the want of personal accomplishments. She seemed to partake of her mother's severe rancour against protestants, though her father was naturally fiery, rough, and ungovernable. A letter of her's, addressed to bishop Gardiner, extant in the British Museum, and in her own writing, declares her fixed intention of exterminating and burning every protestant! It was also accompanied with an intimation, that, as soon as circumstances would permit, she would restore the church-lands, which had been taken by her father from the monasteries and convents. But nothing could more pointedly demonstrate her weakness, (for in this respect we must give her credit for sincerity, when it promoted the interests of poverty,) than such an insinuation. The convents, a few of their churches excepted, had been demolished. The first nobility and gentry of the realm possessed the rents arising from the lands. The danger to the state was thereby rendered most alarming. But she was wholly unacquainted with the government and constitution of the country, besides being a slave to superstition and bigotry; and no wonder, that she attempted to dominate over the consciences of men, to exclude her subjects from the exercise of private judgment, and to trample on all the natural rights of mankind, both civil and religious.

Having obtained the sword of authority, she was not sparing in its exercise. The supporters of lady Jane Gray were destined to feel its force. The duke of Northumberland was the first who experienced her savage resentment. Within a month after his confinement in the Tower, he was condemned, and brought to the scaffold, to suffer as a traitor. Notwithstanding her promise to the Suffolk men to preserve religion as it had been established in the days of king Edward, he was called upon to renounce his religion, and to hear mass. A promise of life was made on such a compliance; but, though he meanly submitted to this condition, and exhorted the people to return to the Catholic faith, this tame servility availed him nothing, for he was speedily beheaded. This "recantation," says Mr. Fox, "the Papists did forthwith publish and set abroad, rejoicing not a little at his conversion, or rather subversion, as then appeared." From his various crimes, resulting out of a sordid and inordinate ambition, he died unpitied and un lamented; and was insulted on the scaffold, by way of recrimination, for his conduct towards their beloved Somerset, whose death he had compassed, as now returning upon his own head.

This duke was the grandson of Dudley, who had been executed for his disobedience to the common law about forty-four years before. The prelude to his downfall was manifested in his being sent to the Tower on the 25th of July, only sixteen days after the date of the letters; a proof that she had been as active in her motions, as her opponent had been tardy. In about nine days more, on the 3d of August, she lodged in the Tower; for at this time it was a place of state, as well as a place of confinement for state-criminals; before which time she had caused the lady Jane, with her husband, the lord Guilford, to be secured in that fortress. These latter were imprisoned nearly five months, before Mary was disposed to signify her pleasure concerning them. Sir John Gates and sir Thomas Palmer, the former of whom had subscribed the lords' answer to Mary's letter, becameearly victims of her fury. The latter "confessed his faith, that he had learned in the gospels, and lamented, that he had not lived more gospel-like. In the mean time, queen Mary entering thus her reign with the blood of these men, besides hearing mass herself in the Tower, gave a heavy shew and signification hereby, but especially by the sudden delivery of Stephen Gardiner out of the Tower, that she was not minded to stand
to that which she so deeply had promised the Suffolk men before, concerning the not subverting or altering the state of religion."

Other changes, which followed with rapidity, unequivocally declared, that the queen was disaffected to the present state of religion. Dr. Poyntet was displaced to make room for Gardiner to be bishop of Winchester, to whom she also gave the important office of lord-chancellor. Dr. Ridley was dismissed from the see of London, and Bonner introduced. J. Story was put out of the bishopric of Chichester, to admit Dr. Day. J. Hooper was sent prisoner to the Fleet, and Dr. Heath put into the see of Worcester. Miles Coverdale was also excluded from Exeter, and Dr. Vesie placed in that diocese. Dr. Tonstall was also promoted to the see of Durham. "These things being marked and perceived, great heaviness and discomfort grew more and more to all good men's hearts; but to the wicked great rejoicing. They that could dissemble took no great care how the matter went; but such, whose consciences were joined with the truth, perceived already coals to be kindled, which after should be the destruction of many a true christian." In the mean time, queen Mary removed from the Tower to Hampton Court, and caused a parliament to be summoned against the tenth day of October following.

Amongst those who were peculiarly obnoxious to the queen, was bishop Ridley, who had preached a sermon at Paul's Cross, by command of the council, in favour of lady Jane's being queen, after she had been so proclaimed; stating, from his own knowledge, that, however tractable and gentle Mary was in all matters of common civility and courtesy, she constantly manifested a perverseness and obstinacy in matters of a religious nature, from which the most alarming consequences were to be apprehended. He concluded with observing, that "there was no other hope of her to be conceived, but to disturb and overturn all that, which, with so great labours, had been confirmed and planted by her brother." The disaster of the duke of Northumberland, nevertheless, soon changed the face of things, and in a short time after Mary was proclaimed queen. Bishop Ridley was one of the first of those who, on this revolution, repaired to salute Mary as queen at Framlingham-castle;

but his reception was not barely cold and forbidding, for he was instantly deprived of his dignity, and conveyed "back on a lame halting horse to the Tower," in safe custody as a state-prisoner. Mr. Rogers preached to the same purpose on the Sunday following bishop Ridley's exhortation, and commented with great force and learning on the gospel appointed for the day. The queen perceived quickly, that things did not proceed according to her mind; upon which, after advising with her council by what means she could more effectually accomplish her designs, the following proclamation was issued, forbidding all persons from preaching or reading openly the word of God in churches, and for other purposes therein mentioned, without the queen's special licence and authority, to be obtained before they should presume to give instructions to the people.

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CHAP. II.

Proclamation to prohibit Preaching; with other proceedings until the convocation.

A PROHIBITION OF THE QUEEN FROM PREACHING, PRINTING, &C.

"The queen's highness, well remembering what great inconveniences and dangers have grown to this her highness's realm in times past, through the diversity of opinions in question of religion, and hearing also that now of late, since the beginning of her most gracious reign, the same contentions be again much revived through certain false and untrue reports and rumours spread by some light and evil-disposed persons; hath thought good to do to understand, all her highness's most loving subjects, her most gracious pleasure in manner following:

"First, her majesty, being presently by the only goodness of God settled in her just possession of the imperial crown of this realm, and other dominions thereunto belonging, cannot now hide that religion which God and the world knoweth she hath ever professed from her infancy hitherto. Which as her majesty is minded to observe and maintain for herself by God's grace, during her time, so doth her highness much desire, and would be glad the
same were of all her subjects quietly and charitably embraced.

"And yet she doth signify unto all her majesty's loving subjects, that of her most gracious disposition and clemency, her highness mindeth not to compel any her said subjects thereunto, until such time as further order by common assent may be taken therein: forbidding nevertheless all her subjects of all degrees, at their perils, to move seditions, or stir unquietness in her people, by interpreting the laws of this realm after their brains and fancies, but quietly to continue for the time till (as before is said) further order may be taken; and therefore willeth and straitly chargeth and commandeth all her said good loving subjects, to live together in quiet sort and christian charity, leaving those new-found devilish terms of papist or heretic, and such like, and applying their whole care, study, and travail, to live in the fear of God, exercising their conversation in such charitable and godly doing, as their lives may indeed express that great hunger and thirst of God's glory and holy word, which by rash talk and words many have pretended: and in so doing they shall best please God, and live without danger of the laws, and maintain the tranquillity of the realm. Whereof as her highness shall be most glad, so if any man shall rashly presume to make any assemblie of people, or at any public assemblies, or otherwise, shall go about to stir the people to disorder or disquiet, she mindeth, according to her duty, to see the same most severely reformed and punished according to her highness's laws.

"And furthermore, forasmuch as it is also well known, that sedition and false rumours have been nourished and maintained in this realm, by the subtilty and malice of some evil-disposed persons which take upon them without sufficient authority to preach and to interpret the word of God after their own brain in churches, and other places both public and private, and also by playing of interludes, and printing of false-found books, ballads, rhimes, and other lewd treatises in the English tongue, concerning doctrine, in matters now in question and controversy, touching the high points and mysteries of the Christian religion; which books, ballads, rhimes, and treatises, are chiefly by the printers and stationers set out to sale to her grace's subjects, of an evil zeal, for lucre and covetousness of vile gain: her highness therefore straitly chargeth and commandeth all and every of her said subjects, of whatsoever state, condition, or degree, they be, that none of them presume from henceforth to preach, or by way of reading in churches, or other public or private places, except in schools of the university, to interpret or teach any scriptures, or any manner of points of doctrine concerning religion, neither also to print any books, matter, ballad, rhime, interlude, process, or treatise, nor to play any interlude, except they have her grace's special licence in writing for the same, upon pain to incur her highness's indignation and displeasure.

"And her highness also further chargeth and commandeth all and every her said subjects, that none of them of their own authority do presume to punish, and to rise against any offender in the causes above said, or any other offender, in words, or deeds, in the late rebellion committed or done by the duke of Northumberland, or his complices, or to seize any of their goods, or violently to use any such offender by striking or imprisoning, or threatening the same, but wholly to refer the punishment of all such offenders unto her highness and public authority, whereof her majesty mindeth to see due punishment according to the order of her highness's laws.

"Nevertheless, as her highness mindeth not hereby to restrain and discourage any of her loving subjects, to give from time to time true information against any such offenders in the causes above said, unto her grace or council, for the punishment of every such offender, according to the effect of her highness's laws provided in that part: So her said highness exhorteth and straitly chargeth her said subjects to observe her commandment and pleasure in every part aforesaid, as they will avoid her highness's said indignation and most grievous displeasure. The severity and rigour whereof as her highness shall be most sorry to have cause to put in execution; so doth she utter determine not to permit unlawful and rebellious doings of her subjects, whereof may ensue the danger of her royal estate, to remain unpunished, but to see her said laws touching these points to be thoroughly executed: which extremities she trusteth all her said subjects will foresee,
dread, and avoid accordingly: her said highness straitly charging and commanding all mayors, sheriff’s, justices of peace, bailiffs, constables, and all other public officers and ministers, diligently to see to the observing and executing of her said commandments and pleasure, and to apprehend all such as shall wilfully offend in this part, committing the same to the next jail, there to remain without bail or main prize, till upon certificate made to her highness, or her privy council, of their names and doings; and upon examination had of their offences, some further order shall be taken for their punishment to the example of others, according to the effect and tenor of the laws aforesaid.

"Given at our manor of Richmond, the 18th day of August, in the first year of our most prosperous reign."

Amongst other things contained in this proclamation, we may notice, in an especial manner, that the term of heretic is no less declared to be devilish than that of papist, though it was soon after, and for a long time subsequent, continually sounding in the ears of those denominated gospellers, and since called protestants, by the adherents of popery. We may farther notice the very great encouragement which was thereby given to informers of every description, but particularly against those who should incur her displeasure in matters of religion. The date of the proclamation also demonstrates with what eagerness she pursued her designs; for it was only fifteen days after her arrival at the Tower from Suffolk.

On this encouragement afforded to the advocates for popery, they were not inactive in their efforts to silence their opponents. Bishop Bonner, who had been thrust into the see of London, appointed Bourn, a canon of St. Paul’s, (afterwards bishop of Bath,) to preach at Paul’s Cross. The gospel of the day afforded him a subject to expatiate largely on the merits of Bonner, who had four years before, from the same place and upon the same text, preached a discourse, for which he had been committed most unjustly to the Marshalsea, and there confined during the late reign. This gave occasion to much murmuring and confusion, and a riot or insurrec-

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tion was apprehended. A dagger was hurled at the preacher from some person in the crowd, at that time undiscovered; so that he was compelled to break off his discourse, which tended much to the discredit of king Edward, and terminated his addresses from that place. At the request of Bourn’s brother and others, Mr. Bradford, then being in the pulpit, pacified the people by a mild exhortation; after which he and Mr. Rogers conducted Bourn in safety to the door of the grammar-school. For this humane conduct, they soon were rewarded by a long imprisonment, and finally, by martyrdom in Smithfield.

The lords of the council, in consequence of the tumult, with the lord-mayor and aldermen, who had been present, called a common-council, in which it was determined to direct every householder to command their children, apprentices, and servants, to assemble at their respective parish churches on all holy-days, and to charge them to keep the public peace. They were also informed of the declaration of queen Mary, whilst she remained at the Tower, on the 12th of August, only nine days after her arrival there, to signify that her own conscience was satisfied in matters of religion, but that she would not force the consciences of other persons, though she hoped that God would so direct them, by means of godly and learned preachers, as to lead them to profess the same religion with herself. But this was accompanied by an instruction to each of the aldermen, to warn the curates of the parishes within their respective wards not only to desist from preaching themselves, but to prevent all others from any public reading in the churches, who could not produce a licence from the queen. On the day after the tumult at Paul’s Cross, just mentioned, a guard was deputed to attend the preacher, by order of the queen; but it was perceived, that most persons withdrew from the sermon, and the mayor directed, that the ancients of every company should be present, that the preacher might not be discouraged by the small number of auditors.

We might have mentioned before, in order of time, that one William Rutler was committed to the Marshalsea, by the council, on the 5th of August, two days after the queen’s arrival at the Tower, for having spoken
certain words against Mr. Bourn, on account of his sermon which occasioned the tumult on the preceding Sunday; and, eleven days after, Humphrey Paulet was sent to the Compter for a similar declaration. A letter was also directed to the sheriffs of Buckingham and Bedford, to apprehend one Fisher, the parson of Amersham or Agmondesham; and another to the bishop of Norwich, not to suffer any preachers publicly to expound the scripture without the queen’s special licence. On the same day, also, Mr. John Rogers was commanded to keep himself a prisoner in his own house, and not to converse with any but his own household. Two letters were addressed, on the 22d of August, to the bishops of Exeter and Gloucester, ordering them to attend at court to learn the queen’s pleasure; on which day parson Fisher, of Amersham, pursuant to order, appeared before the council, and was commanded to produce on the following day a copy of his sermon. Two days after, the council committed John Melvin, a Scotch divine, to Newgate. On the 26th, a letter was sent to the mayor and magistrates of Coventry, to apprehend one Symonds of Worcester, vicar of St. Michael’s in Coventry, and cause him to be conveyed to the council, with his examination in all matters they could accuse him of; with a commission to punish all others, who, from his preaching, had talked freely about the queen’s proceedings. On the 29th, Hooper, bishop of Worcester, personally appeared before the council, as did Coverdale, bishop of Exeter, on the 31st.

Thus we have found, that this month of August, in which the queen took possession of the government, was pregnant with incidents of the most unpriopitious nature to the cause of pure religion. Her declaration on the 12th of August, it appears, was no less hypocritical than her promises to the gospellers of Suffolk. This activity of the council had also cut out employment for a considerable part of the following month. On the 1st of September, the two bishops were called before them, and Hooper was sent prisoner to the Fleet; but the other was directed to attend the lords’ pleasure. On the 2d, Hugh Symonds, vicar of St. Michael’s in Coventry, appeared, and had orders to appear again on the following Monday. On the 4th the coun-

cil, by a letter, commanded bishop Latimer to appear before them, though he had resigned his bishopric of Worcester fourteen years before, in 1539. On the following day it is supposed that Peter Martyr, who had been commanded to keep his house at Oxford, arrived in London; and, by his assistance, with others, the archbishop of Canterbury offered to defend the book of Common-Prayer, both by the scriptures and fathers: but the archbishop and some others were imprisoned, though Peter Martyr was permitted to return again. A letter, on the same day, to the mayor of Coventry was sent to liberate Hugh Symonds, on condition of recanting his sermon; otherwise to detain him, and inform the council. Bishop Latimer on the 13th appeared before the council, and was sent to the Tower, with his servant Austin. On the same day the archbishop of Canterbury, appearing before the council by order, was directed to come before the lords on the afternoon of the following day; and was then charged with treason, and an attempt to disturb the peace of the realm, for which he was committed to the Tower, there to wait the queen’s justice and command. The next day a letter was sent to Mr. Horn, the dean of Durham, to appear before them; and a second, on the 7th of October, to appear speedily. On the 16th of September letters were sent to the mayors of Dover and Rye to permit French protestants to depart the realm, those excepted against whom the French ambassador should signify his dissent.

From these last orders, it was manifest, that some more important measures were in contemplation. The latter part of the month either passed over without any material occurrences, or, because they were less momentous, they are not recorded. But the approaching coronation of the queen, for which she seems to have been in some haste, might sufficiently employ the lords of the council, without other business. For we find that, on the 1st of October, she was solemnly crowned at Westminster. On the 10th, the parliament assembled; and the session began with a solemn mass of the Holy Ghost, in the popish manner, and with great pomp, in the palace of Westminster. The archbishop of York, and the bishops of Lincoln and Hereford, assembled with the temporal lords; but, when
the two latter perceived what was going forward, they withdrew. Dr. Taylor, bishop of Lincoln, was examined on account of it, and declared his faith; but, being ordered to remain in readiness to attend their farther commands, he soon after died at Ankerwike, by sickness. John Harley, the bishop of Hereford, being a married man, was on that account excluded both from parliament and his bishopric.

When mass was finished, on repairing to the parliament-house and holding a consultation, all laws made in the reign of Henry VIII., tending to the reformation, and those of the late king Edward VI., were at once repealed; and the same parliament confirmed the duke of Northumberland’s attainer. The erection of altars and places for masses in churches went on rapidly. The friends to king Edward’s laws were either marked or immediately apprehended. Sir James Hales, knt., a justice of the common pleas, fell under this description, for having given a charge at the quarter-sessions, probably for Kent, of which county he was an inhabitant, on the statutes of Henry VIII., and Edward VI., for the supremacy and reformation. He was, therefore, imprisoned in the Marshalsea, the Compter, and the Fleet; and the warden of the last, in particular, so dreadfully terrified him, by relating, within his hearing, the torments which were preparing for heretics, “that he sought to rid himself out of this life by wounding himself with a knife.” His spirit was so broken, that he submitted to say whatsoever they pleased, which occasioned his discharge; but he never rested until he had drowned himself, in a river about half a mile from his own house in Kent. Here we have another specimen of the wretched policy of queen Mary’s council, blindly truckling to her tyrannical disposition, that could wreak its vengeance on a man who maintained her title to the crown, whilst the rest of the judges, and so many of the nobles, supported a contrary opinion. A woful recompense for so much honesty, because he could not conscientiously accord with her in matters of religion!

In the convocation, which met at the same time with the parliament, a disputation on the subject of religion commenced, by command of the queen, in the cathedral church of St. Paul, in London. A sermon to the clergy (AD CLERUM) was made, on the 16th, by Mr. John Harpsfield, bachelor of divinity; after which the clergy chose Dr. Weston, dean of Westminster, for their prolocutor, who was presented to the bishops by Mr. Pic, dean of Chichester, and Mr. Wimbles, archdeacon of London. On being introduced, he “made his gratulatory oration to the house,” and was answered by bishop Bonner.

The matter of the sacrament was the first topic of dispute, and continued six days; which, for the pope, was principally maintained by Dr. Weston, whose taunting and checking was outrageously insulting. On the other hand, those who maintained the reformed doctrine “were driven, some to flee, some to deny, some to die, though they had the upper hand in disputation.” The account of their proceedings is fully reported in the next chapter.

CHAP. III.

Proceedings of the House of Convocation, until its dissolution.

"THE TRUE REPORT OF THE DISPUTATION HAD AND BEGUN IN THE CONVOCATION-HOUSE AT LONDON, OCTOBER 18, 1553.

"WHEREAS divers and uncertain rumours be spread abroad of the disputation had in the convocation-house; to the intent that all men may know the certainty of all things therein done and said, as much as the memory of him that was present thereat can bear away, he hath thought good, at request, thoroughly to describe what was said therein on both parties, of the matters argued and had in question, and of the entrance thereof.

THE FIRST DAY’S ACT.

Upon Wednesday, October 18, in the afternoon, Dr. Weston the prolocutor first certified the house, that it was the queen’s pleasure, that the company of the same house, being learned men assembled, should debate matters of religion, and for that end constitute laws, which her grace and the parliament would ratify. And because (said he) there was a book lately published called the
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Catechism, which he shewed forth, bearing the name of this honourable synod, and yet put forth without your consents, as I have learned, being a book very pestiferous, and full of heresies; and likewise an abominable book of Common Prayer, (as he pleased to call it,) I thought it best therefore first to begin with the articles of the Catechism, concerning the sacrament of the altar, for confirming the natural presence of Christ in the same, and also transubstantiation. Wherefore (said he) it shall be lawful, on Friday next ensuing, for all men freely to speak their conscience in these matters, that all doubts may be removed, and they fully satisfied therein.

THE SECOND DAY'S ACT.

The Friday coming, being October 20, when it was expected they should have entered into disputation of the questions proposed, the prolocutor exhibiting two bills to the house, the one for the natural presence of Christ in the sacrament of the altar, and the other concerning the catechism; that it was not published by the consent of that house, and that they did not agree thereunto, requiring all them to subscribe to the same, as he himself had done. Whereunto the whole house accordingly assented, except six, viz. the dean of Rochester, the dean of Exeter, the archdeacon of Winchester, archdeacon of Hereford, archdeacon of Stow, and one more. And whilst the rest were about subscribing to these two articles, John Philpot stood up, and spoke first concerning the articles of the catechism, that he thought they were deceived in the title of the catechism; although as to the publishing thereof several of them then present were not made privy thereunto; and that because this house had granted authority to certain persons appointed by the king's majesty to make ecclesiastical laws; and whatsoever ecclesiastical laws were thereupon published by the authority of them, or the major part of them, according to a statute in that behalf made and provided, it might well be said to be done by the consent of the synod of London, notwithstanding such as were members of this house now had no notice thereof before the promulgation. And, therefore, in this point, he thought the publisher thereof had not in the least slandered the house, as they by their subscriptions were endeavouring to persuade the world, since they had one synodal authority for empowering them to make such spiritual laws, as they thought convenient and necessary.

And, moreover, he said, that as to the article of the natural presence in the sacrament, it was both contrary to reason and learning, and likewise very prejudicial to truth, for men to be moved to subscribe before the matter was thoroughly examined and discussed. But, when he saw his allegations were to no purpose, being like a man astonished at so many antient learned men being purposely assembled to maintain old traditions preferable to the truth of God's holy word, he made it his request to the prolocutor, that whereas on that side there were present so many learned men, as the like were not to be found again in the whole realm, and that on the other side, of those that had not subscribed there were not above five or six, and they far inferior to them both in age and learning; in order, therefore, that there might be an equality of persons concerned in this disputation, he desired that the prolocutor would intercede with the lords, that some of those men that were learned, and occasioned the publishing of the catechism aforesaid, might be admitted into the house, to show their learning that moved them to set forth the same, and that Dr. Ridley, and Mr. Rodgers, with two or three more, might have the liberty of being present at this disputation, and associating with them.

This request was thought reasonable, and was therefore proposed to the bishops, who returned this answer: that it was out of their power to call such persons to the house, since some of them were prisoners; but they said, they would petition the house in this behalf, and in case any of them were absent that ought to be of the house, they were for their being admitted as they desired. After this, they minding to have entered into disputation, there came a gentleman with a message from the lord great master, signifying unto the prolocutor, that the lord great master and the earl of Devonshire would be present at the disputations, and therefore he deferred the same till Monday, at one o'clock in the afternoon.
THE THIRD DAY'S ACT.

Upon Monday, October 23, at the time appointed, in presence of many earls, lords, knights, gentlemen, and several others, both of the court and city, the prolocutor made a protestation, that the members of that house had appointed this disputation, not to call in question the truth, whereunto they had all subscribed already, except five or six; but that those gainsayers might be resolved of their arguments in which they stood, not doubting but they will also come over to us. Then he demanded of Mr. Haddon, whether he would reason against the questions proposed, or not; to whom he answered, that he had certified him before in writing that he would not, since they could not have such men for their assistance as they desired. Mr. Elmar likewise was asked the same question, who returned the same answer to the prolocutor; adding, moreover, that they had done too much prejudice already to the truth to subscribe before the matter was discussed; and it would signify little or nothing to reason for the truth, since they were now determined to the contrary. After this, he demanded of Mr. Cheney, who, the prolocutor said, allowed the presence with them, (but upon certain authorities whereon he stoodeth, and in which he desires to be resolved, as you shall hear, denied transubstantiation,) whether he would propose his doubts concerning transubstantiation. To which he replied, Yea, I should be glad my doubts were resolved, that move me to disbelieve transubstantiation.

The first is out of St. Paul to the Corinthians, who, speaking of the sacrament of Christ's body and blood, frequently calls it bread after consecration.

The second is out of Origen, who, speaking of this sacrament, saith, that the material part thereof goeth down to the excrements.

The third is out of Theodoretus, who, speaking of the sacramental bread and wine after consecration, saith, that they go not out of their former substance, form, and shape. These, among several others, are the doubts I require to be answered.

Then the prolocutor assigned Dr. Moreman to answer him, who, to St. Paul, answered him thus: That the sacrament is called by him bread indeed; but it is thus to be understood, that it is the sacrament of bread, that is, the form of bread.

Then Mr. Cheney inferred and alleged, that Hesychius called the sacrament both bread and flesh.

Yea, replied Moreman, Hesychius calleth it bread, because it was bread, not because it is so. And passing over Origen, he came to Theodoretus, and said, that men mistook his authority, by interpreting a general into a special, as Peter Martyr had done in the place of Theodoret, taking the Greek word that signifies substance in special signification, whereas in the general it may be applied to accidents as well as substance; and, therefore, I answer Theodoret thus: That the sacramental bread and wine do not go out of their former substance, form, and shape, that is, not out of their accidental substance and shape.

After this Mr. Cheney sat down, and Mr. Elmar (a man that could not endure to hear so weak and childish an answer to so grave an authority) stood up, and disputed upon the authority before alleged by Mr. Cheney, and declared that Moreman's answer to Theodoret was no just or sufficient answer, but an illusion or subtle evasion, contrary to Theodoret's meaning. For if the Greek word that signifies substance, said he, should, in the place alleged, be taken for accident, as it is answered by Moreman, then were it a word superfluous in Theodoret there, where there are two other Greek words, which sufficiently expound the accidents of the bread, and in English signify shape and form; and so he proved out of the same author, by divers allegations, that the Greek word that signified substance in Theodoret, could not be generally taken in that place, as Moreman, for a shift, would have it. But Moreman, as a man having no other salve for that sore, affirmed still, that the Greek word, which signified substance, must needs signify accidental substance properly. To whose importunity, since he could have no better answer, Elmar, wearied with his obstinacy, gave place.

Then John Philpot stood up, and said, that he could prove from the matter Theodoret handled in the place before alleged, and the similitude which he makes use of for proving his purpose, Moreman's interpretation of the Greek word, that here signified substance, was
by no means to be taken for an accidental substance, as for a shift he would interpret it to be. For the matter Theodoret discoursed of in that place, is against the heretic Eutyches, who denied two natures of substance to remain in Christ, being but one person; and that his humanity, after the accomplishment of the mystery of our salvation, ascending into heaven, and being joined to the Divinity, was absorpt or swallowed up of the same; so that, according to his opinion, Christ was no more but of one divine substance only: against which opinion Theodoret writeth, and by the similitude of the sacrament proveth the contrary against this heretic: That like as in the sacrament of the body of Christ, after the consecration, there is the substance of Christ's humanity, with the substance of bread remaining as it was before, not being absorpt by the humanity of Christ, but by divine operation joined thereunto; even so in the person of Christ, being now in heaven, of whom this sacrament is a representation, there being two several substances, that is, his humanity and divinity united in one hypostasy or person, which is Christ, the humanity not being absorpt by the conjunction of the divinity, but remaining in its former substance.

And this similitude, saith Philpot, brought by Theodoret to confound Eutyches, would prove nothing at all, if the very substance of the sacramental bread remained not as it did before. But if Dr. Moreman's interpretation might take place for transubstantiation, then by Theodoret's authority, so taken, would the heretic have a strong argument to maintain his heresy, and to prove himself an orthodox christian, and might well say to Theodoret thus: Like as thou, Theodoret, if thou wert of Dr. Moreman's mind, dost say, that after the consecration in the sacrament, the substance of the bread is absorpt or transubstantiated into the human body of Christ coming thereunto, so that in the sacrament there is but one substance of the humanity alone, and not the substance of bread, as it was before; even so, likewise, may I affirm, and conclude by thine own similitude, that the humanity, ascending up by the power of God into heaven, and adjoining unto the Deity, was by the might thereof absorpt and turned into one substance with the Deity; so that now there remaineth but one divine substance in Christ, no more than in the sacramental signs of the Lord's supper, after the consecration, doth remain any more than one substance, according to your belief and construction.

In answering to this, Dr. Moreman staggered, which Philpot well perceiving, spake on this wise: Well, master Moreman, if you have no answer at this present ready, I pray you consider of one, if you can conveniently, against our next meeting here again.

With that his saying the prolocutor was grievously offended, telling him that he should not brag there, but that he should be fully answered. Then said Philpot, it is the thing that I only desire, to be answered directly in this behalf; and I desire of you, and of all the house here present, that I may be sufficiently answered, which I am sure you are not able to do, taking Theodoret's authority and similitude as he ought to be taken. Whereupon, without any further answer to Philpot's reasoning, he was commanded to be silent.

Then the dean of Rochester stood up, offering himself to dispute against the natural presence, wishing that the scripture and the ancient doctors might be weighed, believed, and followed, in this point. And against this natural presence, he thought that saying of Christ in St. Matthew was a sufficient argument, if men would credit and follow scripture; where, speaking of himself, he says, That the poor we should have always with us, but him we should not have always; which, quoth he, was spoken concerning the natural presence of Christ's body, and therefore we ought to believe as he hath taught us, That Christ is not naturally present on earth in the sacrament of the altar.

To this he was answered by the prolocutor, That we should not have Christ present always to exercise alms-deeds upon him, but upon the poor.

But the dean prosecuted his argument, and shewed it out of St. Augustin, further, that the same interpretation of the scripture alluded was no sufficient answer, who, in the 50th treatise of St. John, speaketh thus on the same sentence: "When as he said, (saith St. Augustin,) Me ye shall not have always with you, he spake of the presence of his body. For, by his majesty, by his providence, by his unspeakable and invisible grace, that is fulfilled which is said of him, Behold, I am
with you until the consummation of the world. But, in the flesh which the Word took upon him, in that which was born of the virgin, in that which was apprehended by the Jews, which was crucified on the cross, which was let down from the cross, which was wrapped in clouts, which was hid in the sepulchre, which was manifested in the resurrection, you shall not have me always with you. And why? For after a bodily presence he was conversant with his disciples forty days, and they accompanying him, seeing, and not following, him, he ascended, and is not here; for there he sitteth at the right-hand of the Father; and yet here he is, because he is not departed in the presence of his Majesty. After another manner we have Christ always by the presence of his Majesty, but after the presence of his flesh it is rightly said, You shall not verily have me always with you. For the church had him in the presence of his flesh a few days, and now by faith it apprehendeth him, and seeth him not with eyes.”

To this authority, Dr. Watson answered, and said, That Mr. Watson had not fully answered St. Augustin by St. Augustin, and having a certain book in his hand of notes, he allledged out of the 70th treatise of St. John, that after that mortal condition and manner we have not now Christ on earth, as he was heretofore before his passion.

To this answer John Philpot replied, and said, That Mr. Watson had not fully answered St. Augustin by St. Augustin, as he promised to do, for that in the place above mentioned, by the dean of Rochester, he doth not only teach the mortal state of Christ’s body before his passion, but also the immortal condition of the same after his resurrection: in which mortal body St. Augustin seemeth plainly to affirm, That Christ is not present upon the earth, neither in form visibly, neither in corporal substance invisibly, as in a few lines after the place above allledged, St. Augustin doth more plainly declare by these words, saying, “Now these two manners of Christ’s presence declared, which is by his majesty, providence, and grace now present in the world, which before his ascension was present in the flesh; and, which, being now placed at the right hand of the Father, is absent from the world, I think there remains no further dispute about the matter.”

Now, said Philpot, if St. Augustin allowed no other presence of Christ here on earth but only his divine presence, and touching his humanity to be in heaven, we ought to confess and believe the same. But, if we put a third presence of Christ, that is corporally to be present always in the sacrament of the altar invisibly according to your suppositions, whereof St. Augustin maketh no mention in all his works, you seem to judge that which St. Augustin did never comprehend.

Why, said Watson, does not St. Augustin, in the place I allledged, make mention how St. Stephen, being in this world, saw Christ after his ascension? It is true, said Philpot, but he saw Christ, as the scripture saith, in the heavens, being open, standing at the right hand of God the Father: at which Watson was silent.

Then the prolocutor went about to answer St. Augustin, saying, Then he is not now in the world after the manner of bodily presence, but yet present for all that in his body.

To whom Philpot answered, that the prolocutor dwelt much upon the word [Secundum] in St. Augustin, that signified after a manner, or in form; but that he made no answer to [Id quod] that which signified that thing or substance of Christ in which Christ suffered, arose, and ascended into heaven, in which thing or substance he is in heaven, and not in earth, as St. Augustin in the place before specified doth most clearly make appear.

Nothing further being answered to this, the dean of Rochester proceeded in the maintenance of his argument, and read out of a book of annotations sundry authorities for the confirmation thereof. To which Moreman, who was appointed to answer him, made no direct answer, but bade him frame an argument, saying, that the dean had recited many doctors’ words, but had not made one argument.

Then, said the dean, the authorities of the doctors I have quoted are arguments sufficient to prove my intent, and to which I desire you will answer. But Moreman still repeated, Make an argument; to shift off the authority which he could not answer to. Whereupon the dean made the following argument from the institution of the sacrament: Do this in remembrance of me; and thus ye shall shew forth the Lord’s death until he come.
The sacrament is the remembrance of Christ; therefore, the sacrament is not very Christ; for as yet he is not come, for these words, Until he come, do plainly signify the absence of Christ's body. Then the prolocutor went about to show, that these words, Until he come, did not import any absence of Christ on the earth, by other places of scripture, where the word, Until, was made use of: but directly to the purpose he answered nothing. In fine, the dean fell to asking Moreman, whether Christ did eat the paschal lamb with his disciples, or not? he answered, Yea. He further demanded, whether, upon instituting the sacrament, he did likewise eat the sacrament with them? Moreman answered, Yea. Then he asked what he did eat, and whether he did eat his own natural body, as they imagined it to be, or not? Which when Moreman had affirmed, then said the dean, It is a great absurdity by you granted; and so he sat down.

Against this absurdity Philpot stood up and argued, saying, he could prove it by good reason deduced out of the scripture, that Christ did not eat his own natural body in the institution of the sacrament; and gave the following reason:

Receiving of Christ's body hath a promise of remission of sins with it annexed.

Christ's eating the sacrament had no promise of remission of sin.

Therefore Christ in the sacrament did not eat his own body.

Moreman answered this reason by denying the former part of the argument, that the sacrament had the promise of remission of sins annexed unto it.

Then Philpot shewed this to be the promise in the sacrament: Which is given for you, which is shed for you for the remission of sins. But Moreman would not allow that to be any promise, and so forced Philpot to the sixth of St. John, to make good his saying with these words: The bread which I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world.

Moreman answering nothing directly to this argument, Harpsfield started up to supply what was wanting in Moreman; and thinking to have answered Philpot, confirmed more strongly his argument, by saying, Ye mistake the promise which is annexed to the body of Christ in the sacrament; for it pertained not to Christ, but to his disciples, to whom Christ said, This is my body which is given for you; and not for Christ himself.

You have well said, quoth Philpot, for that is my argument; the promise of the body of Christ took no effect in Christ; therefore Christ ate not his own body.

Then the prolocutor, to shoulder out the matter, said, the argument was naught. For by the like argument he might go about to prove, that Christ was not baptized, because the remission of sin, which is annexed unto baptism, had no effect in Christ. To which Philpot replied, that like as Christ was baptized, so he ate the sacrament; but he took on him baptism, not that he had any need thereof, or that it took any effect in him, but as our master, to give the church an example to follow him in the ministration of the sacrament, and thereby to exhibit unto us himself, and not give himself to himself.

No more was said on this. But afterward the prolocutor demanded of Philpot, whether he would argue against the natural presence, or not? to whom he answered, Yea, if he would hear his argument without interruption, and assign one to answer him, and not many, which is a confusion to the opponent, and especially for him that had but an ill memory. By this time the night was come on; wherefore the prolocutor brake up the disputation for that time, and appointed Philpot to be the first that should begin the disputation the next day, concerning the presence of Christ in the sacrament.

THE FOURTH DAY'S ACT.

On Wednesday, October 25, John Philpot, as it was before appointed, was ready to have entered the disputation, minding first to have made an oration and declaration in Latin of the matter of Christ's presence which was then in question. Which the prolocutor perceiving, soon after forbade Philpot to make any declaration or oration of any matter, commanding him also that he should make no argument in Latin, but to conclude his argument in English.

Then, said Philpot, this is contrary to your order at the beginning of this disputation; for then you appointed that all the arguments should be made in Latin, and thereupon I have drawn and devised all mine arguments in
Latin: and because you Mr. Prolocutor, have said heretofore openly in this house that I had no learning, I intended to shew such learning as I have, in a brief oration, and short declaration of the questions now in controversy, thinking it so most convenient also, that in case I should speak otherwise in my declaration than should stand with learning, or than I were able to warrant and justify by God’s word, it might the better be reformed by such as were learned of the house, so that the unlearned being present, might take the least offence thereof. But this prevailed nothing with the prolocutor, who still insisted upon his forming an argument in English, or else to hold his peace.

Then, said Philpot, you have sore disappointed me, thus suddenly to go from your former order; but I will accomplish your commandment, leaving mine own oration apart, and I will come to my arguments, which, as well as so sudden a warning will serve, I will make in English. But before I bring forth my argument, I will in one word declare what manner of presence I disallow in the sacrament, to the intent the hearers may the better understand to what end and effect mine arguments shall tend; not to deny utterly the presence of Christ in his sacrament, truly ministered according to his institution, but only to deny that gross and carnal presence, which you of this house have already subscribed unto, to be in the sacrament of the altar, contrary to the true and manifest meaning of the scriptures: that by transubstantiation of the sacramental bread and wine, Christ’s natural body should, by virtue of the words pronounced by the priest, be contained and included under the forms and accidents of bread and wine. This kind of presence imagined by men, I do deny, quoth Philpot, and against this I will reason. But, before he could make an end of what he was about, he was interrupted by the prolocutor, and commanded to descend to his argument: at whose unjust importunity Philpot being offended, and hoping to find remedy, fell down upon his knees before the earls and lords which were there present, being a great number, whereof some were of the queen’s council, beseeching them that he might have liberty to prosecute his arguments without interruption, which was readily granted by the lords. But the prolocutor, making use of a point of the practice of prelates, would not condescend to it, but still cried, Hold your peace, or else make a short argument. I am about it, said Philpot, if you will let me alone: but first I must ask a question of my respondent, (who was Dr. Chedsey,) concerning a word or two of your supposition, that is, of the sacrament of the altar, what he meaneth thereby, and whether he taketh it, as some of the ancient writers do, terming the Lord’s supper the sacrament of the altar; partly because it is a sacrament of that lively sacrifice, which Christ offered for our sins upon the altar of the cross, and partly because that Christ’s body, crucified for us, was that bloody sacrifice, which the blood-shedding of all the beasts offered upon the altar of the old law did prefigurate and signify unto us; in signification whereof the old writers sometime do call the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, among other names which they ascribe thereunto, the sacrament of the altar: or whether you take it otherwise; as for the sacrament of the altar, which is made of lime and stone, over which the sacrament hangeth, and to be all one with the sacrament of the mass, as it is at present in many places. This done, I will direct my arguments according as your answer shall give me occasion.

Then Dr. Chedsey made this answer, That in their supposition, they took the sacrament of the altar and the sacrament of the mass to be all one.

Then, said Philpot, by Mr. Prolocutor’s leave, I will speak plain English, and make a short resolution thereof; that the sacrament of the altar, which ye reckon to be all one with the mass, once justly abolished, and now put in full use again, is no sacrament at all, neither is Christ in any wise present in it; and this he offered to prove before the whole house, if they required it: he would likewise vouch the same before the queen and her honourable council, before the face of six of the most learned men of the house of the contrary opinion, and refused none: And, if I shall not be able by God’s word to maintain what I have said, and confound those six which shall take upon them to withstand me in this point, let me be burdened with as many
faggots as can be found in London before the court-gates. This he spake with the utmost zeal and courage.

At this the prolocutor, with many others, were very much offended, demanding of him, whether he knew what he said: Yea, quoth Philpot, I know very well what I say, and I desire that no man may be offended at it, for I speak no more than by the word of God I am able to prove; and praised be God, that the queen's grace hath granted to us of this house (as our prolocutor hath informed us) the free liberty of uttering our consciences in these matters of controversy in religion; and, therefore, I will here freely speak my conscience, grounded upon God's holy word for the truth, although some of you here present do not like it.

Then the prolocutor, with several others of the house, taunted and reproved him for speaking so indecently against the sacrament of the mass. The prolocutor told him he was mad, and threatened to send him to prison, if he would not cease speaking.

Philpot, seeing himself thus abused, and not permitted the free liberty of declaring his mind, fell into an exclamation, casting his eyes towards heaven, and said, O Lord, what a world is this, that the truth of thy holy word cannot be spoken and endured! and for great sorrow and trouble the tears were seen to trickle down from his eyes.

The prolocutor, being moved by some that were about him, consented that he should make an argument, provided it were a short one. I will be as brief, said Philpot, as I can conveniently, in uttering all that I have to say. And first I will begin to ground my arguments upon the authority of scripture, whereon all the building of our faith ought to be grounded; and then I shall confirm the same by the ancient fathers of the church. I take the occasion of the first argument out of the 28th chapter of St. Matthew's gospel, of what was said by the angel to the three Marys, seeking Christ at the sepulchre, saying, He is risen; he is not here: and in St. Luke, chap. 23, the angel asketh them, why they sought him that liveth among the dead. The scripture testifieth, that Christ is risen, ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father: all which is spoken of his natural body: Ergo, it is not on earth included in the sacrament.

I will confirm this yet more effectually by the saying of Christ in the 16th of St. John; I came (saith Christ) from my Father into the world, and now I leave the world to go away to my Father. Which coming and going he meant of his natural body: therefore, we may consequently affirm, that it is not found in the world.

But (saith he) I expect here to be answered with a blind distinction of visibly and invisibly, that he is visibly departed in his humanity, but remaineth invisibly in the sacrament. But, that I may with more expedition pass on to the pith of my arguments, (whereof I have a dozen to propose,) I will prevent that answer; and, that no such distinction ought to take away the force of that argument, will prove from the answer which Christ's disciples gave unto him, saying, Now thou speakest plainly, and utterest forth no proverb. Which words St. Cyril interpreting, saith, That Christ spake without any manner of ambiguity or obscure speech. And, therefore, I do from thence conclude, that if Christ spake plainly and without parable, saying, I leave the world, now, and go away to my Father; then that obscure, dark, and imperceptible presence of Christ's natural body remaining in the sacrament invisibly upon earth, contrary to the plain words of Christ, ought not to be allowed: for nothing can be more uncertain, parabolical, and absurd, than so to say. I will now give attention to your answer, and then descend to confirm what I have said by ancient writers.

Then Dr. Chedsey, reciting his argument in such sort as it was made, took upon him to answer every part thereof severally on this wise. First, to the saying of the angel, That Christ is not here; and, Why seek ye the living among the dead? he answered, that these sayings pertained nothing to the presence of Christ's natural body in the sacrament; but that they were spoke of Christ's body being in the sepulchre, when the three Marys thought him to have been in the grave still. And therefore the angel said, Why do ye seek him that liveth among the dead? And to the authority of St. John, where Christ saith, Now I leave the world, and go to my Father; he
meant that of his ascension. And so likewise did Cyril, interpreting the saying of the disciples, that knew plainly, that Christ would visibly ascend into heaven, but that doth not exclude the invisible presence of his natural body in the sacrament. For St. Chrysostom, writing to the people of Antioch, doth affirm the same, comparing Elias and Christ together, and Elias's cloak and Christ's flesh. "When Elias (saith he) was taken up in the fiery chariot, he left his cloak behind him unto his disciple Elisaus. But Christ, ascending into heaven, took his flesh with him, and left also his flesh behind him." From whence we may justly conclude, that Christ's flesh is visibly ascended into heaven, and abideth still invisibly in the sacrament of the altar.

To this Philpot replied, and said, You have not directly answered to the saying of the angel, Christ is risen, and is not here; because you have omitted that which was the chief point of all. For, said he, I proceed further, as thus, He is risen, ascended, and sitteth at the right hand of God the Father: therefore, he is not remaining on the earth. Neither is your answer to Cyril, by me alleged, sufficient. But I will presently return to your interpretation of Cyril, and plainly declare it, after I have refelled the authority of Chrysostom, which is one of the chief principles that you alleged to make for your gross carnal presence in the sacrament; which, being well weighed and understood, pertaineth nothing thereunto.

At that the prolocutor startled, that one of the chief pillars in this point should be overthrown; and therefore he recited the said authority first in Latin, and afterwards he turned it into English, and desired all that were present to remark that saying of Chrysostom, which he thought invincible on their own side. But I will make it appear (said Philpot) by and by, that it doth make little for your purpose. And, as he was declaring his mind in that behalf, the prolocutor interrupted him, as he frequently did. With which Philpot being displeased, said, Mr. prolocutor thinketh, that he is in a sophistry-school, where he well knoweth the manner is, that when the respondent perceiveth that he is like to be inforced with an argument which he is not able to answer, thus he doth what he can by cavillation and interruption to drive him from the same. This saying of Philpot was ill taken by the prolocutor and his adherents; and the prolocutor said, that Philpot could bring no thing to avoid that authority but his own vain imagination. Hear, quoth Philpot, and afterwards judge; for I will do in this as in all other authorities, wherewith you shall take upon you to refel any of my arguments that I have to prosecute, answering the same by sufficient authorities of scripture, or else by some other testimony of like authority with yours, and not of my own imagination; which if I do, I desire it to be of no credit. And as to the saying of Chrysostom, I have two ways to beat him from your purpose, one out of scripture, and the other out of the very place of Chrysostom himself here by you alleged.

First, where he seemeth to say, that Christ ascending took his flesh with him, and left also his flesh behind him; it is truth; for we all do confess and believe, that Christ took on him our human nature in the Virgin Mary's womb, and through his passion in the same hath united us to his flesh, and therefore we are become one flesh with him; so that Chrysostom might therefore well say, that Christ ascending took his flesh which he received of the Virgin Mary away with him; and also left his flesh behind him, which are we that be his elect in this world, which are the members of Christ and the flesh of his flesh; as St. Paul doth aptly testify, Eph. v., saying, We are flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bones. And if any man will reply, that he there treateth of the sacrament, and that this interpretation cannot so aptly be applied unto him in that place, then will I yet interpret Chrysostom another way by himself. For in that place, a few lines before those words which were here now read, are these words; That Christ after he ascended into heaven, left unto us, indued with his sacraments, his flesh in mysteries, that is, sacramentally: and that mystical flesh Christ leaveth as well to his church in the sacrament of baptism, as in the sacramental bread and wine. And this St. Paul doth justly witness, saying, As many of us as are baptised in Christ, have put upon us Christ. And thus you may perceive, that St. Chrysostom maketh nothing for your gross and carnal presence in the sacrament, as you wrongly take him.

Now, in the mean while, the prolocutor was moved by Mr. Pie, whispering him in the ear,
to put Philpot to silence, and to appoint some other, fearing if he held on long, he would at length shake their carnal presence, seeing he had already given one of their chief foundations such a pluck. Then the prolocutor said to Philpot, that he had reasoned enough, and that some other should supply his room. At which Philpot was displeased, saying, Why, sir, I have a dozen arguments to propose concerning this matter, and I have as yet scarce gone over the first; for being hitherto hindered through your frequent interrupting me, I have not for confirmation thereof quoted any ancient writer, as I could a great many.

Well, said the prolocutor, thou shalt speak no more now and I command you to hold your peace. You perceive, said Philpot, that I have stuff enough for you, and am able to withstand your false supposition, and therefore you command me to be silent. If you will not give place, said the prolocutor, I will send you to prison. This is not, saith Philpot, according to your promise made in this house, nor yet to your brags made at Paul's Cross, that men should be answered in this disputatio whatever they can say, since of a dozen arguments you will not suffer me to prosecute one.

Then Mr. Pie took upon him to promise, that he should be answered another day. But Philpot, seeing he could not proceed as he designed, was justly offended thereat, and made an end by saying thus: A sort of you here, which have hitherto lurked in corners, and dispersed with God and the world, are now gathered together to suppress the sincere truth of God's holy word, and to set forth every false device, which by the catholic doctrine of the scripture ye are not able to maintain.

Then stepped forth Mr. Elmar, chaplain to the duke of Suffolk, whom Mr. Moreman took upon him to answer: against whom, for confirming the argument he took in hand the day before, Mr. Elmar objected several authorities to prove that the Greek word in Theodoret, which Mr. Cheyne said signified Substance, must needs signify Substance, and not Accidents. But his reasons and proofs being all grounded upon and deduced from the Greek, I shall pass them over, as knowing they want their grace in English, and likewise their proper understanding. But his allegations so incumbered Moreman, that he desired a day to overlook them, for at that instant he was without a convenient answer.

Then the prolocutor called Mr. Haddon, dean of Exeter and chaplain to the duke of Suffolk, who prosecuted Theodoret's authority in confirming Mr. Elmar's argument. Dr. Watson took upon him to answer him, who, after long talk, was so confounded, that he was not able to answer to the word myste- num [mystery.] But forasmuch as he seemed to doubt therein, Mr. Haddon took out of his bosom a Latin author to confirm his saying, and shewed the same to Dr. Watson, asking him whether he thought that translation to be true, or that the printer were in any fault? To which Watson replied, There may be a fault in the printer, for I am not remembered of this word. Then Mr. Haddon took out of his bosom a Greek book, wherein he shewed with his finger the same word, which Mr. Watson could not deny. What further arguments were made use of, I shall choose to omit declaring at large, because they were mostly in Greek.

Then Mr. Perne stood up, and argued against transubstantiation, confirming the authorities alleged by Mr. Elmar and Mr. Haddon. To whom the prolocutor said, I wonder, Mr. Perne, at your speaking thus, for no longer than last Friday you subscribed to the contrary: Which saying Mr. Elmar disapproved, and blamed the prolocutor, telling him, that he ought not to reprehend any man, because, said he, this house is a house of free liberty for every man to speak his conscience, and that yesterday he promised, that any man, notwithstanding he had subscribed, should have free liberty to speak his mind. And for that the night did approach, and the time being spent, the prolocutor praising them for their learning, did still notwithstanding conclude, that, all reasoning set apart, the order of the holy church must be received, and all things must be ordered thereby.

THE FIFTH DAY'S ACT.

On Friday, the 27th of October, the prolocutor first propounded the matter, shewing that the convocation had spent two days already in disputing about one father, which was Theodoret, and about one Greek word, which was ἵσας; and now they were come the third day to answer all things that could be objected, so that they would shortly put their
arguments. Mr. Haddon, Dean of Exeter, desired leave to oppose Mr. Watson, which, with two more, that is, Morgan and Harpsfield, were appointed to answer. Mr. Haddon demanded of him, whether any substance of bread or wine remained after consecration? Then Mr. Watson asked him, whether he thought there to be a real presence of Christ's body, or not? Mr. Haddon said, it was not right, according to order, that one who was appointed to be respondent should be opponent; nor he, whose business it was to object, to answer. Mr. Watson a long time would not agree to answer, but that thing first being granted him, at last an order was set, and Mr. Haddon was permitted to go on with his argument.

Then he proved by the words of Theodoret, that the substance of bread and wine remained: For these are his words, "The same they were before the sanctification, which they are after." Mr. Watson said, that Theodoret meant not the same substance, but the same essence. Whereupon they were driven again to the discussing the Greek word above mentioned: and Mr. Haddon proved it to mean a substance, both by the etymology of the word, and by the words of Theodoret. For, said he, ὁ σῶμα cometh to the particle ὁ, which descendeth to the verb ὁ σῶμα, and so cometh the noun ὁ σῶμα, which signifies a substance.

Then said Mr. Watson, It hath not that signification only: But Mr. Haddon proved, that in that place it could not signify otherwise. Then he asked Watson, when the bread and wine became symbols? To whom Watson answered, After consecration, and not before. Then Mr. Haddon gathered the following reason out of his author.

The same thing, saith Theodoret, that the bread and wine were before they were symbols, the same they remain still in nature and substance, after they are symbols.

Bread and wine they were before.
Therefore bread and wine they are after.

Then Mr. Watson denied the author, and said he was a Nestorian; desiring to answer Mr. Cheynne, who stood by, that he was more fit to dispute in the matter, because he had granted and subscribed to the real presence. Mr. Cheynne desired patience of the honourable men to hear him, hoping so to open the matter, that the truth should appear, protesting, that he was no obstinate nor stubborn man, but would be conformable to all reason; and if they, by their learning, which he acknowledged to be much more than his, could answer his reasons, then he would be ruled by them, and say as they said; for he would be no author of schism, nor hold any thing contrary to the holy mother the church, which is the spouse of Christ. Dr. Weston liked this very well, and commended him highly, telling him that he was a very learned and sober man, and well experienced in all good learning and in the doctors; and, finally, a man, for his knowledge, fit to dispute in that place; I pray you hear him, quoth he. Then Mr. Cheynne desired those that were present to pray to God with him in two words, and to say, Vincat Veritas; Let the truth take place, and have the victory; and all that were present cried with a loud voice, Vincat Veritas, Vincat Veritas.

Dr. Weston told him, that it was hypocritical, and that they had better say, Vicit Veritas; Truth hath gotten the victory. Mr. Cheynne said again, If you will give me leave, I will bring it to that point, that you may truly say so.

He then began with Mr. Watson after this manner: You said that Mr. Haddon was not fit to dispute, because he had not granted the natural and real presence; but I say you are much less fit to answer, because you take away the substance of the sacrament.

Watson told him, that he had subscribed to the real presence, and should not go away from that: so said the prolocutor and the other priests; so that for a long time he could not have leave to proceed, till the lords desired that he should be heard.

He then told them what he meant by subscribing to the real presence, far otherwise than they supposed. He then went on, and prosecuted Haddon's argument, proving that the Greek word before discussed was a substance, using the same reason that Haddon did; and when he had received the same answer that was made to Haddon, he told them, it was but a lewd refuge, when they could not answer, to deny the author, and proved the author to be a catholic doctor; that being proved, he further confirmed what was said of the nature and substance. The similitude
of Theodoret is this, saith he, As the tokens of Christ’s body and blood, after the invocation of the priest, do change their names, and yet continue the same substance, so the body of Christ, after his ascension, changed his name, and was called immortal; yet it had his former fashion, figure, and circumscription, and, to speak in one word, the same substance of his body. Therefore, said Cheyney, if in the former part of the similitude you deny the same substance to continue, then in the latter part of the similitude, which agreeith with it, I will deny the body of Christ, after his ascension, to have the former nature and substance: But that were a great heresy; therefore, it is also a great heresy to take away the substance of bread and wine after consecration.

Watson was then obliged to say, that the substance of the body, in the former part of the similitude brought in by him, did signify quantity, and other accidents of the sacramental tokens which be seen, and not the very substance of the same; and, therefore, Theodoret saith, Those things which be seen. For, according to philosophy, the accidents of things be seen, and not the substances.

Cheyney then appealed to the nobility, and desired that they would give no credit to them in so saying: For, if they think as they teach, after your lordships have ridden forty miles on horseback, (as your business sometimes may require,) you shall not be able to say at night, that you saw your horses all the day, but only the colour of them; and, by this reason, Christ must go to school, and learn of Aristotle how to speak. For, when he saw Nathaniel under the fig-tree, if Aristotle had stood by, he would have said, No, Christ, thou didst not see him, but the colour of him. Then, said Watson, Suppose it were granted, that Theodoret was on the other side, whereas where there were one of that opinion, there were an hundred on the other.

Then the prolocutor called Morgan to help him out, who said, that Theodoret did no more than what he might lawfully do. For first he granted the truth, and then, for fear of such as were not fully instructed in the faith, he spake mystically, and that was lawful for him to do: for first he granted the truth, and called them the body and blood of Christ. Then afterwards he seems to give somewhat to the senses and to reason: but, that Theodoret is of the same mind that they were of, the words following, quoth he, do declare. For that which followeth is a cause of that which went before; and therefore he saith, The immortality, &c., whereby it doth appear, that he meant the divine nature, and not the human. Morgan was then detected in misreading the text: for the book had not this word [for.] for the Greek word did rather signify [truly.] and not [for.] so that it might manifestly appear it was the beginning of a new matter, and not a sentence rendering a cause of that he had said before.

Watson again said, Suppose Theodoret be with you, which is one we never heard of printed but two or three years ago, yet he is but one; and what is one against the consent of the whole church? Cheyney then inferred, that not only Theodoret was of that mind, that the substance of bread and wine do remain, but many others also, especially Irenæus, who, making mention of the sacrament, saith thus: “When the cup which is mingled with wine, and the bread that is broken, do receive the word of God, it is made the Eucharist of the body and blood of Christ, by the which the substance of our flesh is nourished and doth consist.” If the thanksgiving do nourish our body, then there is some substance besides Christ’s body.

Both Watson and Morgan answered, that [By the which.] in the sentence of Irenæus, was referred to the next antecedent, that is, to the body and blood of Christ; and not to the wine which is in the cup, and the bread which is broken.

Mr. Cheyney replied, that it was not the body of Christ which nourished our bodies. And let it be that Christ’s flesh nourisheth to immortality, yet it doth not answer to that argument, although it be true, no more than that answer which was made to my allegation out of St. Paul, The bread which we break, &c., with divers others; whereunto you answered, that bread was not taken there in its proper signification, that is, not for that it was bread, but for that it had been so; any more than the rod of Aaron was taken for a serpent, because it had been a serpent. After this Mr. Cheyney quoted Hesychius, and used the same reason as he did concerning the burning of symbols; and asked them, what was burnt? Mr. Watson said, We must not inquire or ask.
but if there was any fault, impute it to Christ. Then said Mr. Cheyney, Whence came those ashes? not from substance; or can any substance arise from accidents?

Then was Mr. Harpsfield called in to see what he could say in the matter, who told a fair tale about the omnipotency of God, and the imbecility and weakness of man's reason, as to the attainment of godly things. And likewise said, that whatsoever we saw, felt, or tasted, it was not convenient for us to trust our senses. And he told also a tale out of St. Cyprian, how a woman saw the sacrament burning in her coffer; and that which burned thus, said Harpsfield, burneth here, and becometh ashes; but what that was that burnt he could not tell. But Mr. Cheyney continued still, and forced them with this question, What was it that was burnt? it was either, said he, the substance of bread, or else the substance of the body of Christ; which was too great an absurdity to grant. And, therefore, at length they answered it was a miracle; at which Mr. Cheyney smiled, and said, that he could then say no more.

Then Dr. Weston asked the company, whether these men were sufficiently answered or not? At which certain priests said, Yea; but for the great multitude that cried, No, no, they were not heard; the cry was so great, as it was heard and noised almost to the end of Paul's. Whereat Dr. Weston, being much moved, answered bitterly, that he asked not the judgment of the rude multitude and unlearned people, but of such as were members of the house. Then he asked Mr. Haddon and his fellows, whether they would answer them other three days? Mr. Haddon, Cheyne, and Elmar, answered, No. But the Archdeacon of Winchester stood up and said, that they should not say but they should be answered; and though all others refused to answer, yet he would not, but offered to answer them all one after another: with whose offer the prolocutor being dissatisfied, railed at him, and said, that he should go to Bedlam; to whom the Archdeacon soberly returned this answer: That he was more worthy to be sent thither, who behaved him so furiously in the disputation, without any indifferent equality.

Then Dr. Weston rose up, and said, All the company have subscribed to our article, except only these men which you see. What their reasons are, you have heard. We have answered them three days upon promise, (as it pleased him falsely to descent, for no such promise was made,) that they should answer us again as long as the order of disputations should require; and if they be able to defend their doctrine, let them do so.

Then stood up Mr. Elmar, and proved how vain a man Weston was; for he affirmed, that they never promised to dispute, but only to declare and testify to the world their consciences. For when they were required to subscribe, they refused, and said, that they would shew good reasons which moved them, that they could not with their consciences subscribe, as they had partly done already, and were able to do more sufficiently: therefore, said he, it hath been ill called a disputation, and they are much to blame that called it so. For we meant not to dispute, nor now intend to answer, before our arguments, said he, which we have to propound, be solved, according as it was appointed. For by answering, we should but incumber ourselves, and profit nothing, since the matter is already decreed on and determined, whatsoever we shall prove or dispute on the contrary.

THE SIXTH DAY'S ACT.

On Monday following, October 30, the prolocutor demanded of John Philpot, archdeacon of Winchester, whether, in the questions before propounded, he would answer their objections or not? To whom he made this answer, that he would willingly do so, if, according to their former determination and promise, they would first answer sufficiently some of his arguments, of which he had a dozen, not half of the first being decided. And if they would answer fully and sufficiently one of his arguments, he promised he would answer all the objections they should bring.

Then the prolocutor bid him propound his argument, and it should be resolutely answered by one of them; whereunto Morgan was appointed. On Wednesday last, said Philpot, I was forced to silence before I had prosecuted half my argument, the sum of which (as was gathered by the just context of the scripture) was this, that the human body of Christ was ascended into heaven, and placed at the right hand of God the Father: wherefore, after the imagination of man, it could
not be situate upon earth invisibly in the sacrament of the altar. The argument was denied by Morgan; but, for proof hereof, Philpot said, that this was what he had to confirm his first argument with, if they would have suffered him the other day, as he hoped they now would.

One self and same nature, said he, receiveth not in itself any thing that is contrary to itself.

But the body of Christ is an human nature, distinct from the Deity, and is a proper nature of itself.

Ergo, it cannot receive any thing that is contrary to that nature, and that varieth from itself.

But bodily to be present, and bodily to be absent, to be on earth and to be in heaven, and all at one present time, be things contrary to the nature of a human body. Ergo, it cannot be said of the human body of Christ, that the self-same body is both in heaven and also in earth at one instant, either visibly or invisibly.

Morgan denied the first part of the argument, which Philpot vouched out of an ancient writer, Vigilius. But Morgan cavilled thereat, and said, that it was no scripture, and bade him prove the same from scripture.

Philpot replied, That he could likewise do, and very well deduce the same from St. Paul, who saith, that Christ is like unto us in all points, except sin; and, therefore, like as one of our bodies cannot receive in itself any thing contrary to the nature of a body, as to be in Paul's church and at Westminster in one instant, or to be at London visibly, and at Lincoln invisibly, at one time; for that is contrary to the nature of a body, and of all creatures, (as Didymus and Basilius affirm,) that an invisible creature, as an angel, cannot be at one time in different places. Wherefore he concluded, that the body of Christ could not be in more places than one, which is in heaven, and so consequently was not included or contained in the sacrament of the altar.

The prolocutor took upon him to answer to this, saying, that it was not true that Christ was like unto us in all points, except sin. For that Christ was not conceived by the seed of man, as we be.

Whereunto Philpot again replied, that Christ's conception was prophesied before by the angel to be supernatural; but after he had received our nature by the operation of the Holy Ghost in the virgin's womb, he became in all points like unto us, except sin.

Then Morgan inferred that this saying of Paul did not plainly prove his purpose. Well, said Philpot, I perceive that you answer but by cavilling, yet am I not destitute of other scriptures to confirm my first argument, though you refuse the probation of so ancient and catholic a doctor as Vigiliius is. For St. Peter, making mention of Christ in the sermon that he made in the third of the acts, saith thus, Whom heaven must receive, until the consummation of all things, &c., which words are spoken of his humanity. And if heaven must hold Christ, then can he not be here on earth, in the sacrament, as is pretended.

Morgan laughing at this, and giving no direct answer at all, Harpsfield stood up, being one of the Bishop of London's chaplains, and took upon him to answer to the saying of St. Peter, and demanded of Philpot, Whether he would of necessity force Christ to any place or not?

Philpot said, that he would no otherwise force Christ of necessity to any place, than he is taught by the words of the holy Ghost, that sound thus: That Christ's human body must abide in heaven until the day of judgment, as I rehearsed out of the chapter above mentioned.

Harpsfield replied, Do ye not know that God is a God omnipotent? Yes, said Philpot, I know that right well, neither do I question his omnipotency at all. But as to Christ's omnipotency, what he may do is not our question, but rather what he doth. I know he may make a stone in the wall a man, if he please, and also that he may make more worlds, but doth he therefore so? It were no good consequent so to conclude; he may do this or that, therefore he doth it.

Only so much is to be believed of God's omnipotency, as in the word expressed.

That Christ's body is both in heaven and here also really in the sacrament, is not expressed in the word.

Ergo, it is not to be believed, that the body of Christ, being in heaven, is here also really in the sacrament.

Why, said the prolocutor, then will you put Christ to prison in heaven? To which Philpot answered, Do you reckon heaven to be a
prison? God grant us all to come to that prison.

After this Harpsfield inferred, that this word Oportet, in St. Peter, which in English signifies Must, did not import so much as I would infer, of necessity, as by other places of scripture it may appear, as in the first to Timothy, where St. Paul saith, A bishop must be the husband of one wife. Here, quoth he, the aforesaid Latin word Oportet, that signifies Must, doth not import such a necessity, but that he that never was married may be a bishop.

To which Philpot again replied, that the places which he went about to compare were not alike, and that in comparing the scripture we must not consider the bare words, but rather the meaning of the scriptures; and because, in the place by him alleged, St. Paul declares of what quality a bishop ought to be: but as to the other place, St. Peter teaches us the place where Christ must necessarily be until the end of the world; which we ought to believe to be true. And this comparison of the Latin word Oportet, which in English signifies Must, is no more an answer to my argument, than if I was to say of you now being here, You must needs be here, which importeth such a necessity for the time, that you can no otherwise be but here, and yet you would go about in words to avoid this necessity with another Oportet in another sense; as for instance, You must be a good man, where Must doth not verily conclude any such necessity, but that you may be an evil man. Thus you may see that your answer is not sufficient, and, as it were, no answer to my argument.

Then the prolocutor, to help the matter out, if possible, brought in another Oportet, saying, What say you to this, Oportet heresies esse; must heresies needs be therefore, because of this word Oportet?

Yea, truly, quoth Philpot, it cannot otherwise be, if you will add that which followeth immediately upon these words of St. Paul, that is, Ut qui electi sunt manifestetur; that is, That such as be the elect of God may be manifested and known.

Why, quoth the prolocutor, the time hath been that no heresies were. I know no such time, said Philpot; for since the time of Abel and Cain heresies have been, and then began they. Then said the prolocutor, Will you now answer Morgan an argument or two? I will, said Philpot, if I may have my arguments first answered any thing according to truth and learning. What, quoth the prolocutor, you will never be answered. How I am answered, said Philpot, let all men here present judge, and especially such as are learned, and with what cavilling you have dallied with me.

First, to the ancient authority of Vigilius, you have answered nothing at all, but only denying what he saith to be scripture. Secondly, to the saying of St. Peter in the Acts, ye have answered thus, demanding of me, whether I would keep Christ in prison, or not? Let men now judge if this be a sufficient answer, or not?

Then Morgan stood up again, and asked Philpot, whether he would be ruled by the universal church, or not?

Yes, said Philpot, if it be the true catholic church. And since you speak so much of the church, I would fain have you declare what the church is.

The church, said Morgan, is diffused and dispersed throughout the whole world. That is a diffuse definition, said Philpot, for I am as yet as uncertain as I was before, what you mean by the church: but I acknowledge no church but that which is grounded and founded on God's word, as St. Paul saith, upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, and upon the scriptures of God.

What, quoth Moreman, was the scripture before the church? Yea, said Philpot. But I will prove nay, said Moreman, and I will begin at Christ's time. The church of Christ was before any scripture written. For Matthew was the first that wrote the gospel, about a dozen years after Christ. Ergo, the church was before the scripture.

To whom Philpot answering, denied his argument. Which when Moreman could not prove, Philpot shewed his argument to be a fallacy, or a deceitable argument: for he took the scripture to be only that which was written by men in letters, whereas, in truth, all prophecy uttered by the Spirit of God, was counted to be scripture before it was written in paper and ink, for that it was written in the hearts, and graven in the minds, yea, and inspired in the mouths of good men, and of Christ's apostles, by the Spirit of Christ: as the salutation of the angel was the scripture
of Christ, and the word of God, before it was written. At that Moreman cried, Fie, fie, wondering that the scripture of God should be counted scripture before it was written, and affirmed, that he had no knowledge that said so.

To whom Philpot replied, That as to knowledge in this matter, for the trial of the truth about the questions in controversy, he would wish himself no worse matched than with Moreman.

At which saying the prolocutor was grievously offended, saying, that it was arrogantly spoken of him, to compare himself with such a worshipful learned man as Moreman was, being himself a man unlearned, yea, a madman, fitter to be sent to Bedlam, than to be among such a sort of learned and grave men as were there, and a man that never would be answered, and one that troubled the whole house, and therefore he commanded him to come no more into the house; and thereupon demanded of the house, whether they would agree thereunto, or not. To whom a great company answered, Yea. Upon which Philpot replied again, that he might think himself happy that he was out of their company.

Then Morgan rose up, and whispered the prolocutor in the ear; and the prolocutor spoke to Philpot again, and said, Lest thou shouldst slander the house, and say that we will not suffer you to declare your mind, we are content you should come into the house as you have done before, so that you be appareled with a long gown and a tippet, as we be, and that you shall not speak but when I command you. Then, said Philpot, I had rather be absent altogether.

Thus they reasoned to and fro, till at length, about the 13th of December, Queen Mary, to take up the matter, sendeth to Bonner, Bishop of London, commanding him to dissolve and break up the convocation. The copy of which command here followeth.

The Queen’s Precept to Bonner, Bishop of London, for dissolving the aforesaid Convocation.

“Mary, &c. To the Reverend Father in God, Edmund Lord Bishop of London, sendeth greeting. Whereas there is now held at Paul’s, London, the Convocation of the Clergy belonging to the Province of Canter-

bure; We, by and with the advice and Consent of our Council, and for divers other Causes and Considerations particularly moving us thereunto, have hereby thought fit the said Convocation should be dissolved. And, therefore, We strictly charge and command you, forthwith to dissolve, or cause to be dissolved, the said Convocation, as shall seem to you most fit and convenient: signifying withal, on Our part, to all and several the Bishops, Archdeacons, Deans, and all other spiritual persons, that they and every of them do obey and comply with this Our Command, as cometh them so to do.

“Witness Ourself at Westminster, the 13th Day of December, in the First Year of our Reign.”

In the interval, from the 16th of September to the termination of the convocation, various occurrences arose from the orders of the council, commanding persons to appear for their proceedings. The mayor of Coventry, on the 20th of November, sent up to the lords, Baldwin Clark, Richard Estelin, J. Careless, and Thomas Wilcocks, for their conduct on All-Saints day; when the two former were committed to the Marshalsea, and the others to the Gate-house. On that day, Sir Christopher Heydon and Sir William Farmer, knights, were directed by a letter to apprehend John Huntingdon, preacher, for making a rhyme against Dr. Stokes and the sacrament. He appeared on the 3d of December, and, on his humble submission and promise to amend, both in doctrine and living, he was dismissed.

Divers noblemen and others had been committed to the Tower, during the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. Amongst these were the Lord Courtney and the Duke of Norfolk, whose son, the Earl of Surrey, a worthy and ingenious gentleman, was beheaded; and soon afterwards, the Lord Seymour and Duke of Northumberland experienced the same fate. Some were charged with treason, others for the pope’s supremacy, and suspicious letters tending to sedition, as Tonstal, Bishop of Durham, and others upon various other charges. They remained in prison until Queen Mary’s reign, and were then liberated, and restored to their former dignities. Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, was not only released, but made high-chancellor of England. Lord Courtney
was created Earl of Devonshire, and some persons suspected that she had an intention of marrying him, though it proved otherwise. Bonner also was released from the Marshalsea, and restored to the see of London. Hence Ridley was displaced from London, as Cranmer was from Canterbury to make way for Pole, Holgate from York to make way for Heath, Pownet from Winchester to replace Gardiner, Hooper from Gloucester to make room for Brookes, Barlow from Bath to introduce Bourn, Harley from Hereford to make room for Warton, Taylor from Lincoln to admit White, Ferrar from St. David's to introduce Morgan, Coverdale from Exeter to reinstate Voysey, Scory from Chichester to restore Day, &c. besides numerous changes in the various dignities of dean and archdeacon; and all other persons possessing authority, and all benefited men, who were either married, or remained true to the principles of protestantism, were expelled from their livings, to make room for persons who were adherents to popery.

When rumour had industriously calumniated Cranmer for a recantation of his opinions, and that he had caused mass to be said at Canterbury, he made an open declaration of his truth and constancy, protesting against it. He therein signified his readiness to vindicate, by open disputation, the doctrine which was maintained in the time of King Edward, if the queen should be pleased to direct it, in conjunction with Peter Martyr and some other defenders whom he should select; instead of which he was thrown into prison with some other bishops, and Peter Martyr was permitted to leave the realm, who retired to Argentina. In the month of November, Cranmer, with the Lady Jane, and three of the Duke of Northumberland's sons, were arraigned for treason at Guildhall in London; but he was acquitted of treason, and his offence was diminished to a charge of heresy on account of his doctrine. The others, on the intreaty of certain persons, were remanded back to the Tower, where they were confined for some time longer. This treatment of Cranmer was the more ungrateful, as he had refused to subscribe to the king's will for disinheriting his sister Mary, assigning many potent arguments for her legitimacy and right to the crown. But the influence of any principle of honour was totally lost on a mind like Mary's, when it came in competition with her bigotry and superstition. He received no more countenance than Mr. Dobbe or Sir James Hales.

Numbers of the clergy conformed to the queen's humour in matters of religion. Many of them began in their respective choirs to erect the pageant of St. Catharine, and of St. Nicholas, and of their processions in Latin, after their old solemnity with their gay Gardeviane, and gray amices or vestments."

In the month of December the parliament broke up, after a short but active session; but not until they had repealed all the statutes of premunire, and every other act made in the time of King Edward, containing any alteration in the religion of the realm, or any way regarding the administration of the sacrament. In this parliament, also, was a communication made of an intended marriage of the queen to King Philip, the emperor's son; on which account, it is supposed, Cardinal Pool was retained some time by the emperor, lest his presence in England, having been sent for by Queen Mary, should occasion any let or interruption in the marriage. A most ample embassy was sent, with full authority to accomplish this marriage, which was so successful and speedy, that the business was very soon completed.

We have next to take notice, in order of time, of Dr. Crome's being sent to the Fleet Prison on the 13th of January, for presuming to preach, in defiance of the queen's proclamation, on Christmas-day, without a licence; and, on the 21st, Thomas Wooton, Esq. was committed to the same prison for matters of religion.

CHAP. IV.

Proposal of the Queen's Marriage, Visit to the City, and Lady Jane's conference with Feckenham.

To return to the subject of this projected marriage, which began to be rumoured about the beginning of January, both the common people and many of the nobility were greatly troubled at it. This occasioned the forming a conspiracy, coupled with the matter of religion, of which Sir Thomas Wyat. Knight, was
a considerable promoter. Being in Kent, he stated his opinion freely, that this marriage, would bring upon the realm the most miserable servitude, and most fully re-establish the popish religion. About the 25th of the same month, intelligence reached London of this commotion in Kent. The Duke of Suffolk, also, had fled into Warwickshire and Leicestershire, and was there assembling a considerable force; the news of which was soon after communicated. They were accordingly proclaimed traitors, together with the Carews of Devonshire. Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, was sent into Kent against Wyat; but his followers deserted him about Rochester-bridge, and he returned to London without effecting any thing, or a drop of blood being spilled. The Earl of Huntingdon was sent post into Warwickshire, and possessed himself of Coventry before the Duke of Suffolk had taken measures to secure the friendship of that noted city; by which he was disappointed of his intention, and reduced to the necessity of committing himself to the protection of a servant of his, named Underwood, in Astley-park, by whom he was treacherously betrayed, and afterwards brought prisoner to the Tower of London. Upon this intelligence being communicated to Sir Peter Carew, he fled into France; but the others were taken. In the beginning of February, Wyat advanced towards London; on hearing of which intended movement, the queen, on the 1st of that month, went into the city to Guildhall, and there made a vehement oration against Wyat, to the following effect, and as nearly as possible in the following words:

Queen Mary's Oration in Guildhall.

"I am come unto you in mine own person, to tell you that which already you see and know, that is, how traiterously and rebelliously a number of Kentish men have assembled themselves against both us and you. Their pretence (as they said at the first) was for a marriage determined for us: to which, and to all the articles thereof, ye have been made privy. But since we have caused certain of our privy council to go again unto them, and to demand the cause of this their rebellion, and it appeared then unto our said council, that the matter of the marriage seemed to be but a Spanish cloak to cover their pretended purpose against our religion; for that they arrogantly and traitorously demanded to have the governance of our person, the keeping of the Tower, and the placing of our counsellors.

"Now, loving subjects, what I am ye right well know. I am your queen, to whom at my coronation, when I was wedded to the realm, and laws of the same, (the spousal ring whereof I have on my finger, which never hitherto was, nor hereafter shall be, left off,) you promised your allegiance and obedience unto me. And that I am the right and true inheritor of the crown of this realm of England, I take all Christendom to witness. My father, as ye all know, possessed the same regal state, which now rightly is descended unto me: and to him always ye shewed yourselves most faithful and loving subjects, and therefore I doubt not but ye will shew yourselves likewise to me, and that ye will not suffer a vile traitor to have the order and governance of our person, and to occupy our estate, especially being so vile a traitor as Wyat is; who most certainly, as he hath abused mine ignorant subjects which bo in his side, so doth he intend and purpose the destruction of you, and spoil of your goods. And I say to you in the word of a prince, I cannot tell how naturally the mother loveth the child, for I was never the mother of any; but, certainly, if a prince and governor may as naturally and earnestly love her subjects, as the mother doth love the child, then assure yourselves, that I, being your lady and mistress, do as earnestly and tenderly love and favour you. And I, thus loving you, cannot but think that ye as heartily and faithfully love me, and then I doubt not but we shall give these rebels a short and speedy overthrow.

"As concerning the marriage, you shall understand, that I enterprised not the doing thereof without advice, and that by the advice of our privy council, who so considered and weighed the great commodities that might ensue thereof, that they not only thought it very honourable, but also expedient, both for the wealth of the realm, and also of you our subjects. And, as touching myself, I assure you, I am not so bent to my will, neither so precise nor affectionate, that either for mine own pleasure I would chuse where I lust, or that I am so desirous, as needs I would have one. For God, I thank him, to whom be the
praise therefore, I have hitherto lived a virgin, and doubt nothing, but with God's grace, I am able so to live still. But if, as my progenitors have done before, it may please God that I might leave some fruit of my body behind me, to be your governor, I trust you would not only rejoice thereat, but also, I know, it would be to your great comfort. And, certainly, if I either did think or know that this marriage were to the hurt of any of you my commons, or to the impeachment of any part or parcel of the royal state of this realm of England, I would never consent thereunto, neither would I either marry while I lived. And in the word of a queen, I promise you, that if it shall not probably appear to all the nobility and commons in the high court of parliament, that this marriage shall be for the high benefit and commodity of the whole realm, then will I abstain from marriage while I live.

"And now, good subjects, pluck up your hearts, and, like true men, stand fast against these rebels, both our enemies and yours, and fear them not; for I assure you I fear them nothing at all. And I will leave with you my Lord Howard, and my lord-treasurer, who shall be assistants with the mayor for your defence."

As soon as the queen’s design was known of visiting the city, and that she was to be accompanied by harnessed men, great numbers of the citizens, apprehensive of being entrapped and put to death, upon one pretence or other, escaped out of the gates before she entered. Having finished her address, which she seemed to have got by heart, Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, who was in close attendance, instantly exclaimed, “O, how happy are we, to whom God has given such a wise and learned prince!”

On the 3d of February, only two days after, Lord Cobham was committed to the Tower. Mr. Wyat then approached the Borough of Southwark, but found that he could not pass that way into London; so that he was obliged to go with his army to Kingston, and enter London from the west. About the time of his crossing Kingston-bridge, Sir George Harper and almost half his men deserted from him, though he persevered in his proceeding, after this discouraging event. He came along the streets to Ludgate, and, upon attempting to return through Temple-Bar, he was compelled to surrender to Sir Clement Parson, who brought him prisoner to the court. The rest of his army were also made captives, after killing about an hundred. Many of these were hanged, after being imprisoned. Sir Thomas Wyat himself was afterwards executed upon Tower-Hill, and then quartered; but his head, which was set up on Hay-hill, was stolen away. This, probably, might be a means of hastening the catastrophe which soon after followed, to prevent future attempts of the same nature. On the 12th of February, but eleven days after this famous oration, and but nine days after Wyat’s first approach to Southwark, Lady Jane was brought to the scaffold; but not without an attempt on the part of Queen Mary, to pervert her mind, and withdraw her from her religion.

Two days before her execution, the queen sent Mr. Feckenham, alias Howman, to endeavour to seduce Lady Jane from her principles; who, after the common salutations of civility, professed that he was sent by the queen to instruct her “in the true doctrine of the right faith;” in which he began, by way of catechism, to inquire, “What is required of a christian man?” and was promptly answered, “That he should believe in God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, three persons and one God.” To his other questions she answered, that it is required of us to “love him with all our heart, with all our soul, and with all our mind, and our neighbour as ourselves; that faith (as St. Paul saith) only justifieth; that we cannot love him whom we do not trust, nor trust him whom we do not love; that faith and love go both together, and yet love is comprehended in faith.” In answer to other questions she observed, that “to love our neighbour is to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, and give drink to the thirsty, and to do to him as we would do to ourselves; and though faith only saveth, it is meet for a christian, in token that he followeth his master Christ, to do good works, yet may we not say that they profit to our salvation.” She then declared her belief that there are two sacraments only; “the one the sacrament of baptism, and the other the sacrament of the Lord’s supper,” and not seven, as he asserted. “By the sacrament of baptism,” said she, “I am washed with water, and regenerated by the Spirit, and
that washing is a token to me that I am the child of God. The sacrament of the Lord's supper offered unto me, is a sure seal and testimony that I am, by the blood of Christ which he shed for me on the cross, made partaker of the everlasting kingdom, and I think that I neither receive flesh nor blood, but bread and wine; which bread, when it is broken, and the wine when it is drunken, putteth me in remembrance how that for my sins the body of Christ was broken, and his blood shed on the cross, and with that bread and wine I receive the benefits that come by the breaking of his body, and shedding of his blood for our sins on the cross."

On being told, that Christ called the bread his body, she admitted it; but added, "so he saith, I am the vine, I am the door, but he is never the more the door nor the vine. God forbid that I should say, that I eat the very natural body and blood of Christ; for then either I should pluck away my redemption, or else there were two bodies, or two Christs. One body was tormented on the cross; and if they did eat another body, then had he two bodies; or if his body were eaten, then was it not broken upon the cross; or if it were broken upon the cross, it was not eaten upon the cross." She farther observed, in answer to the suggestion what Christ might have done by his power, that "then he minded no work nor miracle, but only to break his body, and shed his blood on the cross for our sins. Where was Christ when he said, Take, eat, this is my body? Was he not at the table when he said so. He suffered not till the next day. What took he but bread? What brake he but bread? And what gave he but bread? What he took, he brake; what he brake, he gave; and what he gave, they did eat. Yet all this while he himself was alive, and at supper before his disciples; or else they were deceived."

To the objection, that she did not ground her faith upon the church, she answered, that it was grounded "on God's word; that the faith of the Church must be tried by God's word, and not God's word by the Church, either yet my faith. Shall I give credit to the Church that taketh away from me the half part of the Lord's supper, and will not let any man receive it in both kinds. Thus they deny to us part of our salvation. It is an evil Church, and not the spouse of Christ, but the spouse of the devil that altereth the Lord's supper, and both taketh from it, and addeth to it. To that Church (say I) God will add plagues, and from that Church will he take their part out of the book of life: Do they learn that of St. Paul, when he ministered to the Corinthians in both kinds? Shall I believe this Church? God forbid." To which Mr. Feckenham replied, that "this was done for a good intent of the Church, to avoid an heresy;" which she answered with this question, "Shall the Church alter God's will and ordinance for good intent? How didking Saul? The Lord God defend." This is the substance of Lady Jane's refutation of Feckenham's arguments to persuade her to turn to the popish religion; and he took his leave with "saying, that he was sorry for her; for I am sure, quoth he, that we two shall never meet:" but she as speedily answered, "True it is, that we shall never meet, except God turn your heart. I am assured, unless you repent and turn to God, you are in an evil case: and I pray God, in the bowels of his mercy, to send you his Holy Spirit; for he hath given you his great gift of utterance, if it pleased him also to open the eyes of your heart." Thus undauntedly and firmly did she maintain her faith.

CHAP. V.

Various Letters and other documents of Lady Jane, before her Execution.

THE LADY JANE'S LETTER TO HER FATHER.

Father, although it hath pleased God to hasten my death by you, by whom my life should rather have been lengthened: yet can I so patiently take it, as I yield God more hearty thanks for shortening my woful days, than if all the world had been given unto my possession, with life lengthened at my own will. And albeit I am well assured of your impatient dolors, redoubled manifold ways, both in bewailing your own woe, and especially (as I hear) my unfortunate state; yet, my dear father, (if I may without offence rejoice at my own mishaps,) meseems in this I may account myself blessed, that washing my hands with the innocency of my fact, my guiltless blood may cry before the Lord, Mercy to
the innocent. And yet, though I must needs acknowledge, that being constrained, and as you wot well enough, continually assayed, in taking upon me I seemed to consent, and therein grievously offended the queen and her laws; yet do I assuredly trust, that this my offence toward God is so much the less, in that being in so royal estate as I was, mine inforced honour blended never with mine innocent heart: and thus, good father, I have opened unto you the state wherein I at present stand. Whose death at hand, although to you perhaps it may seem right woful, to me there is nothing that can be more welcome, than from this vale of misery to aspire to that heavenly throne of all joy and pleasure with Christ our Saviour. In whose steadfast faith (if it may be lawful for the daughter so to write to the father) the Lord that hitherto hath strengthened you, so continue you, that at the last we may meet in heaven with the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

When her father in king Edward’s time flourished in freedom and prosperity, he had belonging to him a certain learned man, a student and graduate of the university of Oxford, who then being his chaplain, and appearing to be a sincere preacher of the gospel, according to the doctrine of that time set forth and received, but shortly after, when the state of religion began to be altered by queen Mary, he altered his profession according to the time, and of a protestant became a friend and defender of the pope’s proceedings. This pious and christian lady, seeing such a change in a person whom she thought so sincere, was much grieved, and most of all lamented the dangerous state of his soul, in so cowardly sliding away from the truth, and writeth her mind to him in a sharp and vehement letter; which (as it appeared to proceed from an earnest and zealous heart, so) she prayed that God might make it effectual in reducing him to repentance, and engage him to take better hold of that whereon depended the eternal welfare of his own soul. The copy of the letter is as follows.

*Another Letter of the Lady Jane, to Mr. Harding, late Chaplain to the Duke of Suffolk, her Father, and then fallen from the truth of God’s holy Word.*

So oft as I call to mind the dreadful and fearful saying of God, “that he which layeth hold upon the plough and looketh back, is not meet for the kingdom of heaven;” and, on the other side, the comfortable words of our Saviour Christ to all those that, forsaking themselves, do follow him: I cannot but marvel at thee, and lament thy case, which seemed sometime to be the lively member of Christ, but now the deformed imp of the devil; sometime the beautiful temple of God, but now the stinking and filthy kennel of Satan; sometime the unspotted spouse of Christ, but now the unshamefaced paramour of Antichrist; sometime my faithful brother, but now a stranger and Apostate; sometime a stout christian soldier, but now a cowardly run-away. Yea, when I consider these things, I cannot but speak to thee, and cry out upon thee, Thou seed of Satan, and not of Judah, whom the devil hath deceived, the world hath beguiled, and the desire of life subverted, and made thee of a christian an infidel. Wherefore hast thou taken the testament of the Lord in thy mouth? Wherefore hast thou preached the law and the will of God to others? Wherefore hast thou instructed others to be strong in Christ, when thou thyself dost so shamefully shrink, and so horribly abuse the testament and the law of the Lord; When thou thyself preachest not to steal, yet most abominably stealest, not from men, but from God, and, committing most heinous sacrilege, robbest Christ thy Lord of his right members, thy body and soul, and chusest rather to live miserably with shame in the world, than to die, and gloriously with honour reign with Christ, in whom even in death is life? Why dost thou now shew thyself most weak, when indeed thou oughtest to be most strong? The strength of a fort is unknown before the assault, but thou yieldest thy hold before any battery be made. O wretched and unhappy man, what art thou but dust and ashes? And wilt thou resist thy Maker, that fashioned and framed thee? Wilt thou now forsake him that called thee from the custom-gathering among the Romish anti-christians, to be an ambassador and messenger of his eternal Word? He that first framed thee, and since thy first creation and birth preserved thee, nourished and kept thee, yea, and inspired thee with the spirit of knowledge, (I cannot say of grace,) shall he not now possess thee? Darest thou deliver up thyself to ano-
founded be all they that worship them.” They were warned by Jeremy, and thou as Jeremy hast warned other, and art warned thyself by many scriptures in many places. God saith, he is a jealous God, which will have all honour, glory, and worship, given to him only. And Christ saith, in the fourth of Matthew, to Satan which tempted him, even to the same Belzebub, the same devil which hath prevailed against thee: “It is written (saith he) thou shalt honour the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve.”

These and such like do prohibit thee and all christians to worship any other God than which was before all worlds, and laid the foundations both of heaven and earth; and wilt thou honour a detestable idol, invented by Romish popes, and the abominable college of crafty cardinals? Christ offered himself up once for all, and wilt thou offer him up again daily at thy pleasure? But thou wilt say, thou dost it for a good intent. Oh sink of sin! Oh child of perdition! Dost thou dream therein of a good intent, where thy conscience beareth thee witness of God’s threatened wrath against thee? How did saul? who, for that he disobeyed the word of the Lord for a good intent, was thrown from his wordly and temporal kingdom. Shalt thou, then, that dost deface God’s honour, and rob him of his right, inherit the eternal and heavenly kingdom? Wilt thou for a good intent dishonour God, offend thy brother, and danger thy soul, wherefore Christ hath shed his most precious blood? Wilt thou for a good intent pluck Christ out of heaven and make his death void, and deface the triumph of his cross by offering him up daily? Wilt thou, either for fear of death or hope of life, deny and refuse thy God, who enriched thy poverty, healed thy infirmity, and yielded to thee his victory, if thou couldst have kept it? Dost thou not consider, that the thread of thy life hangeth upon him that made thee, who can (as his will is) either twine it harder to last the longer, or untwine it again to break the sooner? Dost thou not then remember the saying of David, a notable king, to teach thee a miserable wretch, in his 104th Psalm, where he saith thus: “When thou takest away thy spirit (O Lord) from men, they die, and are turned again to their dust; but, when thou lettest thy breath go forth, they shall be made, and thou shalt renew the face
of the earth.” Remember the saying of Christ in his gospel: “Whosoever seeketh to save his life, shall lose it; but whosoever will lose his life for my sake, shall find it.” And in the same place, “Whosoever loveth father or mother above me, is not meet for me. He that will follow me, let him forsake himself, and take up his cross, and follow me.” What cross? the cross of infamy and shame, of misery and poverty, of affliction and persecution, for his name’s sake. Let the oft falling of those heavenly showers pierce thy stony heart. Let the two-edged sword of God’s holy word sheer asunder the sinews of worldly respects, even to the very marrow of thy carnal heart, that thou mayest once again forsake thyself, and embrace Christ. And like as good subjects will not refuse to hazard all in defence of their earthly and temporal governor, so fly not, like a white-livered milksop, from the standing wherein thy chief Captain hath set thee in array of this life. Fight manfully, come life, come death: thy quarrel is God’s, and undoubtedly the victory is ours.

But thou wilt say, I will not break unity. What, not the unity of Satan and his members? Not the unity of darkness, the agreement of Antichrist and his adherents? Nay, thou deceivest thyself with a fond imagination of such an unity as is among the enemies of Christ. Were not the false prophets in an unity? Were not Joseph’s brethren and Jacob’s sons in an unity? Were not the heathen, as the Amalekites, the Perizzites, and Jebusites, in an unity? Were not the scribes and Pharisees in an unity? Doth not king David testify, “They have cast their heads together, and are confederate against the Lord?” Yea, thieves, murderers, conspirators, have their unity. But what unity? Tully saith of amity, There is no amity but with the good. But mark, my friend; yea, friend, if thou be not God’s enemy; there is no unity but where Christ knitteth the knot among such as be his. Yea, be well assured, that where his truth is not resident, there it is verified that he himself saith: “I came not to send peace on earth, but a sword,” &c. but to set one against another, the son against the father, and the daughter against the mother-in-law. Deceive not thyself, therefore, with the glittering and glorious name of unity; for Antichrist hath his unity, yet not in deed, but in name. The agreement of ill men is not an unity, but a conspiracy. Thou hast heard some threatenings, some cursings, and some admonitions, out of the scripture, to those that love themselves above Christ. Thou hast heard also the sharp and biting words to those that deny him for love of life: Saith he not, “He that denieth me before men, I will deny him before my Father in heaven?” And to the same effect writeth Paul, “It is impossible (saith he) that they which were once lightened, and have tasted of the heavenly gift, and were partakers of the Holy Ghost, and have tasted of the good word of God, if they fall and slide away, crucifying to themselves the Son of God afresh, and making of him a mocking-stock, should be renewed again by repentance.” And again, saith he, “If we willingly sin, after we have received the knowledge of his truth, there is no oblation left for sin, but the terrible expectation of judgement, and fire which shall devour the adversaries.” Thus St. Paul writeth, and this thou readest, and dost thou not quake and tremble?

Well, if these terrible and thundering threatenings cannot stir thee to cleave unto Christ, and forsake the world, yet let the sweet consolations and promises of the scriptures, let the example of Christ and his apostles, holy martyrs and confessors, encourage thee to take faster hold of Christ. Hearken what he saith, “Blessed are you when men revile you, and persecute you for my sake: rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven; for so persecuted they the prophets that were before you.” Hear what the prophet Isaiah saith: “Fear not the curse of men, be not afraid of their blasphemies, for worms and moths shall eat them up like cloth and wool, but my righteousness shall endure for ever, and my saving health from generation to generation. What art thou then (said he) that fearest a mortal man, the child of man, which fadeth away like the flower, and forgettest the Lord that made thee, that spread out the heavens, and laid the foundation of the earth? I am the Lord thy God, that makes the sea to rage and be still, whose name is the Lord of Hosts: I shall put my word in thy mouth, and defend thee with the turning of an hand.” And our Saviour Christ saith to his disciples: “They shall accuse you, and bring you before princes and rulers for my name’s sake, and some of
through your sudden sliding. Be not abashed to come home again with Mary, and weep bitterly with Peter, not only with shedding the tears of your bodily eyes, but also pouring out the streams of your heart, to wash away out of the sight of God the filth and mire of your offensive fall. Be not abashed to say with the publican, Lord, be merciful unto me a sinner! Remember the horrible history of Julian of old, and the lamentable case of Spira of late, whose case (methinks) should be yet so green in your remembrance, that being a thing of our time, you should fear the like inconvenience, seeing you are fallen into the like offence.

Last of all, let the lively remembrance of the last day be always before your eyes, remembering the terror that such shall be in at that time, with the runagates and fugitives from Christ, which setting more by the world than by heaven, more by their life than by him that gave them life, did shrink, yea, did clean fall away from him that forsook not them: and contrariwise, the inestimable joys prepared for them that, fearing no peril, nor dreading death, have manfully fought, and victoriously triumphed over all powers of darkness, over hell, death, and damnation, through their most doubted captain, Christ, who now stretcheth out his arms to receive you, ready to fall upon your neck and kiss you, and last of all, to feast you with the dainties and delicacies of his precious blood; which undoubtedly, if it might stand with his determinate purpose, he would not let to shed again, rather than you should be lost. To whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all honour, praise, and glory everlasting. Amen.

Be constant, be constant, fear not for any pain, Christ hath redeemed thee, and heaven is thy gain.

A Letter written by the Lady Jane at the end of the New Testament in Greek, which she sent to her Sister the Lady Katherine, the night before she suffered.

I have here sent you (good sister Katherine) a book, which although it be not outwardly trimmed with gold, yet inwardly it is more worth than precious stones. It is the book (dear sister) of the law of the Lord. It is his testament and last will, which he bequeathed unto us wretches; which shall lead you to the path of eternal joy, and, if you with a good mind read it, and with an earnest mind do
purpose to follow it, it shall bring you to an immortal and everlasting life. It shall teach you to live, and learn to die. It shall win you more than you shall have gained by the possession of your woful father's lands. For as, if God had prospered him, you should have inherited his lands; so, if you apply diligently this book, seeking to direct your life after it, you shall be an inheritor of such riches, as neither the covetous shall withdraw from you, neither thief shall steal, neither yet the moths corrupt. Desire with David, good sister, to understand the law of the Lord God.

Live still to die, that you by death may purchase eternal life. And trust not that the tenderness of your age shall lengthen your life; for as soon (if God call) goeth the young as the old, and labour always to learn to die. Defy the world, deny the devil, and despise the flesh, and delight yourself only in the Lord. Be penitent for your sins, and yet despair not: be strong in faith, and yet presume not: and desire with St. Paul to be dissolved, and to be with Christ, with whom even in death there is life. Be like the good servant, and even at midnight be walking, lest when death cometh and stealeth upon you as a thief in the night, you be, with the evil servant, found sleeping; and lest, for lack of oil, you be found like the five foolish women, and like him that had not on the wedding-garment, and then you be cast out from the marriage. Rejoice in Christ, as I do. Follow the steps of your Master, Christ, and take up your cross: lay your sins on his back, and always embrace him. And as touching my death, rejoice as I do, (good sister,) that I shall be delivered of this corruption, and put on incorruption. For I am assured, that I shall for losing of a mortal life, win an immortal life, the which I pray God grant you, and send you of his grace to live in his fear, and to die in the true christian faith, from the which (in God's name) I exhort you, that you never swerve, neither for hope of life, nor for fear of death. For if you will deny his truth for to lengthen out your life, God will deny you, and yet shorten your days. And if you will cleave unto him, he will prolong your days to your comfort and his glory: to which glory, God bring me now, and you hereafter; when it pleaseth him to call you.

Fare you well, good sister, and put your only trust in God, who only must help you.

A Prayer made by the Lady Jane in the Time of her Trouble.

O Lord, thou God and Father of my life, hear me poor and desolate woman, which fieth unto thee only in all troubles and miseries. Thou, O Lord, art the only defender and deliverer of those that put their trust in thee; and, therefore, I being defiled with sin, incumbered with affliction, unquieted with troubles, wrapped in cares, overwhelmed with miseries, vexed with temptations, and grievously tormented with the long imprisonment of this vile mass of clay my sinful body, do come unto thee, O merciful Saviour, craving thy mercy and help, without the which so little help of deliverance is left, that I may utterly despair of any liberty. Albeit it is expedient, that seeing our life standeth upon trying, we should be visited sometime with some adversity, whereby we might both be tried whether we be of thy flock or no, and also know thee and ourselves the better: yet thou that saidst thou wouldst not suffer us to be tempted above our power, be merciful unto me now a miserable wretch, I beseech thee; which, with Solomon, do cry unto thee, humbly desiring thee, that I may neither be too much puffed up with prosperity, neither too much pressed down with adversity; lest I, being too full, should deny thee, my God, or, being too low brought, should despair, and blaspheme thee, my Lord and Saviour. O merciful God, consider my misery, best known unto thee; and be thou now unto me a strong tower of defence, I humbly require thee. Suffer me not to be tempted above my power, but either be thou a deliverer unto me out of this great misery, or else give me grace patiently to bear thy heavy hand and sharp correction. It was thy right hand that delivered the people of Israel out of the hands of Pharaoh, which for the space of four hundred years did oppress, and keep them in bondage. Let it, therefore, likewise seem good to thy fatherly goodness, to deliver me, sorrowful wretch, (for whom thy Son Christ shed his most precious blood on the cross,) out of this miserable captivity.
and bondage wherein I am now. How long wilt thou be absent, for ever? O Lord, hast thou forgotten to be gracious, and hast thou shut up thy loving kindness in displeasure? Wilt thou be no more intreated? Is thy mercy clean gone for ever, and thy promise come utterly to an end for evermore? Why dost thou make so long tarrying? Shall I despair of thy mercy, O God? Far be that from me. I am thy workmanship, created in Christ Jesus; give me grace, therefore, to tarry thy leisure, and patiently to bear thy works, assuredly knowing, that as thou canst, so thou wilt, deliver me, when it shall please thee, nothing doubting or mistrusting thy goodness towards me; for thou knowest better what is good for me than I do; therefore, do with me in all things what thou wilt, and plague me what way thou wilt: only in the mean time arm me, I beseech thee, with thy armour, that I may stand fast, my loins being girded about with verity, having on the breast-plate of righteousness, and shod with the shoes prepared by the gospel of peace; above all things taking to me the shield of faith, wherewith I may be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked, and taking the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit, which is thy most holy word, praying always with all manner of prayer and supplication, that I may refer myself wholly to thy will, abiding thy pleasure, and comforting myself in those troubles that it shall please thee to send me; seeing such troubles be for thy profit, and seeing I am assuredly persuaded, that it cannot be but well all that thou doest. Hear me, O merciful Father, for his sake, whom thou wouldst should be a sacrifice for my sins: To whom with Thee and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory. Amen.

The Words and Behaviour of the Lady Jane upon the Scaffold.

When she first mounted the scaffold, she spake to the spectators in this manner: Good people, I am come hither to die, and by a law I am condemned to the same. The fact against the queen's highness was unlawful, and the consenting thereunto by me: but, touching the procurement and desire thereof by me, or on my behalf, I do wash my hands thereof in innocency before God, and the face of you, good christian people, this day: and therewith she wrung her hands, wherein she had her book. Then said she, I pray you all, good christian people, to bear me witness, that I die a good christian woman, and that I do look to be saved by no other mean, but only by the mercy of God in the blood of his only Son Jesus Christ: and I confess, that when I did know the word of God, I neglected the same, loved myself and the world, and therefore this plague and punishment is happily and worthily happened unto me for my sins; and yet I thank God, that of his goodness he hath thus given me a time and a respite to repent: and now, good people, while I am alive, I pray you assist me with your prayers. And then, kneeling down, she turned to Feckenham, saying, Shall I say this psalm? and he said, Yea. Then she said the Psalm of Miserere mei Deus, in English, in a most devout manner throughout to the end; and then she stood up, and gave her maid, Mrs Ellen, her gloves and handkerchief, and her book to Mr. Bruges; and then she untied her gown, and the executioner pressed upon her to help her off with it: but she, desiring him to let her alone, turned towards her two gentlewomen, who helped her off therewith, and also with her frowes, paast, and neckerchief, giving to her a fair handkerchief to put about her eyes.

Then the executioner kneeled down, and asked her forgiveness, whom she forgave most willingely. Then he desired her to stand upon the straw; which doing, she saw the block. Then she said, I pray you dispatch me quickly. Then she kneeled down, saying, Will you take it off before I lay me down? And the executioner said, No, madam. Then she tied the handkerchief about her eyes, and feeling for the block, she said, What shall I do? Where is it? Where is it? One of the standers-by guiding her thereunto, she laid her head down upon the block, and then stretched forth her body, and said, Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit; and so finished her life, in the year of our Lord 1554, the 12th day of February, about the 17th year of her age.

Thus died the Lady Jane; and on the same
day the Lord Guildford, her husband, one of the Duke of Northumberland’s sons, was likewise beheaded, two innocents in comparison of them that sat upon them. For they were both very young, and ignorantly accepted that which others had contrived, and by open proclamation consented to take from others, and give to them.

Touching the condemnation of this pious lady, it is to be noted, that Judge Morgan, who gave sentence against her, soon after he had condemned her, fell mad, and in his raving cried out continually, to have the Lady Jane taken away from him, and so he ended his life.

On the 21st day of the same month, Henry, Duke of Suffolk, was beheaded on Tower-hill, the fourth day after his condemnation: about which time many gentlemen and yeomen were condemned, whereof some were executed at London, and some in the country. In the number of whom was the Lord Thomas Gray, brother to the said duke, being apprehended not long after in North-Wales, and executed for the same. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, also, very narrowly escaped.

On the 21th day of February, in the same year, Bonner, Bishop of London, sent a commission, directed to all the pastors and curates of his diocese, for the taking of the names of all such who shall refuse to come to auricular confession the Lent following, and to the receiving at Easter. The copy of this is hereafter subjoined; from which we may perceive the violent and persecuting rage of that bigotted and blood-thirsty prelate, and his eagerness to put in execution all the destructive and fiery projects of the infatuated and superstitious Queen Mary, without the least regard to decency, moderation, or propriety. And here, with the readers’ permission, I would wish them to pause over the lamentable consequences of ungoverned zeal and unbridled fanaticism. Can they, or can any of us, possibly read the horrid accounts, of which we have so many dreadful and almost inconceivable instances, in this history, without feeling appalled at the transactions and occurrences, which are placed before our view, “for our admonition?” Can we forbear from shuddering, when we contemplate that pitch of obduracy, and that state of petrifaction, to which the human mind may, by the divine judgment, be suffered to proceed. From such a condition, God, in his mercy, deliver us all!

CHAP. VI.

Bishop Bonner’s Directions, his Orders from Queen Mary, and Proclamation for Expelling Protestants.

THE MONITION OF BONNER, BISHOP OF LONDON, SENT TO ALL AND SINGULAR CURATES OF HIS DIOCESE.

EDMUND, by the permission of God, Bishop of London, to all parsons, vicars, curates, and ministers of the church within the city and diocese of London, sendeth grace, peace, and mercy, in our Lord everlasting. Forasmuch as by the order of the ecclesiastical laws and constitutions of this realm, and the laudable usage and custom of the whole catholic church, by many hundred years agone, daily and devoutly observed and kept, all faithful people, being of lawful age and discretion, are bound once in the year at least (except reasonable cause excuse them) to be confessed to their own proper curates, and to receive the sacrament of the altar, with due preparation and devotion: and forasmuch also as we be credibly informed, that sundry evil-disposed and undevout persons, given to sensual pleasures and carnal appetites, following the lusts of their body, and neglecting utterly the health of their souls, do forbear to come to confession according to the said usage, and to receive the sacrament of the altar accordingly, giving thereby pernicious and evil example to the younger sort to neglect and contemn the same: We, minding the reformation thereof for our own discharge, and desirous of good order to be kept, and good example to be given, do will and command you by virtue hereof, that immediately upon receipt of this our commandment, ye and every each of you within your cure and charge, do use all your diligence and dexterity to declare the same, straitly charging and commanding all your parishioners, being of lawful age and discretion, to come before Easter next coming, to confession, according to the said ordinance and usage, with due preparation and devotion to receive the said sacrament of the altar, and that ye do note the names of all such as be not confessed unto you, and do not receive of you
the said sacrament, certifying us, or our chancellor or commissary thereof, before the 6th day of April next ensuing the date hereof; that so we, knowing thereby who did not come to confession, and receiving the sacrament accordingly, may proceed against them as being persons culpable, and transgressors of the said ecclesiastical law and usage. Further also certifying unto us, our said chancellor, or commissary, before the day aforesaid, whether you have your altars set up, chalice-book, vestments, and all things necessary for mass, and the administration of sacraments and sacramentals, with procession, and all other divine service prepared and in readiness, according to the order of the catholic church, and the virtuous and godly example of the queen's majesty. And if ye so have not, ye then, with the churchwardens, cause the same to be provided for, signifying by whose fault or negligence the same want or fault hath proceeded, and generally of the not coming of your parishioners to church, undue walking, talking, or using of themselves there unreverently in the time of divine service, and of all other open faults and misdemeanors, not omitting thus to do, and certify as before, as you will answer upon your peril for the contrary.

Given at London the 23d day of February, in the year of our Lord, 1554.

On the 4th of March following, the queen sent a letter to Bonner, Bishop of London, with certain articles annexed thereunto, to be put in speedy execution, containing as follows:

Queen Mary's Letter to Bonner, Bishop of London.

"Right reverend father in God, right trusty and well beloved, we greet you well. And whereas heretofore, in the time of the late reign of our most dearest brother King Edward the Sixth, whose soul God pardon, divers notable crimes, excesses, and faults, with sundry kinds of heresies, simony, adultery, and other enormities, have been committed within this our realm, and other our dominions, the same continuing yet hitherto in like disorder since the beginning of our reign, without any correction or reformation at all, and the people both of the laity and also of the clergy, and chiefly of the clergy, have been given to much insolency and ungodly rule, greatly to the displeasure of Almighty God, and very much to our regret and evil contentation, and to no little slander of other christian realms, and in a manner to the subversion and clean defacing of this our realm; and remembering our duty to Almighty God, to be to foresee (as much as in us may be) that all virtue and godly religion shall be embraced, flourish, and increase; and therewith also that all vice and ungodly behaviour should be banished and put away, or at the leastwise (so nigh as might be) so bridled and kept under, that godliness and honesty might have the upper hand: understanding by very credible report and public fame, to our no small heaviness and discomfort, that within your diocese, as well in not exempted as exempted places, the like disorder and evil behaviour hath been done and used, like also to continue and increase, unless due provision be had and made to reform the same; which earnestly in very deed we do mind and intend to the uttermost all the ways we can possible, trusting to God's furtherance and help in that behalf. For these causes, and other just considerations us moving, we send unto you certain articles of such special matters, as among other things be most necessary now to be put in execution by you and your officers, extending to the end by us desired, and the reformation aforesaid: wherein ye shall be charged with our special commandment, by these our letters, to the intent you and your officers may the more earnestly and boldly proceed thereunto, without fear of any presumption to be noted on your part, or danger to be incurred by any such our laws, as by our doing of that is in the said articles contained, might any wise grievè the whatsoever be threatened in any such case. And, therefore, we straitly charge and command you, and your said officers, to proceed to the execution of the said articles without all tract and delay, as ye will answer to the contrary.

"Given under our signet, at our palace of Westminster, the 3d day of March, the first year of our reign."

Articles sent from the Queen unto the Ordinary, commanding both him and his Officers to see them put in Execution throughout the whole Diocese.

First, That every bishop and his officers, with all other having ecclesiastical jurisdiction, shall, with all speed and diligence, and all
manner of ways to them possible, put in execution all such canons and ecclesiastical laws, heretofore in the time of King Henry the Eighth used within this realm of England and the dominions of the same, not being directly and expressly contrary to the laws and statutes of this realm.

Item, That no bishop, or any of his officers, or other person aforesaid, hereafter in any ecclesiastical writing, in process or other extra-judicial acts, do use to put in this clause or sentence [Supported by royal authority.]

Item, That no bishop, or any of his officers, or other person aforesaid, do hereafter exact or demand in the admission of any person to any ecclesiastical promotion, order, or office, any oath touching the primacy or succession, as of late in few years passed hath been accustomed and used.

Item, That every bishop and his officers, with all other persons aforesaid, have a vigilant eye, and use special diligence and foresight, that no person be admitted or received to any ecclesiastical function, benefice, or office, being a sacramentary, infected or defamed with any notable kind of heresy, or other great crime; and that the said bishop do stay, and cause to be stayed, as much as lieth in him, that benefices and ecclesiastical promotions do not notably decay, or take hindrance by passing or confirming of unreasonable leases.

Item, That every bishop, and all other persons aforesaid, do diligently travail for the repressing of heresies and notable crimes, especially in the clergy, duly correcting and punishing the same.

Item, That every bishop, and all other persons aforesaid, do likewise travail for the condemning and repressing of corrupt and naughty opinions, unlawful books, ballads, and other pernicious and hurtful devices, engendering hatred amongst the people, and discord among the same. And that schoolmasters, preachers, and teachers, do exercise and use their offices and duties without teaching, preaching, and setting forth any evil and corrupt doctrine, and that doing the contrary, they may be by the bishop and his said officers punished and removed.

Item, That every bishop, and all other persons aforesaid, proceeding summarily, and with all celerity and speed, may and shall deprive or declare deprived, and amove, according to their learning and discretion, all such persons from their benefices and ecclesiastical promotions, who, contrary to the state of the order and the laudable custom of the church, have married and used women as their wives, or otherwise notably and slanderously disordered or abused themselves: sequestering also, during the said process, the fruits and profits of the said benefices and ecclesiastical promotions.

Item, That the said bishop, and all other persons aforesaid, do use more lenity and clemency with such as have married, whose wives be dead, than with other, whose women do yet remain alive. And likewise such priests as, with the consent of their wives or women, openly in the presence of the bishop do profess to abstain, to be used more favourably. In which case, after the penance effectually done, the bishop, according to his discretion and wisdom, may, upon just consideration, receive and admit them again to their former administration, so it be not in the same place, appointing them such a portion to live upon, to be paid out of their benefice whereof they be deprived, by discretion of his said bishop or his officer, as he shall think may be spared of the said benefice.

Item, That every bishop, and all other persons aforesaid, do foresee that they suffer not any religious man, having solemnly professed chastity, to continue with his woman or wife; but that all such persons, after deprivation of their benefice or ecclesiastical promotion, be also divorced every one from his said woman, and due punishment otherwise taken for the offence therein.

Item, That every bishop, and all other persons aforesaid, do take order and direction with the parishioners of every benefice where priests are wanting, to repair to the next parish for divine service, or to appoint for a convenient time, till other better provision may be made, one curate to serve in their stead, in divers parishes, and to allot to the curate for his labour some portion of the benefice that he so serveth.

Item, That all and all manner of processions of the church be used and frequented, and continued after the old order of the church in the Latin tongue.

Item, That all such holy days and fasting
days be observed and kept, as were observed and kept in the latter time of King Henry the Eighth.

Item, That the laudable and honest ceremonies, which were wont to be used, frequented, and observed in the church, be also hereafter frequented, used, and observed.

Item, That children be christened by the priest, and confirmed by the bishop, as heretofore hath been accustomed and used.

Item, Touching such persons as were heretofore promoted to any orders, after the new sort and fashion of orders; considering they were not ordered in very deed, the bishop of the diocese, finding otherwise sufficiency and ability in those men, may supply that thing which wanted in them before, and then according to his discretion admit them to minister.

Item, That by the bishop of the diocese an uniform doctrine be set forth by homilies, or otherwise, for the good instruction and teaching of all people; and that the said bishop, and other persons aforesaid, do compel the parishioners to come to their several churches, and there devoutly to hear divine service, as of reason they ought.

Item, That they examine all schoolmasters and teachers of children, and finding them suspect in any wise, to remove them, and place catholic men in their rooms, with a special commandment to instruct their children so as they may be able to answer the priest at the mass, as hath been accustomed.

Item, That the said bishop, and all other the persons aforesaid, have such regard, respect, and consideration of the setting forth of the premisses, with all kind of virtue, godly living, and godly example, with repressing also and keeping under vice and unfruitfulness, as they and every of them may be seen to favour the restitution of true religion; and also to make an honest account and reckoning of their office and cure, to the honour of God, our good contention, and profit of this our realm, and the dominions of the same.

A like prescript also with articles was sent from the queen to the lord-mayor of London, the 4th day of March in the same year, who, upon receiving the same, directed his commandment to the aldermen, every one severally in his ward, as followeth:

By the Lord-Mayor.

On the queen our most gracious and most benign sovereign lady's behalf, we most straitly charge and command you, that ye the said aldermen fail not personally to call before your own person, in such place within your said ward as to you shall seem most convenient and meet, upon Wednesday next coming, which shall be the seventh day of this present month, at seven of the clock in the morning of the same day, all and every the householders, both poor and rich, of your said ward, and then and there openly and plainly for your own discharge, and for the eschewing the perils that to you might otherwise be justly imputed and laid, do not only straitly admonish, charge, and command, in the queen our said sovereign lady's name and behalf, all and every the said householders, that both in their own persons, and also their wives, children, and servants, being of the age of twelve years and upwards, and every of them, do at all and every time and times from henceforth, and namely at the holy time of Easter now approaching, honestly, quietly, obediently, and religiously, use and behave themselves like good and faithful christian people, in all and every thing and things touching and concerning the true faith, profession, and religion of his catholic church, both according to the laws and precepts of Almighty God, and also their bounden duty of obedience towards our sovereign lady the queen, her laws and statutes, and her highness's most good example and gracious proceeding according to the same, and according also to right, wholesome, charitable, and godly admonition, charge, and exhortation, late set forth and given by the reverend father in God, the Bishop of London, our diocesan and ordinary, to all the Parsons, vicars, and curates, within his diocese: but also that they and every of them do truly, without delay, advertise you of the names and surnames of all and every person and persons, that they or any of them can or may at any time hereafter know, perceive, or understand, to transgress or offend in any point or article concerning the premisses, at their utmost perils. That ye immediately after such notice thereof to you given, do forthwith advertise us thereof. Fail ye not thus to do with all circumspection and diligence, as ye will answer to our said most
dread sovereign lady the queen for the contrary at your like peril.

Given at the Guildhall of the city of London, the fifth day of March, in the first year of the reign of our said sovereign lady and queen.

BLACKWELL.

And likewise do you give to every of the said householders straitly in commandment, that they or their wives depart not out of their said city until the holy time of Easter be past.

About the same year and time that Doctor Bonner published his prescript or monitory, there came from the queen another proclamation, commanding all foreigners and strangers to desert this realm. The copy of which proclamation, because it related chiefly to religion and doctrine, and the true professors thereof, I have thought fit here to annex as followeth:

A Copy of the Queen's Proclamation for driving all Foreigners and Strangers out of the Realm.

"The Queen our sovereign lady, understanding that a multitude of evil-disposed persons, being born out of her highness's dominions in other sundry nations, flying from the obseinance of the princes and rulers under whom they be born, (some for heresy, some for murder, treason, robbery, and some for other horrible crimes,) be resorted into this her majesty's realm, and here have made their demurrer, and yet be commorant and lingering, partly to eschew such condign punishment as their said horrible crimes deserve, and partly to dilate, plant, and sow the seeds of their malicious doctrine and lewd conversation among the good subjects of this her said realm, on purpose to infect her good subjects with the like, insomuch as, besides innumerable heresies, which divers of the same, being heretics, have preached and taught within her highness's said realm, it is assuredly known unto her majesty, that not only their secret practices have not failed to stir, comfort, and aid divers her highness's subjects to this most unnatural rebellion against God and her grace, but also some other of them desist not still to practise with her people forthwith to rebel: her majesty, therefore, having (as afore is said) knowledge and intelligence hereof, hath for remedy herein determined, and most straitly chargeth and commandeth, that all and every such person and persons born out of her highness's dominions, now commorant or resident within this realm, of whatsoever nation or country, being either preacher, printer, bookseller, or other artificer, or of whatsoever calling else, not being denizen or merchant known using the trade of merchandise, or servant to such ambassador as be liegers here from the princes and states joined in league with her grace, shall, within twenty-four days of this proclamation, avoid the realm upon pain of most grievous punishment by imprisonment, and forfeiture and confiscation of all their goods and moveables, and also to be delivered unto their natural princes and rulers, against whose persons or laws they have offended. Giving to all mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, constables, and all other her ministers, officers, and good subjects, straitly also in charge, if they know any such person, not born in the queen's highness's dominions, (except before excepted,) that shall, after the time and day limited in the proclamation, tarry within this realm, that they shall apprehend the same person or persons, and commit him or them to ward, there to remain without bail or main-prize, till her grace's pleasure or her council's be signified unto them for the further ordering of the said person or persons. And that if any of her said officers, after the said twenty-four days, apprehend, take, or know of any such, they shall with all diligence immediately certify her said council thereof, to the intent order may be forthwith given for their punishment accordingly."

In consequence of this last injunction, not only the strangers who had been admitted into the kingdom during King Edward's reign, on account of religion, including Peter Martyr and John Alasco, uncle to the king of Poland, but many Englishmen, availed themselves of it to escape to the continent. Of these some went to Friesland, some to Cleaveland, and some to High-Germany. Wesel, Frankfort, Embden, Markburg, Basil, Zurich, Geneva, and other places, had the credit and honour of receiving them. Nearly eight hundred persons, including students, were thus sustained by God's providence, and entertained with
much greater kindness among strangers abroad, than they could be in their own native country.

CHAP. VII.


The Lord Courtney, Earl of Devonshire, had been released from the Tower on the queen's accession to the throne; but now, in the month of March, little more than seven months after, he was suspected, together with the Lady Elizabeth, sister to the queen, of favouring Wyat's conspiracy, for which they were apprehended, and committed to the Tower. Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, was the author of this plot, being always a capital enemy to the Lady Elizabeth, and hoping, by artfully connecting her with Lord Courtney, to effect her destruction. Sir Thomas Wyat, having desired the lieutenant to bring him to the presence of Lord Courtney, previous to his execution, on that day, he kneeled down before him and the sheriffs, and begged his forgiveness for having falsely accused him and the Lady Elizabeth of being instigators of that commotion. When he declared publicly their innocence on the scaffold, Dr. Weston, who was near him, exclaimed to the people, "Believe him not, good people, for he confessed otherwise before the council." It soon reached the ears of the lord-mayor, on the day of Sir Thomas Wyat's execution, being the 11th of April, before dinner, that he had, both in the Tower and on the scaffold, cleared the Lady Elizabeth and Lord Courtney, and had declared them to be entirely innocent. The words of Dr. Weston were also told to Sir Thomas White, at that time lord-mayor, who replied, "Is this true? Said Weston so? In sooth I never took him otherwise but for a knave." Dining that day at the Bridge-house, Sir Martin Bowes, with the recorder, arrived from the parliament-house, and declared, on hearing this account from the lord-mayor, that a contrary tale was told there, and that Sir Thomas Wyat had desired the Lord Courtney to confess the truth, as he had done before.

It was soon after declared by an apprentice, who lived in Laurence-lane, to one Denham, a plaisterer, and one of Queen Mary's servants, being in company together, amongst other conversation, that Sir Thomas Wyat had cleared both the Lady Elizabeth and Lord Courtney. This, by some unknown means, came to the ears of Gardiner, on which he sent immediately Sir Andrew Judd to the lord-mayor, commanding him to apprehend the said apprentice, and bring him to the star-chamber. Here he was accused of saying, "that Wyat was constrained by the council to accuse the Lady Elizabeth and the Lord Courtney;" instead of which, on being brought to the star-chamber, Gardiner set aside all other matters in hand, and "began to declare to the whole multitude how miraculously Almighty God had brought the Queen's Majesty to the crown, the whole realm in a manner being against her, and that he had brought this to pass for this singular intent and purpose, that this realm, being overwhelmed with heresies, she might reduce again the same into the true Catholic faith." He added, that she had taken "the Lady Elizabeth into favour, and loved her tenderly, and also the Lord Courtney, who had been long detained in prison, and by her was set at liberty, and received great benefits at her hands;" but that "they had both most unnaturally and traiterously conspired against her, with that heinous traitor Wyat, as by the confession of Wyat, and the letters sent to and fro, may plainly appear; that there were some in the city of London, who reported that Wyat was constrained by the council to accuse the Lady Elizabeth and the Lord Courtney, and yet you, my lord-mayor, quoth he, have not seen the same punished." On being told by the lord-mayor that the party was present, he said, "Take him with you, and punish him according to his desert. My lord, says he, take heed to your charge; the city of London is a whirlpool and sink of all evil rumours, where they be bred, and from thence spread into all parts of the realm."

Lord Chandos, the lieutenant of the Tower, being present, then was minded to flatter Gardiner in his tale, and said, "My lords, this is a truth that I shall tell you," repeating nearly what has been stated, only changing the latter part of Wyat's advice, by desiring the Lord Courtney to confess the truth of himself, as he
had done before, and submit himself unto the queen's majesty's mercy." As the declaration, both in the Tower and on the scaffold, was made in the presence, and within the hearing, of the sheriffs, in the manner here related, our readers will be enabled to determine for themselves whether any credit, or in what degree, is to be paid to the long harangue of Gardiner.

Queen Mary entertained very serious apprehensions from the citizens of London, on account of Wyat's conspiracy. She perceived, also, that the greater part of the city disapproved of her proceedings on the subject of religion. To counteract this disposition, she summoned a parliament to be holden at Oxford, as a measure of gratification to the university, city, and country, for their readiness to restore the popish religion; though, after great preparations there made to accommodate them, the queen changed her mind, and the parliament assembled at Westminster, in April. The design of her marriage to King Philip was there, among other things, pronounced, together with her wish to restore the Pope's supremacy. The former was immediately agreed to; but the other met with some objection and delay. A convocation of the bishops and clergy was also summoned to meet at the same time. Cranmer was then in the Tower, and Bonner was ordered to be his substitute for that purpose. His precept differed from those in the reign of King Henry and King Edward, and was to the following effect, but in Latin.

The Style of Queen Mary altered, writing to Bonner for the summoning of a Convocation

"Mary, by the grace of God, of England, France, and Ireland, Queen, Defender of the Faith: to the Reverend Father in God, Edmund, Lord Bishop of London, sendeth greeting, &c."

But the reader is here desired to notice, that the latter part, declaring her to be "supreme head of the Church of England and Ireland," was left out, because this very parliament, as was intended, gave the supremacy unto the Pope; and Bonner, who certified the same, left out the words, "By the authority of our most illustrious queen empowered," which part of the bishop's title was by the same parliament repealed.

The Dignity of Priests extolled by Bishop Bonner.

"In this aforesaid convocation, Bonner, Bishop of London, being vicegerent and president, as is said, made a certain exhortation or oration to the clergy, (which was in this convocation, or much about the said time,) wherein he seemed to shew a great piece of profound and deep learning, in setting forth the most incomparable and super-angelical order of priesthood, as may appear by this parcel or fragment of his aforesaid oration, being collected and gathered by some that stood by; which, as it came to our hands, so I thought it impertinent to the reader, both for that the author of so worthy a work should not pass unknown, and partly also, for that the estimation of this blessed order should lose nothing of its pre-eminence, but might be known in most ample perfection, so as it standeth above angels and kings, if it be true what Bishop Bonner saith.

A Piece or Fragment of the Exhortation of Bonner, Bishop of London, to them of the Convocation-house, copied out by them that stood by and heard him.

Bonner's Oration in Praise of Priesthood.

Wherefore it is to be known, that priests and elders be worthy of all men to be worshipped for the dignity sake which they have of God, as in Matthew xvi. "Whatsoever ye shall loose upon earth," &c. And "Whatsoever ye shall bind," &c. For a priest by some means is like Mary the Virgin, and is shewed by three points: As the blessed virgin by five words did conceive Christ, as it is said: Luke 1. "Be it unto me according to thy words;" so the priest by five words doth make the very body of Christ. Even as immediately after the consent of Mary, Christ was all whole in her womb; so immediately after the speaking of the words of consecration, the bread is substantiated into the very body of Christ. Secondly, As the virgin carried Christ in her arms, and laid him in an ox-stall after his birth; even so the priest, after the consecration, doth lift up the body of Christ, and placeth it, and carrieth it, and handleth it with his hands. Thirdly, As the blessed virgin was sanctified
before she had conceived, so the priest being ordained and anointed before he doth consecrate, because without orders he could consecrate nothing, therefore the lay-man cannot do that thing, although he be never so holy, and do speak the self-same words of consecration. Therefore here is to be known, that the dignity of priests by some means passeth the dignity of angels, because there is no power given to any of the angels to make the body of Christ. Whereby the least priest may do in earth, that which the greatest and highest angel in heaven cannot do, St. Bernard saith, “O worshipful dignity of priests, in whose hands the son of God is, as in the womb of the virgin he was incarnate.” St. Augustine saith, “That angels in the consecration of the sacred host do serve him, and the Lord of heaven descendeth to him.” Whereupon St. Ambrose upon St. Luke says, “Doubt thou not the angels to be where Christ is present upon the altar.” Wherefore priests are to be honoured before all kings of the earth, princes, and nobles. For a priest is higher than a king, happier than an angel, maker of his Creator. Wherefore, &c.

CHAP. VIII.

Conversation between Doctor Ridley, Secretary Bourne, Feckenham, and others.

After noticing the blasphemy of the concluding passage, as Mr. Fox has noted in the margin, we may remind our readers of Dr. Ridley’s being conveyed from Framlingham to the Tower (as p. 5.) During his confinement there, being invited to the lieutenant’s table, he had some conversation with Secretary Bourne, Master Feckenham, and others, concerning the different opinions of religion; of which the substance, as penned with his own hand, is given as follows:

Master Thomas Bridges, (in the margin, Sir Thomas Bridges,) when seated at his brother master lieutenant’s table, desired to be informed what it was which constituted a heretic; and was answered by Mr. Bourne, “He who stubbornly and stiffly maintains an untruth;” which he admitted, on Dr. Ridley’s observation, related to religion and concerning our faith only. On this Master Feckenham, then appointed Dean of St. Paul’s, sitting at the upper end of the table, declared from St. Augustine, “He that either for the sake of princes, or for the sake of filthy lucre, propagates wrong notions, is an heretic;” and he admitted a third cause, on its being remarked by Dr. Ridley, “or for the sake of vain glory.” Master Feckenham farther said, “Whoso doth not believe what the scripture affirmeth, but will obstinately maintain the contrary, is an heretic.” He then observed, that Matthew, Mark, Luke, and Paul, affirm that the body of Christ is in the sacrament of the altar; “therefore, to hold the contrary is heresy. It is the same body and flesh that was born of the virgin; and this is confirmed by unity, antiquity, and universality; for none before Berengarius did ever doubt of this, and he was an heretic.” For these assertions he complimented the secretary’s knowledge, who, in return, complimented Feckenham. Doctor Ridley, not being forward to speak his sentiments, was then pressed by one of the commissioners as to his admission of such doctrines; when he replied, that he partly agreed with him, and partly disagreed. On this he observed that, as the queen’s commissioners, if they had commission to examine him, he would declare his faith plainly; if otherwise, he desired permission either to speak his mind freely, or to hold his peace, as he should see reason. But the secretary declared, that all present favoured him; and, after another observation or two, he considered himself at liberty to speak.

He then replied to Master Feckenham, concerning these affirmations, where there was no denial; that there are many such in scripture; that there where is but “one affirmatio, all is one concerning the truth of the matter. For that which any one of the evangelists spake, inspired by the Holy Ghost, is as true as that which is spoken by them all. It is as true that John saith of Christ, I am the door of the sheep, as if all had said it. Where Master Feckenham spake of so many, affirming without any negation, &c. all they affirm the thing which they meant. Now if ye take their words, to leave their meaning, then do they affirm what ye take, but not what they meant; and if, in talk with you, I should so utter my mind in words, that ye by the same do, and may plainly perceive my meaning, and
When the secretary had observed, that “these three do always agree, and where there is one, there is all the rest,” many words were used, wherein the Doctor disagreed with him. Then Master Feckenham remarked, that “there were none before Berengarius, Wickliffe, and Hus, and now in our days Carolusstadius, Eccolampadius. And Carolostadius saith, Christ pointed to his own body, and not to the sacrament, when he said, This is my body. And Melancthon thus writeth to Miconius, I can find no grounded reason to cause me to dissent from the belief of our ancestors.”

Having added many other words, Doctor Ridley said, “It is certain that others before these have written of this matter, not only by the way, as most of the old writers, but professedly “through their whole books, as Bertram did, of whom the secretary seemed to be ignorant. Doctor Ridley then told the secretary, that he had read Bertram’s book, which was written to Carolus Magnus, who affirmed, that the substance of bread remaineth still in the sacrament; and in answer to a remark of his, declares that Trithemius speaketh of Bertram in his catalogue of illustrious writers, and Tertullian in plain words assert of the sacrament, that it was a figure of Christ’s body; Gelasius, that the substance of bread remaineth; and Origen saith, That which is sanctified, as touching the matter or substance, passeth away into the draught. On which the secretary passed some compliments on Doctor Ridley’s knowledge and learning, which he stated his unwillingness to admit; and then expressed his surprise at Master Feckenham’s notice of Melancthon, observing that “we are more nigh an agreement in England, than the opinion of Melancthon is to you, because we all agree there is in the sacrament but one material substance, and Melancthon says there are two.” To this the secretary assented; but added, that many persons were anciently forbidden, such as Catechumeni and others, to be present at the ministration of the sacrament, out of reverence to it. Doctor Ridley then noticed the Audientes, the Pœnitentes, and the Energumeni, besides the Catechumeni, all of whom were commanded to depart; when the secretary asked, “How can ye then make but a figure or sign of the sacrament, as that book doth, which is set forth in my lord of Canterbury’s name?” And, on mentioning
this, being said to contain the most dangerous heresy, they were extremely desirous of fixing the authorship upon him; to which the doctor replied, "That book was made by a learned man, who is able to do the like again; but I ensure to you, I was never able to do or write any such like thing: for he passeth me no less than the learned master his young scholar!"

Upon this various observations were made; when Dr. Ridley remarked, "Methinks it is not charitably done, to say that any man doth so lightly esteem the sacrament, as to make of it a figure. For that (vere) maketh it a bare figure without any more profit, which that book doth often deny, as appeareth to the reader most plainly." Being affirmed in reply, that they do, Doctor Ridley denied it, and said, "I ensure you I make no less of the sacrament than thus: Whosoever receiveth the sacrament, he receiveth therewith either life or death;" which the secretary denied, and Doctor Ridley rejoined, "Although not in the same sound of words, yet it doth in the same sense; and St. Augustine saith, in the sound of words only: for Paul saith, The bread which we break, is it not the partaking or fellowship of the body of Christ; and St. Augustine, Eat life, drink life. Then said Master Pope, what can you make of it when you say, There is not the real body of Christ which I do believe, &c., and I pray God I may never believe other. How can it bring, as you say, either life or death, when Christ's body is not there?" To this Doctor Ridley answered, "When you hear God's word truly preached, if you do believe it, and abide in it, you shall and do receive life withal; and if you do not believe it, it doth bring unto you death: and yet Christ's body is still in heaven, and not carnal in every preacher's mouth." To the words, "Which shall be given for you: Was the figure of Christ's body given for us?" The doctor said, "No, but the very body itself, whereof the sacrament is a sacramental figure." He then added, that Tertullian's exposition maketh it plain, for he saith, The body is a figure of the body, and it agreeth exceeding well with the words, Which shall be given for you. To a compliment paid him by Master Pope, the doctor expressed his gratitude, and added, "I were a very fool if I would in this manner dissent from you, if that in my conscience the truth did not enforce me so to do." He was then asked, "What say you to Cyprian? Doth he not say plainly, The bread which the Lord did deliver being changed, not according to the form, but according to the nature thereof, by the omnipotent word is made flesh." This was admitted by Doctor Ridley, and he then stated what he had "once preached by chance at Paul's Cross, which had been as unjustly as untruly reported. Speaking of the sacrament, and inveighing against them who esteemed it no better than a piece of bread, I told the same thing of the Pcenitentes, &c. that I have already said, bidding them depart as unworthy to hear the mystery. Then I said to those that be holy, Cyprian the martyr shall tell you how it is that Christ calleth it, saying, Bread is the body, meat, drink, flesh, because that unto this material substance is given the property of the thing whereof it beareth the name: and this place then took I to utter, that the material substance of bread doth remain." Master Feckenham, though as red as scarlet in his face, made no reply, notwithstanding he had given him the lie openly at Paul's Cross.

When the secretary had remarked, that Origen and Tertullian were not catholic, but erred, Doctor Ridley replied, that "none of all the doctors are holden in all points, but are thought to have erred in some things," but that Origen and Tertullian never were blamed for having erred in the matter of the sacrament. Then Master Roger Cholmley, late chief justice, said, "Doth not Christ say plainly, that it is his very flesh, and his very blood, and we must needs eat him, or else we can have no life?" to which the doctor replied, "If you will hear how St. Augustine expoundeth that place, you shall perceive that you are in a wrong box." And that he took the words of the sacrament figuratively, may be seen in his book, Of the Doctrine of Christ; which was acknowledged by the secretary. Doctor Ridley admitted Master Feckenham's assertion, that forty years ago, all were of one opinion in this matter, but remarked that all then held the Bishop of Rome to be supreme head of the Universal Church. And as Master Feckenham was about reply, the secretary said, "that was but a positive law;" which Doctor Ridley denied, for, says he, "it is in his decrees, that he challenged it by Christ's own word. His decree saith, The Church of Rome was advanced above all other churches in the world,
not by any synodical constitutions, nor yet any councils, but by the lively voice of the Lord, according as the Lord said to Peter, Thou art Peter, &c., and in another place, Thou art Cephas, that is to say, the head.” But, on the secretary's sneeringly saying, “it was not counted an article of our faith,” Doctor Ridley asserted the contrary, if, says he, “you call that an article of faith, which is to be believed under pain of damnation. For he saith, We do absolutely determine, declare, and pronounce, that every creature is subject to the obedience of the Bishop of Rome upon necessity of salvation.

In speaking of laws and decrees, Master Cholmley thought himself much wronged that he could not be suffered to speak, the rest were so ready to interrupt him. At last he told a long tale of the laws made by the kings of England against the Bishop of Rome, and how eager the clergy were to fly to him.” Then they took up the conversation among themselves; and we finally departed in peace, and the secretary promised that Doctor Ridley should come to no harm for this discourse; and, on lamenting the want of his books, he farther added that, having once been given him, and knowing who now had them, he would endeavour to get him such as he should name in writing.

The result of the articles before mentioned was, that divers ministers were divorced from their wives. Amongst others, John Draper, within the diocese of London, was not only separated from Joan Gold his wife, by a commission from Bishop Bonner, but the poor woman was compelled to do penance. Besides him, many others were divorced against their will, and some were wholly indifferent. Of the latter was a person of Chichester, whom our author declines to name, because he soon recovered again; but Edmund Alstone, Alexander Bull, and Dr. Standish, with others, had no such cause of compassion.

CHAP. IX.


We have now to relate what farther was done to those who had been consigned to a prison. On the 10th of March, not eight months after Queen Mary was in possession of the throne of England, a letter was sent to the Lieutenant of the Tower to deliver the bodies of Doctor Cranmer, the Archbishop of Canterbury, with Doctor Ridley and Master Latimer, to Sir John Williams, to be by him conveyed to Oxford. On the 26th of the same month, a letter was addressed to Sir Henry Doel, and one Foster, to attach the bodies of Dr. Taylor, parson of Hadley, and of Henry Askew, and to send them up to the council. It was not until the 10th of April that these prelates were removed from the Tower to Windsor, and from thence to Oxford. They were to dispute there with the learned men of both the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge; a deputation from the latter place being sent, by authority of that University, after several graces passed to specify their commission, and positively to insist upon the doctrines of the see of Rome on the substance, presence, and sacrifice of the sacrament. Doctor Weston the prolocutor, Doctors Tresham, Cole, Ogletorpe, and Pie, with Masters Harpsfield and Feckenham, were the members of Oxford nominated to the disputation; and Doctor Young the vice-chancellor, with the Doctors Glin, Seaton, Scot, Watson, Sedgwick, Atkinson, &c., for Cambridge. From the following questions, which had been previously resolved in the senate of Cambridge, it will appear, that they were still determined on establishing the same doctrine relative to the sacrament.

1. Whether the natural body of Christ be really in the sacrament, after the words spoken by the priest, or no?

2. Whether in the sacrament, after the words of consecration, any other substance do remain, than the substance of the body and blood of Christ?

3. Whether in the mass be a sacrifice propitiatory for the sins of the quick and dead?”

Concerning this we are, in the first place, to understand, “that upon Saturday, the 7th day of April, the heads of the colleges of Cambridge, to which allusion has been made already, “being congregated together, letters coming down from Stephen Gardiner, lord-chancellor, were read, with articles therewith
annexed, that should be disputed upon at Oxford." The first grace granted by the University, on the motion of the senior-proctor, was in these words: "May it please you to have an instrument made, that the doctrine of these aforesaid articles may be sound and catholic, and consonant with the verity of the right-meaning faith, and that the same may be approved by your consent and voices?" By another grace, the above members were to repair to Oxford to defend the said articles, and to have letters to Oxford under the common seal. By another grace, Master Sedgwick was to be actual doctor, and was immediately admitted. These letters were sealed in the congregation-house on the 11th, and on the 12th day they set forward to Oxford, and the next day arrived. Quarters were provided for them at the Cross Inn, with one Wakeline, some time servant to Bishop Bonner.

Being waited on by Dr. Crook, they were welcomed by him with some wine; and soon after two beadles came from the vice-chancellor of Oxford, to present the vice-chancellor of Cambridge with a dish of apples and a gallon of wine. Master Pie and Fckenham also came to welcome them. Doctors Seaton and Watson had their letters and instruments of grace, and then they all went to Lincoln College to Dr. Weston and the vice-chancellor Dr. Tresham, to deliver their credentials. Having settled the mode of a procession on the following morning, with a convocation, and agreed that the doctors from Cambridge should be admitted to the same degree in Oxford University, and on the contrary the doctors of Oxford in that of Cambridge, about half past eight they returned to their inn. On this day they separated the three bishops; and Doctor Ridley was sent to the house of Alderman Irish, Master Latimer to another, and Doctor Cranmer was continued in the prison called Bocardo.

On the next morning, which was Saturday the 11th, at eight o'clock, the vice-chancellor and the doctors of Cambridge went again to Lincoln College. The prolocutor was above in a chapel, with the company of the house, singing a mass for the dead. Being ended, they consulted together in the master's lodging. About nine they repaired to the University-church of St. Mary, where they had a short consultation in a chapel; when the doctors of Oxford caused those of Cambridge to send for their scarlet robes, which they had brought with them; but Doctors Seaton and Watson borrowed of the Oxford men. During this time, the regents in the congregation-house had granted their graces to the Cambridge doctors, to be incorporate with them; and they advanced immediately to be admitted, being presented by Dr. Oglethorpe, when the statute was read, and their oaths taken. A convocation of the University was then held in the choir, the occasion of it, as ordered by the queen, and the design of it, being first declared in English; and Mr. Say, the register, openly read the commission, after which the vice-chancellor read the Cambridge letters openly. Three notaries were then named, Mr. Say for the convocation, a beadle of Cambridge for that University, and one Mr. White for Oxford, to attest the proceedings, and to cause them to be written on parchment, that the whole assembly might subscribe to the articles, except those which had already subscribed in the convocations of London and Cambridge, beginning with the vice-chancellor, and as many of the Oxford men as could subscribe before the mass of the Holy Ghost, which then was solemnly sung from music by the choirmen of Christ Church, was ended.

The procession now commenced, the cross being carried in front, followed by the choirmen in their surplices. The first year regents and proctors followed; then the beadles preceded the doctors of law; and next the doctors of divinity of both Universities intermingled, headed by the divinity and arts beadles, the vice-chancellor and prolocutor going together. Then followed the batchelors of divinity, regents, and non-regents, in their array; and, last of all, the batchelors of law and art. A great company of scholars and students, not graduate, followed. In this manner they proceeded through the street to Christ Church; and, being arrived there, the choir sung a psalm, after which a collect was read, and then the commissioners, doctors, and many others, departed to Lincoln College. Here they dined with the mayor of the town, one alderman, four beadles, Mr. Say, and the Cambridge notary; and, after dinner, they went again to the church of St. Mary. A short consultation followed in a chapel, and then all the commissioners, amounting to thirty-three per-
sons, seated themselves before the altar, when they sent to the mayor to bring in Doctor Cramer, who was some time after escorted thither by a number of rusty bill-men.

Being thus introduced to the commissioners, he made his obeisance, and stood with his staff in his hand, declining to sit on a stool which was prepared. The prolocutor was in the midst in a scarlet gown. In a short preface in praise of unity, and especially in the church of Christ, “he recited his education, taking degrees at Cambridge, and his promotion by King Henry, as his counsellor, and a catholic,” one of the same unity, and a member thereof in times past. Of late years, indeed, he did separate and cut himself off from it, by setting forth erroneous doctrine, making every year a new faith. It had now “pleased the queen’s grace to send them of the convolution and other learned men, to bring him to this unity again, if it might be.” He then said, that the convolution had agreed to certain articles, which they willed him to subscribe. The archbishop declared in reply, that “he was very glad of an unity, being the preserver of all common-wealths, both heathen and christian,” and then referred to one or two stories of the Roman common-wealth; and he should be “very glad to come to an unity, so that it were in Christ, and agreeable to his holy word.” The articles were then read to him, by direction of the prolocutor, and the archbishop then read them over three or four times; after which, on the first article, “he asked what they meant by the terms, true and natural. Do you not mean, saith he, a sensible body?” to which some answered, “The same that was born of the Virgin;” but some said one thing, some another, which occasioned some confusion, until the archbishop utterly denied it. After looking at the other two articles, he declared, “they were all false, and against God’s holy word, and therefore he would not agree in that unity with them.”

The prolocutor then willed him to write his mind of them that night, a copy of which was delivered to him, and he was required to answer them on Monday the 16th, and the mayor was charged to conduct him back to the Bocard prison, after desiring him to name any books he might wish to consult. His modesty affected most of those who were present; and some masters of art were seen to weep for him, though their judgment was different. Doctor Ridley was next brought in, who promptly declared that the articles “were all false, and sprang out of a bitter and sour root. His answers were sharp, witty, and very earnest.” He was then charged concerning a sermon made when he was Bishop of Rochester, on transubstantiation, which he utterly denied; and asked if they could produce any one who heard him speak about it, to do which they were wholly unable. On being farther interrogated, whether he had not desired the present lord-chancellor to stick to the mass, and other things, he answered that the chancellor “would say no such things or words of him; if he did, he reported not the truth of him. He was then asked, whether he would dispute or no? he answered, that as long as God gave him life, he should not only have his heart, but also his mouth and pen to defend his truth; but he required time and books. They said he could not; that he should dispute on Thursday, and till that time he should have books.” On giving him the articles, he was ordered to write his mind of them that night, and the mayor was ordered to conduct him back to his confinement, but not until he had complained of being deprived of his own books, and denied time sufficient to look for his disputations. “Last of all came in Mr. Latimer in like sort, with a kerchief, and two or three caps on his head, his spectacles hanging by a string at his breast, and a staff in his hand.”

The prolocutor indulged him with a chair. He, in like manner, denied the articles, and Wednesday was appointed for his disputations; and against which “he alleged age, sickness, dislike, and lack of books, saying that he was almost as met to dispute as to be a captain of Calais. But he would, he said, declare his mind either by writing or by word, and would stand to all they could lay upon his back. He complained that he was permitted to have neither pen nor ink, nor yet any book but only the New Testament there in his hand, which he said he had read over seven times deliberately, and yet could not find the mass in it, neither the marrow-bones nor sinews of the same.” This offended the commissioners not a little; and “Doctor Weston said, that he would make him grant that it had both marrow-bones and sinews in the New Testament.” But Mr. Latimer said again, “that you will
never do, master doctor, and so forthwith they put him to silence; and though he was desirous to tell what he meant by those terms, he could not be suffered. There was a very great press and throng of people; and one of the beadles swooned, and was carried into the vestry." The assembly then broke up, and the Cambridge men retired to the Cross Inn to supper.

On the next day, Mr. Harpsfield preached at the University-church of St. Mary, at nine o'clock. Several doctors of the University were present in their robes. They had a great dinner that day at Magdalen College; but they supped with the prolocutor at Lincoln College, when and where they received Doctor Cranmer's answer of his mind on the articles in writing. The morning of the following day was occupied in Mr. Say and Mr. White, the notaries, visiting the several colleges to procure subscriptions to the articles; but, about eight o'clock of the same morning, the prolocutor, with the doctors and vice-chancellor, assembled at Exeter College, whence they went into the school. There the vice-chancellor, the prolocutor, and doctors, took their seats, and appointed four persons, sitting at a table in the middle, to be extractores argumentorum, with four notaries. Doctor Cranmer was put in the respondent's place, having the mayor and aldermen on different sides, to prevent his escape. The prolocutor briefly opened the business, and then Doctor Chedsey and all the rest poured in their arguments so thick, as if they meant to confound him, every man saying something, though in much disorder, partly in Latin, and partly in English. Three hours were spent in this extraordinary manner, before the vice-chancellor attempted to speak, and he was interrupted as others before him had been. Three or four questions were subtilly introduced, when the beadles offered some drink, which they had provided, to the archbishop, which, with expressing his thanks, he refused; and the prolocutor assured him, if he was desirous of retiring for any purpose of nature, he should be allowed so to do. The disputation continued until almost two o'clock, with the acclamations of the auditors, Truth hath prevailed. The beadles wrote down the arguments, and delivered them to Mr. Say the register; and Doctor Cranmer was committed to the mayor, who caused him to be returned to the prison of the Bocardo. The doctors, after this, dined at University College.

CHAP. X.

The Arguments, Reasons, and Allegations, used in the preceding Disputation, with part of Archbishop Cranmer's Examination.

We have already stated in what manner Doctor Cranmer was introduced into the choir of St. Mary's Church on this occasion, by a rout of rusty bills, and placed where he was to make answers to the interrogatories which should be proposed to him, guarded by the mayor and aldermen. Doctor Weston, the prolocutor, in his scarlet gown, stated the occasion of this assembly, in words to this effect: "We are assembled hither, brethren, this day, to confound the detestable heresy of the verity of the body of Christ in the sacrament," &c. This created a burst of laughter, because his words, in the very "entrance of the disputations, betrayed himself and his religion, that termed the opinion of the verity of Christ's body in the sacrament, a detestable heresy." The subsequent part of the oration tended to assert, that it was not lawful by God's word to call these questions into controversy; for such as doubted of the words of Christ, might well be thought to doubt both of the truth and power of God. To this Doctor Cranmer (having obtained permission) replied, "It is indeed no reason that we should dispute of that which is determined upon before the truth be tried. But if these questions be not called into controversy, surely mine answer then is looked for in vain." Upon this Chedsey thus observed, "Reverend doctor, these three conclusions are put forth unto us at present to dispute upon:

1. In the sacrament of the altar, is the natural body of Christ, conceived of the Virgin Mary, and also his blood, present really under the forms of bread and wine, by virtue of God's word pronounced by the priest?
2. There remaineth no substance of bread and wine after the consecration, nor any other substance, but the substance of God and man.
3. The lively sacrifice of the church is in the mass propitiatory, as well for the quick as the dead.

Such are the conclusions which constitute the present controversy, on which you have already stated your opinion, though it disagrees from the catholic opinion. He then began, "Your opinion differeth from scripture; therefore, you are deceived:" but Dr. Cranmer answered, "I deny the antecedent." Again, Chedsey, "Christ, when he instituted his last supper, spake to his disciples, Take eat, this is my body which shall be given for you: But this true body was given for us; therefore, his true body is in the sacrament." To which Dr. Cranmer said, this is the right form of the argument, "The same which was given for us is in the sacrament; but his true body was given for us; therefore, his true body is in the sacrament." After which he added, "His true body is truly present to them that truly receive him, but spiritually; and so it is taken after a spiritual sort. When he said, This is my body, it is all one as if he had said, This is the breaking of my body, This is the shedding of my blood. As oft as you shall do this, it shall put you in remembrance of the breaking of my body, and the shedding of my blood; and that as truly as you receive this sacrament, so truly shall you receive the benefit promised by receiving the same worthily." On Chedsey's saying, that this "opinion differs from the church, which saith that the true body is in the sacrament; therefore, your opinion therein is false;" the doctor said, "I agree with the church, that the body of Christ is in the sacrament effectually, because the passion of Christ is effectual." Then Mr. Chedsey said, "Christ, when he spake these words, 'This is my body, spake of the substance, but not of the effect:' it was granted by Doctor Cranmer, that "he spake of the substance, but not of the effect after a sort; and yet it is most true that the body of Christ is effectually in the sacrament. But I deny that he is there truly present in bread, or that under the bread is his organical body." To shorten the subject, he delivered to Dr. Weston his opinion in writing, "at large, with answers to every one of their three propositions; desiring him then to read them openly to the people, which he promised to do," but never performed. A copy of the same here follows.

An Explication of Cranmer upon the aforesaid Conclusions.

Cranmer. In the assertions of the church and of religion, trifling and new-fangled novelties of words, so much as may be, are to be eschewed, whereof ariseth nothing but contention and brawling about words, and we must follow, so much as we may, the manner of speaking of the scripture.

In the first conclusion, if ye understand by this word [really] Re ipsa, that is, in very deed and effectually; so Christ, by the grace and efficacy of his passion, is indeed and truly present to all true and holy members.

But, if ye understand by this word [really] Corporaliter, that is, corporally; so that by the body of Christ is understood a natural and organical; so the first proposition doth vary, not only from the usual speech and phrase of scripture, but also is clean contrary to the holy word of God, and christian profession: when as both the scripture doth testify by these words, and also the catholic church hath professed from the beginning, Christ to have left the world, and to sit at the right hand of the Father till he come to judgment.

And, likewise, I answer to the second question; that is, That it swerveth from the accustomed manner and speech of scripture.

The third conclusion, as it is intricate and wrapped in all doubtful and ambiguous words, and differing also much from the true speech of the scripture, so as the words thereof seem to import no open sense, is most contumelious against our only Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and a violating of his precious blood, which upon the altar of the cross is the only sacrifice and oblation for the sins of all mankind.

Ched. By this your interpretation which you have made upon the first conclusion, this I understand, the body of Christ to be in the sacrament only by the way of participation: inso-much as we, communicating thereof, do participate the grace of Christ, so that you mean hereby only the effect thereof. But our conclusion standeth upon the substance, and not the efficacy only, which shall appear by the testimony both of scriptures, and of all the fathers a thousand years after Christ.

And first, to begin with the scripture, let us consider what is written in Matt. 26, Mark 14, Luke 22, and 1 Cor. 11. Matthew saith, As
they sat at supper, Jesus took bread, &c. In Mark there is the same sense, although not the same words, who also for one part of the sacrament speaketh more plainly, Jesus taking bread, &c. After the same sense also writeth Luke 22, And when Jesus had taken bread, &c. In the mouth of two or three witnesses, saith the scripture, standeth all truth. Here we have three witnesses together, that Christ said that to be his body which was given for many, and that to be his blood which should be shed for many; whereby is declared the substance, and not only the efficacy alone thereof. Ergo, it is not true that you say, there to be not the substance of his body, but the efficacy alone thereof.

Cran. Thus you gather upon mine answer, as though I did mean of the efficacy, and not of the substance, of the body; but I mean of them both, as well of the efficacy as of the substance. And forsooth as all things come not readily to memory, to a man that shall speak extempore, therefore, for the more ample and fuller answer in this matter, this writing here I do exhibit.

Archbishop Cranmer’s Explication.

Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, at the time of his Maundy, preparing himself to die for our cause, that he might redeem us from eternal death, to forgive us all our sins, and to cancel out the hand-writing that was against us; that we, through ungrateful oblivion, should not forget his death, therefore at the time of his holy supper did institute a perpetual memory of this his death, to be celebrated among christians in bread and wine, according as it is said: “Do this in remembrance of me. And so often as you eat this bread and drink this cup, you shall shew forth the Lord’s death till he come.” And this remembrance or sacrament of his holy passion, that is, of his body slain, and blood shed, he would all christians to frequent and celebrate in bread and wine, according as he said, “Take, eat, and drink, ye all of this.” Therefore, whosoever for man’s tradition denieth the cup of Christ’s blood to lay-men, they manifestly repugn against Christ, forbidding that which Christ commandeth to be done, and be like to those Scribes and Pharisees of whom the Lord spake: “Ye hypocrites, ye have rejected the commandments of God for your traditions. Well did Isaiah prophesy of you, saying, This people honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me. Without cause do they worship me, teaching the doctrines and precepts of men.” The sacrament and mystical bread being broken and distributed after the institution of Christ, and the mystical wine being likewise taken and received, be not only sacraments of the flesh of Christ wounded for us, and of his blood-shedding, but also be most certain sacraments for us, and (as a man would say) seals of God’s promises and gifts, and also of that holy fellowship which we have with Christ and all his members. Moreover, they be to us memorials of that heavenly food and nourishment, wherewith we are nourished unto eternal life, and the thirst of our boiling conscience quenched, and, finally, whereby the hearts of the faithful be replenished with unspeakable joy, and be corroborated and strengthened unto all works of godliness.

“We are many, (saith St. Paul,) one bread, and one body, all we which do participate of one bread, and one cup.” And Christ saith, “Eat ye, this is my body.” And, “Drink ye, this is my blood.” And, “I am the living bread which came down from heaven. He that eateth me, shall also live for ever. Not as your fathers did eat manna in the desert, and are dead: He that eateth me, shall also live for ever.”

Thus, therefore, true bread and true wine remain still in the eucharist, until they be consumed of the faithful, to be signs, and as seals unto us annexed unto God’s promises, making us certain of God’s gifts towards us. Also Christ remaineth in them, and they in Christ, which eat his flesh, and drink his blood, as Christ himself hath promised: “They that eat my flesh, and drink my blood, abide in me, and I in them.” Moreover, he abideth also in them which worthily receive the outward sacrament, neither doth he depart so soon as the sacrament is consumed, but continually abideth, feeding and nourishing us so long as we remain bodies of that head, and members of the same. I acknowledge not here the natural body of Christ, which is only spiritual, unintelligible, and insensible, having no distinction of members and parts in it: but that body only I acknowledge and worship, which was born of the virgin, which suffered
made the guests of Christ, having him dwelling in us through the grace of his true nature, and through the virtue and efficacy of whose passion, being not less assured and certified, that we are fed spiritually unto eternal life by Christ's flesh crucified, and by his blood shed, the true food of our minds, than that our bodies may be fed with meat and drink in this life: and hereof this said mystical wine, being administered and received after the institution of Christ, be to us a memorial, a pledge, a token, a sacrament, and a seal.

And thereof it is that Christ saith not thus; This is my body, eat ye: but, after he had bidden them eat, then he said, This is my body, which shall be given for you. Which is to mean, as though he should say, In eating of this bread, consider you that this bread is no common thing, but a mystical matter; neither do you attend that which is set before your bodily eyes, but what feedeth you within: consider and behold my body crucified for you, that eat and digest in your minds, chew you upon my passion, be fed with my death; this is the true meat, this is the drink that moisteneth, wherewith you being truly fed, and inebriate, shall live for ever. The bread and wine which be set before your eyes are only declarations of me, but I myself am the eternal food. Wherefore, whosoever at this my table you shall behold the sacraments, have not regard so much to them, as consider ye what I promise to you by them, which is myself to be meat for you of eternal life.

The other oblation of Christ (wherewith he offered himself to God the Father once to death upon the altar of the cross for our redemption) was of such efficacy, that there is no more need of any sacrifice for the redemption of the whole world, but all the sacrifices of the whole law he took away, performing that in very deed, which they did signify and promise. Whosoever therefore shall fix the hope of his salvation in any other sacrifice, he falleth from the grace of Christ, and is contumelious against the blood of Christ. For "He was wounded for our transgressions, and was broken for our iniquities. All we like sheep have wanderedastray. Every man hath turned after his own way, and the Lord hath laid all our iniquities upon him. For he hath entered once for all into the holy place by the blood, not of goats or calves, but by his own
blood, finding eternal redemption: And hath entered into heaven, to appear now in the sight of God for us, not to offer himself often-times, (for so should he have suffered many times,) but now hath he appeared once to put away sin, through his own oblation. And as it is appointed to all men once to die, so also Christ once was offered; who, offering up one oblation for sins, sitteth now for ever on the right hand of God. For by one oblation hath he made perfect for ever those that be sanctified. For where is remission of sins, there is now no oblation for sin,” but this only sacrifice of Christ; whosoever shall seek any other sacrifice propitiatory for sin, maketh the sacrifice of Christ of no validity, force, or efficacy. For, if it be sufficient to remit sins, what need is there of any other? For the necessity of another argueth and declareth this to be insufficient. Almighty God grant that we may truly lean to one sacrifice of Christ, and that we to him again may pay our sacrifices of thanksgiving, of praise, of confessing his name, of true amendment, of repentance, of mercifulness towards our neighbours, and of all other good works of charity. For by such sacrifices we shall declare ourselves neither ingrateful to God, nor altogether unworthy of this holy sacrifice of Christ. And thus you have, out of the testimonies of holy scripture, and of the ancient doctors of the church, the true and sincere use of the Lord’s holy supper, and the fruit of the true sacrifice of Christ. Which whosoever, through captious or wrested interpretations, or by men’s traditions, shall go about, otherwise than Christ ordained them, to alter or transubstantiate, he shall answer to Christ in the latter day, when he shall understand (but then too late) that he hath no participation with the body and blood of Christ, but that out of the supper of eternal life he hath eaten and drunken eternal damnation to himself.”

On receiving these writings, Dr. Weston promised that they should hereafter be read in that place; but he then expressed a wish to proceed with the arguments. Chedsey thus continued: “The scriptures in many places do affirm, that Christ gave his natural body; therefore, I do conclude, that the natural body is in the sacrament.” But this Dr. Cranmer denied, if by natural body was to be understood organical, “having such proportion and members as he had living here;” but admitted, as the evangelists say, “that Christ took bread, and called it his body.” Chedsey then said, that “the circumstance annexed to the text doth teach us, not only there to be the body, but teacheth us what manner of body it is, and saith, The same body which shall be given. That thing is here contained that is given for us: But the substance of bread is not given for us; Therefore, substance of bread is not here contained.” To this Dr. Cranmer replied, “I understand not what you mean by this word [contained;] if you mean really, I deny your major.” But Chedsey said, “The major is the text of scripture. He that denieth the major, denieth the scripture; for the scripture saith: This is my body, which is given for you.” To this Cranmer observed, “I grant he said it was his body which should be given; but he said not it was his body which is here contained, but the body that shall be given for you; as though he should say, This bread is the breaking of my body, and this cup is the shedding of my blood. What will you say then, Is the bread the breaking of my body, and the cup the shedding of his blood really? If you say so, I deny it.” But Chedsey rejoined, “If you ask what is the thing therein contained; because his apostles should not doubt what body it was that should be given, he saith, This is my body which shall be given for you, and my blood which shall be shed for many; therefore, here is the same substance of the body, which the day after was given, and the same blood which was shed: The scripture teacheth, that it was no fantastical, no feigned, no spiritual body, nor body in faith, but the substance of the body.” To this Dr. Cranmer answered, “You must prove that it is contained, which Christ did not say. He gave bread, and called that his body.” I object to your word, which is only imagined.

But Chedsey, still anxious to carry his point, said, “When Christ took bread and brake it, what gave he? and Cranmer answered, “Bread; the bread sacramentally, and his body spiritually, and the bread there he called his body.” On Chedsey’s saying, “This answer is against the scripture, which saith, that he gave his body;” he replied, “it did signify what he did eat.” Then Chedsey remarked, “they did not eat the body as the Capernaites


"Therefore, whosoever for his sins of the world; therefore, it was his body which should be given, and his blood which should be shed."

But Mr. Fox has observed, "in some other copies, the argument is thus made by Chedsey: The same body is in the sacrament, which was given for us on the cross: But bread was not given on the cross for us; therefore, bread is not given in the sacrament. Of this Dr. Cranmer denied the major, that the same natural body is given in the sacrament, which was given on the cross, unless it be understood spiritually. And he afterwards denied the argument as utterly naught, which he well might do, the major in the second figure being not universal."

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**CHAP. XI.**

*Continuation of Archbishop Cranmer’s Examination on the Sacrament.*

Then Doctor Oglethorpe, called by the prolocutor one of the censors, that they might be arbiters to order the disputation, said, "You come in still with one evasion or starting-hole to flee to. He urgeth the scriptures, saying, that Christ gave his very body. You say, that he gave his body in bread. *Quomodo praedicatur corpus? Qualis est corpus?* Qualis est predicatio? *Panis est corpus?*" But Dr. Cranmer corrected him, that he ought to have said, *Quale corpus?* and then answered, "It is the same body which was born of the Virgin, was crucified, ascended; but tropically, and by a figure. Thus, *Panis est corpus* is a figurative speech, speaking sacramentally, for it is a sacrament of his body." Dr. Oglethorpe then observed, that "this word [body, being *praedictum*] doth signify substance; that _substantia_ is not predicated predominatively; therefore, it is an essential predicament, and so it is his true body, and not the figure of his body." But Cranmer replied, that "_substantia_ may be predicated dominatively in an allegory, or in a metaphor, or in a figurative locution;" all which only shews the subtlety and obscurity of their arguments.

The next observation of Dr. Oglethorpe, that "it is not a likely thing that Christ hath less care for his spouse the church, than a wise householder hath for his family, in making his will or testament," Dr. Cranmer answered by saying, "Your reason is drawn out of the affairs of men, and not taken out of the holy scriptures;" and on Oglethorpe’s saying, "that no householder maketh his testament after that sort," he was answered, that "many so do. For what matter is it, so it be understood and perceived? I say Christ did use figurative speech in no place more than in his sacraments, and specially in this of his supper." He then replied: "No man of purpose doth use tropes in his testament, for, if he do, he deceiveth them that he comprehended in his testament; therefore, Christ useth none here;" but Dr. Cranmer would not admit this, and plainly said: "You know not what tropes are.

Anxious to maintain his position, he then said, "The good man of the house hath respect that his heirs, after his departure, may live in quiet, and without brabbling: But they cannot be in quiet, if he do use tropes; therefore (I say) he useth no tropes." Here Cranmer denied the minor.

After him Weston said, "Augustine, in his book of the Unity of the Church, chap. 10, hath these words following: What a thing is this, I pray you, when the last words of one lying upon his death-bed are heard, which is ready to go to his grave, no man saith that he hath made a lie, and he is not accounted his heir which regardeth not those words. How shall we then escape God’s wrath, if either not believing, or not regarding, we shall reject the last words of the only Son of God, and also of our Lord and Saviour, both ascending into heaven, and beholding from thence who despiseth, who observeth them not, and so shall come from thence to judge all men. The argument is thus formed: Whosoever saith, that the testator lieth a wicked heir: But whosoever saith, that Christ spake by figures, saith that he did lie; therefore, whosoever saith, that Christ here spake by figures, is a wicked heir." The minor of this Cranmer denied; for persons may speak in tropes and figures, and not lie. Oglethorpe then said, that Cranmer’s "judgment disagreed with all churches," which again he limited to the papistical church. Again, Oglethorpe charged him with ignorance of logic; but Cranmer said, that his opponent was ignorant of the doctors.
Weston then said, “I will go plainly to work by scriptures. What took he? What gave he? What brake he? What did he eat?” each question distinctly; and Cranmer as distinctly answered, “Bread.” Then added Weston, “He gave bread, therefore he gave not his body. He gave not his body, therefore it is not his body verily, and in deed, and in truth;” which argument Cranmer denied. Then said Cole, “this argument holdeth a disparatis, (a term of the schools, meaning divers substances, so sundered in nature, that one can never be said to be the other,) it is bread; therefore, It is not the body, and this is such an argument or reason as cannot be dissolved;” which Cranmer thus answered: “He is a rock; therefore, He is not Christ; to which Cole only replied, “It is not alike.”

Then again Weston observed, “He gave not his body in deed; therefore, It was not his body in deed;” but said Cranmer, “He gave his death, his passion, and the sacrament of his passion, though in very deed, setting the figure aside, formally it is not his body.” On this Weston said, “Then the scripture is false;” but Cranmer replied, “It is most true.” Then Weston made a long quotation from Chrysostom’s 61st Homily to Pope Antioch. “Needful it is, dear friends, to tell you what the miracle of the mysteries is, and wherefore it is given, and what profit there is of the thing. We are one body, and members of his flesh and of his bones. We that be in the mysteries, let us follow the thing which was spoken. Wherefore, that we may become this thing, not only by love, but also that we may become one with that flesh in deed, that is brought to pass by this food, which he gave unto us, minding to shew his great good-will, that he hath towards us: and therefore he mixed himself with us, and united his own body with us, that we should be made all as one thing together, as a body joined and annexed to the head, for this is a token of most ardent and perfect love. And the same thing Job also insinuating, said of his servants, of whom he was desired above measure, insomuch that they, shewing their great desire toward him, said, Who shall give unto us to be filled with his flesh? Therefore also Christ did the same, who, to induce us into a great love toward him, and to declare his desire toward us, did not only give himself to be seen of them that would, but also to be hand-led and eaten, and suffered us to fasten our teeth in his flesh, and to be united together, and so to fill all our desire. Like lions, therefore, as breathing fire, let us go from that table, being made terrible to the devil, remembering our head in our mind, and his charity which he shewed unto us. For parents many times give their children to others to be fed; but I do not so, saith he, but feed you with mine own flesh, and set myself before you, desiring to make you all jolly people, and pretending to you great hope and expectation to look for things to come, who here give myself to you, but much more in the world to come. I am become your brother; I took flesh and blood for you. Again, my flesh and blood, by the which I am made your kinsman, I deliver unto you.”

After which he deduced this argument: “The same flesh whereby Christ is made our brother and kinsman, is given of Christ to us to be eaten. Christ is made our brother and kinsman, by his true, natural, and organical flesh; therefore, his true, natural, and organical flesh, is given to us to be eaten;” when Cranmer admitted both “the consequence and consequent,” but denied that “we eat it with our mouth,” being only “through faith.” Then Weston produced another argument, “He gave us the same flesh to eat, whereby he became our brother and kinsman: But he became our brother and kinsman by his true, natural, and organical flesh; therefore, he gave his true, natural, and organical flesh to be eaten.” This Cranmer limited to the “flesh wherein he suffered;” but added, “and yet he feedeth us spiritually, and flesh is received spiritually.” Weston’s next argument was, “He gave us the same flesh which he took of the virgin: But he took not the true flesh of the virgin spiritually, or in a figure; therefore, he gave his own natural flesh not spiritually;” to which Cranmer replied, “Christ gave to us his own natural flesh, the same wherein he suffered, but feedeth us spiritually.”

On this Weston farther said, “Chrysostom is against you, who saith, “Let it come into thy remembrance with what honour thou art honoured, and what table thou sittest at: for with the same thing we are nourished, which the angels do behold and tremble at: neither are they able to behold it without great fear, for the brightness which cometh thereof; and
we be brought and compact into one heap or mass with him, being together one body of Christ, and one flesh with him. Who shall speak the powers of the Lord, and shall declare forth all his praises? What pastor hath ever nourished his sheep with his own members? Many mothers have put forth their infants after their birth to other nurses; which he would not do, but feedeth us with his own body, and conjoineth and unites us to himself.” Whereupon I gather this argument: Like as mothers nurse their children with milk, so Christ nourisheth us with his body: But mothers do not nourish their infants spiritually with their milk; therefore, Christ doth not nourish those that be his spiritually, with his blood.

To this Cranmer replied, “He gave us the wine for his blood;” to which Weston thus objected, “If he gave the wine for his blood, as you say, then he gave less than mothers do give: But Chrysostom affirmeth, that he gave more than mothers give; therefore, he gave not the wine for his blood.” But Cranmer said, “You pervert mine answer; He gave wine, yet the blood is considered therein; as for example, When he giveth baptism, we consider not the water, but the Holy Ghost, and remission of sins. We receive with the mouth the sacrament; but the thing and the matter of the sacrament we receive by faith.” To another question he answered, that Christ “meant that we should receive the body by faith, the bread by the mouth,” but denied that the body was received by the mouth. Weston attempted to prove this from Chrysostom, writing upon the 50th Psalm.

“She that is a mother, shameth sometime to play the nurse. But Christ our nurse doth not so play with us. Therefore, instead of meat he feedeth us with his own flesh, and instead of drink he feedeth us with his own blood.” Likewise upon the 26th chapter of Matthew, the 83rd Homily, he saith: “For it shall not be enough for him to become man, and in the mean while to be whipped; but he doth bring us into one mass or lump with himself, (as I may so call it,) and maketh us his body, not by faith alone, but also in very deed.”

Dr. Cranmer, having granted that we make one nature with Christ, denied that it was done with the mouth; and, in answer to another passage produced by Weston from the 29th homily on 2 Cor. chap. 13, that “no little honour is given to our mouth, receiving the body of the Lord,” he replied, “This I say, that Christ entereth into us both by our ears and by our eyes. With our mouth we receive the body of Christ, and tear it with our teeth, that is to say, the sacrament of the body of Christ. Wherefore I say and affirm, that the virtue of the sacrament is much; and, therefore, Chrysostom many times speaketh of sacraments no otherwise than of Christ himself, as I could prove, if I might have liberty to speak, by many places of Chrysostom, where he speaketh of the sacrament of the body of Christ.”

But Dr. Cole was highly offended with his expression, “the sacrament of the body of Christ;” which he denied, “save only of the mystical body, which is the church.” To this Dr. Cranmer said, that “both Christ and the ancient fathers do so call it;” and quoted Chrysostom, “O miracle, O the good-will of God towards us, which sitteth above at the right hand of the Father, and is held in men’s hands at the sacrifice’s time, and is given to feed upon, to them that are desirous of him! And that is brought to pass by no subtlety or craft, but with the open and beholding eyes of all the standers-by.” Thus you hear Christ is seen here on earth every day, is touched, is torn with the teeth, that our tongue is red with his blood; which no man, having any judgment, will say or think to be spoken without trope or figure.

And Weston, in support of the question, “What miracle is it, if it be not his body, and if he spake only of the sacrament, as though it were his body,” then produced another passage from Chrysostom, “I shew forth that thing on the earth unto thee, which is worthy the greatest honour. For like as in the palace of kings, neither the walls nor the sumptuous bed, but the body of kings sitting under the cloth of estate, and royal seat of majesty, is of all things else the most excellent; so is, in like manner, the King’s body in heaven, which is now set before us on earth. I shew thee neither angels nor archangels, nor the heaven of heavens, but the very Lord and Master of all these things. Thou perceivest after what sort thou dost not only behold, but touchest, and not only touchest, but eatest, that which on the earth is the greatest and chiefest thing
of all other, and when thou hast received the same, thou goest home; wherefore cleanse thy soul from all uncleanness." Upon this I conclude, that the body of Christ is shewed us upon the earth.

At this conclusion, Doctor Cranmer could not refrain from ejaculating with astonishment, "What? upon the earth? No man seeth Christ upon the earth: he is seen with the eyes of our mind, with faith and spirit." To the question, "What is it that seemeth worthy highest honour on the earth? Is it the sacrament, or the body of Christ?" He replied, "Chrysostom speaks of the sacrament, and the body of Christ is shewed forth in the sacrament," but denied Weston's consequence, that "then the sacrament is worthy greatest honour." Weston then produced another argument, "That thing is shewed forth, and is now in the earth, which is worthy highest honour: but only the body of Christ is worthy highest honour; therefore the body of Christ is now on the earth" (where the marginal remark of Mr. Fox's edition states, that the word is cannot be found in Chrysostom, and that the argument wholly rests upon affirmatives, and hath no perfect form in logic.) To this Cranmer answered, that "the body of Christ is on the earth in the sacrament, but so as the Holy Ghost is in the water of baptism," and that the word "is shewed forth, is only to be understood sacramentally, and shewing forth on earth, declaring the place where, is to be understood figuratively." On Weston's observing, as before, that "he is shewed forth, and is now on the earth, &c.," Dr. Cranmer said, "Your major and conclusion are all one." Weston replied, that "the major is true, and therefore the conclusion is true," which he attempted to support by this argument: "That thing is on the earth which is worthy of most high honour: but no figure is worthy of highest honour; therefore, that which is on the earth is no figure," which Cranmer admitted to be true sacramentally.

But Weston then directed him to "answer to one part, bidding him to repeat his words." His mild voice could not be heard from the great noise and crying in the school. He was preparing to declare, that "the prolocutor did not well English the words of Chrysostom, using for he is shewed (ostenditur,) that he is on the earth (est;) which latter word Chrysostom hath not, nor any such word of being on the earth, but only of shewing, as the grace of the Holy Ghost is shewed forth in baptism." On this the prolocutor "stretched forth his hand, and set on the rude people to cry out at him, filling all the school with hissing, clapping of hands, and noise, calling him unlearned, unskilful, impudent." But this reverend man most patiently bore these impudent and reproachful words, as a person inured to suffering of such like reproaches. And when the prolocutor, not yet satisfied with rude and unseemly demeanour, did urge and call upon him to answer the argument, he bade the notary repeat his words again, as follow: "That which is worthy most high honour, here I shew forth to thee on earth: the body of Christ is worthy highest honour; therefore he shewed forth the body of Christ here in earth." To this Cranmer answered, "That is shewed forth here on the earth which may be seen, which may be touched, and which may be eaten, but these things be not true of the body." Then said Cole, "Why should not these things be true of the body of Christ?" to which Cranmer answered, "The major out of Chrysostom is true, meaning of the sacraments: for in the sacrament the true body of Christ, and not the figurative body, is set forth." [In the margin of Fox it is farther remarked, "The body of Christ is shewed forth to us here in earth divers ways; as in reading of the scriptures, sometimes in hearing sermons, and also in sacraments; and yet neither the scriptures, nor sermons, nor sacraments, are to be worshipped."

Then again Weston demanded, "Shew me somewhat in earth worthy greatest honour:" but Cranmer said, "I cannot, but in the sacrament only:" and from thence Weston inferred, and Cranmer admitted, that "the sacrament is worthy greatest honour." This, by the judges, was ordered to be written; and Cranmer then said, "I pray you, let my answer be written likewise: I affirm that the body of Christ is shewed forth unto us. It is our faith that seeth Christ:" to which Weston replied, "I shew it to thee, saith Chrysostom, not to thy faith:" but Cranmer said, "He speaketh sacramentally." Weston thence inferred, "Therefore Chrysostom lieth; for he, speaking of shewing, saith, I Chrysostom do shew. But he can shew nothing sacramentally."
Here Doctor Chedsey caught up the argument by observing, that "by force of argument we are brought to this point, That the body of Christ is proved to be on earth, not only sacramentally, but in very deed also, by this reason, that it is worthy highest honour. The reason is indissoluble." But Doctor Cranmer answered, "I never heard a more vain argument, and it is most vain; also it hath mine answer unto it." Then said Chedsey, "Will you affirm that it is absurd which Chrysostom saith, that the body of Christ is touched? I touch the body of Christ in the sacrament, as Thomas touched Christ. Thomas touched Christ, and said, My Lord, my God; therefore that which he touched was the Lord, the God." Mr. Fox then remarks, "This argument, as I received it out of the notary's book, is not formal; but rather he should conclude thus: As Thomas touched the body of Christ, so we touch it in the sacrament: Thomas touched the body of Christ corporally; therefore we touch the body of Christ corporally in the sacrament." Cranmer denied this argument; for "he touched not God, but him which was God; neither is it sound doctrine to affirm that God is touched." But Chedsey said, "This is because of the union; so that God is said to be touched, when Christ, which is both God and man, is touched." He then quoted Tertullian: "Let us consider as concerning the proper form of the christian man, what great prerogative this vain and soul substance of ours hath with God. Although it were sufficient to it, that no soul could ever get salvation, unless it believe while it is in the flesh: so much the flesh availeth to salvation; by the which flesh it cometh, that whereas the soul so is linked unto God, it is the said flesh that causeth the soul to be linked: Yet the flesh moreover is washed, that the soul may be cleansed; the flesh is anointed, that the soul may be consecrated; the flesh is signed, that the soul may be defended; the flesh is shadowed by the imposition of hands, that the soul may be illuminated with the Spirit; the flesh doth eat the body and blood of Christ, that the soul may be fed of God." From which passage he collected this argument, "The flesh eateth the body of Christ; therefore, the body of Christ is eaten with the mouth."

In like manner Phocceus 1 ad Cor. cap. 11. upon these words, "Whereas he saith, is guilty of the body and blood," this he declareth, "that like as Judas betrayed him, and the Jews were fierce and spiteful against him; so do they dishonour him, which receive his holy body with their impure hands, and as the Jews did hold him then, do now receive him with impure mouths. And whereas he often maketh mention of the body and blood of the Lord, he declareth, that it is not simply man that is sacrificed, but even the Lord himself, being the maker of all things, hereby (as it were) making them afraid. Therefore, (as it is hereby gathered,) the body of Christ is touched with the hands." On Cranmer's observing, that two authors had been vouch'd upon sundry things, he proposed answering Tertullian first, when Chedsey said, that they both tended to one meaning.

But Cranmer, remarking that the dispute was wandering and uncertain, answered, that Tertullian "calleth that the flesh which is the sacrament. For although God work all things in us invisibly beyond men's reach, yet they are so manifest, that they may be seen and perceived of every one. Therefore he setteth forth baptism, unction, and last of all the supper of the Lord unto us, which he gave to signify his operation in us, The flesh liveth by the bread, but the soul is inwardly fed by Christ." Then Weston bade him "stick to those words of Tertullian, The body eateth, that the soul may be fed," and Chedsey repeated, "The flesh eateth the body of Christ, that the soul may be fed therewith;" on which Weston observed, that here are "two kinds of food, of the soul and of the body;" and Chedsey again said, "He saith not only the soul, but the flesh is also fed." Cranmer then remarked, "The soul is fed with the body of Christ, the body with the sacrament;" which occasioned Chedsey to ask, "Is the soul fed with the body of Christ, and not with the sacrament?" To this Cranmer bade him read what followeth, when he would see that "by things external, an operation internal is understood. Inwardly we eat Christ's body, and outwardly we eat the sacrament; so one thing is done outwardly, another inwardly; like as in baptism, the external element, whereby the body is washed, is one; the internal thing, whereby the soul is cleansed, is another."

Then Chedsey advanced this argument, "The soul is fed by that which the body eat-
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... But the soul is fed by the body of Christ; therefore, the body eateth the flesh of Christ:" but Cranmer observed, "We eat not one thing outwardly and inwardly: Inwardly we eat Christ's body; outwardly we eat the sacrament." Chedsey, not satisfied, repeated the argument, "The flesh eateth Christ's body, that the soul may be fed therewith: The soul is not fed with the sacrament, but with Christ's body; therefore, the flesh eateth the body of Christ:" and to this Cranmer replied, "The sacrament is one thing, the matter of the sacrament is another. Outwardly we receive the sacrament; inwardly we eat the body of Christ." Chedsey then said, "I prove, that we receive that outwardly wherewith the soul is fed: The soul is fed with the body of Christ; therefore, we eat the body of Christ outwardly." Again, "The flesh eateth Christ his body; therefore, the soul is fed therewith." And to this Cranmer again replied, "The flesh eateth the sacrament; it eateth not Christ's body. For Tertullian speaketh of the sacrament, and his expression is "of God." Chedsey then said, "What say you to Phoeceus, which receive the body with impure hands, are guilty of the Lord's blood, as Judas was?" And Weston observed, "That which followeth in Tertullian doth take away this shift; for he saith, they cannot be separated in reward, whom one work joineth together. But manuaction, i.e. the work or labour; therefore, &c.; The form of which argument may be thus collected: One work or labour joineth body and soul together: Manuaction is a work of labour; therefore, one manuaction joineth together both body and soul." And he added, "To the major of which argument, it may be thus answered, expounding the saying of Tertullian, One work joineth together, but not the same mode of work;" where work, in this author, "may be taken for temptations and afflictions."

Upon this Cranmer observed, "Your authority, I suppose, is taken out of the book, Of the Resurrection of the Flesh; and the meaning thereof is, Tertullian goeth about there to prove, that the flesh shall rise again, because it is joined together in one work with the soul. Through baptism in this world the body is washed, and the soul is washed; the body outwardly, the soul inwardly; the work is one. In this work they are joined. And he speaketh of signs." But Dr. Weston interrupted him, "He speaketh of it in a sign; therefore, the reward is in a sign:" and Dr. Cranmer observed, "They are coupled in one work, namely, in the sacrament:" when he was again answered by Weston, "There are two works; therefore, there are two rewards. If the work be in a figure, therefore the reward is in a figure." But Cranmer replied, "He speaketh not of two works. Two works are but one work. And yet he saith not, Whom one work joineth together, but A work; as in baptism the soul and body are joined in understanding." Weston hereupon said, "The flesh and soul shall have one and the self-same reward, because they have one work;" which Cranmer thus corrected, "because they be joined together in one work."

CHAP. XII.

Conclusion of Archbishop Cranmer's Examination

Finding that none of his opponents could gain any advantage by argument, Dr. Tresham then began, "Forasmuch as the reverend doctors here have impugned and overthrown your assertion and your answers sufficiently; I will fall to another matter, not altogether impertinent to the purpose, and that in few words, against a certain sequel of your opinion. The sequel is this: That between us and Christ there is no further conjunction, whilst we receive the Eucharist; than a conjunction of the mind, or a spiritual conjunction, whereby we are united and knit unto Christ through faith and love. As for the presence of Christ concerning the substance, that you utterly deny. Whereupon in very deed you leave but a spiritual union and joining together of mind. Howbeit you would seem to think otherwise by your subtle answers. But I will declare by manifest testimonies of the fathers, that this your sequel, which you account so sure, is far wide from the truth. And I will begin with St. Hilary, who is both an ancient and learned author. For disputing against the Arians, Octavo de Trinitate, he saith, that this was their opinion: That the Father and the Son are joined only through unity of will. Whereupon Arius himself, when scripture was alleged against him, did (as you do now) elude
the right meaning of it by his false interpretations. But the catholic church hath always believed and ever maintained, That Christ is one with the Father in nature, and not by consent of will only. The proof whereof, when the catholicks vouched this testimony of John, Pater et Ego unum sumus, The Father and I are one: the Arians answered, that [unum sumus] was to be understood by the assent of their wills, and agreement of their minds, not by unity of their natures. Thus it happeneth now-a-days, where men do doubt of the sacrament. But Hilary going on, and proving the natural conjunction between the Father and the Son, [a fortiori] questioneth with his adversaries after this manner: "I demand of them now which will needs have the unity of will only between the Father and the Son, whether Christ be now in us truly by nature, or only by the agreement of wills. If (saith he) the word be incarnate in very deed, and we receive at the Lord's table the Word made flesh, how then is he to be thought not to dwell in us naturally, who being born man, hath both taken the nature of our flesh upon him that is inseparable, and hath also mingled that nature of his own flesh, unto the nature of eternity under the sacrament of his flesh to be communicated unto us?" Thus much hath Hilary. Whereupon I ask of you this question, How Christ dwelleth now in us? according to faith, or according to nature?

To this Cranmer answered, "that Christ dwelleth verily in us carnally and naturally, for that he hath taken of the Virgin our flesh upon him, and because he hath communicated his nature unto us;" on which Tresham quoted "Bucer contra Abrincensem, who referreth these words only to the Eucharist, saying, "Christ doth exhibit all this unto us in his holy supper, and according to the holy father (said he) Christ liveth thereby in us, not only by faith and love, as absent, but naturally, corporally, and carnally. Wherefore he is not absent, neither are we joined to Christ only by a spiritual union, (as you suppose,) but also by a corporal and carnal union." Cranmer acknowledged him to be "a learned man; but your faith is in good case, which leaneth upon Bucer," said he. But Tresham said, "I do not bring Bucer as a patron of our faith, but because he is a man of your sort, and yet bringeth this place of Hilary for that union which we have by the sacrament, and confesseth, that by it we are carnally united to Christ, whereas you think we are joined by it only through faith and love." In answer to this Cranmer said, "that Christ was communicated unto us, not only by faith, but in very deed also, when he was born of the virgin. We have fellowship with Christ, when we are united in the unity of the church, when we are made flesh of his flesh, and bones of his bones, and so we are united in the communion, in baptism, and in faith."

In the next place Tresham asked, "What fellowship have we with Christ, in that he is made man? Are not the Turks and Jews therein joined with him? For they are men as we are, and are joined with him in man's nature, in that he was born of a woman. I speak now of a more near unity. We are made one with Christ by the communion in a perfect unity."

To this Dr. Cranmer replied, "We are made so, I grant; but we are made so also by baptism; and the unity in baptism is perfect;" which Tresham denied. He said, "We are not made one by baptism in a perfect unity, as Hilary there speaketh, but by the communion, by which we are carnally made one, but not likewise by baptism: wherefore you understand not Hilary. You shall hear his words, which are these: "He had now declared afore the sacrament of the perfect union, saying, As the living Father sent me, so do I also live by the Father. And he that eateth my flesh, shall also live through me." And a little after that he writeth thus: "This truly is the cause of our life, that we have Christ dwelling by his flesh in us that are fleshly, which also by him shall live in such sort as he liveth by his Father." Wherefore of these words it is manifest, that we obtain this perfect unity by means of the sacrament, and that Christ by it is carnally united unto us. In answer to this Cranmer observed, that "Hilary in that same place doth teach, that it is done by baptism; and that doctrine is not to be suffered in the Church, which teacheth that we are not joined to Christ by baptism." On Cranmer's being called upon by Weston to repeat the argument he replied, "You must first make the argument;" when Tresham said, "It is made already, but it shall be made again in this form: As Christ liveth by the Father, so they that
eat Christ's flesh live by the same flesh: But Christ liveth by the Father, not only by faith and love; therefore, we live not through the eating of Christ's flesh, by faith and love only, but naturally." To which Cranmer answered, "We live by Christ, not only by faith and love, but eternally indeed." But Tresham attempted to prove it naturally, thus: "As Christ liveth by the Father, so live we by his flesh eaten of us: But Christ liveth not by his Father, only by faith and love, but naturally; therefore, we do not live by eating of Christ's flesh only by faith and love, (as you suppose,) but naturally." But Cranmer replied, "The minor is not true. On Tresham's saying, it is "the opinion of Arius," which refers it to the mind, Cranmer answered, that he did not think so; and then added, "You say, that Christ doth not live by his Father only by faith and love; but I say, that Christ liveth not at all by his father." On this Weston desired them to "mark and consider well this word [by faith.] lest any occasion of cavilling be given."

On this Tresham said, "Let that word [by faith] be omitted. Neither did I mean, that Christ liveth by his Father through faith. Yet the strength of the argument remaineth in force; for else Hilary doth not confute the Arians, except there be a greater conjunction between us and Christ, when he is eaten of us, than only a spiritual conjunction. You do only grant an union. As for a carnal or natural union of the substance of the flesh, by which we are joined more than spiritually, you do not grant. But our Lord Jesus give you a better mind, and show you the light of his truth, that you may return into the way of righteousness." Then Weston observed, "We came hither to dispute, and not to pray;" and Tresham retorted, "Is it not lawful to pray for them that err?" to which Weston replied, "It is not lawful yet. But proceed." Then said Tresham, "I reason thus: As Christ liveth by his Father, after the same manner do we live by the eating of his flesh: But Christ liveth not by his Father only in unity of will, but naturally; therefore, we do not live when we eat the flesh of Christ only by faith and unity of will, but naturally." Cranmer then declared, "This is my faith, and it agreeth with the scripture: Christ liveth by his Father naturally, and maketh us to live by himself indeed naturally, and that not only in the sacrament of the eucharist, but also in baptism: For infants, when they are baptized, do eat the flesh of Christ." Then Weston said, "Answer either to the whole argument, or to the parts thereof; for this argument is strong, and cannot be dissolved." Then added Cranmer, "This is the argument: As Christ liveth by his Father, after the same manner do we live by his flesh being eaten of us: But Christ liveth not by his Father only in unity of will, but naturally; therefore, we eating his flesh do not live only by faith and love, but naturally. But the major is false; namely, that by the same manner we live by Christ, as he liveth by his Father." To which Weston replied, "Hilary saith, After the same manner upon these words, He that eateth my flesh shall live by me; therefore, Christ liveth by his Father, after the same manner we shall live by his flesh;" but Cranmer answered, "After the same manner doth not signify alike in all things, but in deed and eternally; for so do we live by Christ, and Christ liveth by his Father. For in other respects Christ liveth otherwise by his Father, than we live by Christ."

Then Weston asserted, "He liveth by his Father naturally and eternally; therefore, we live by Christ naturally and eternally." This Cranmer denied, saying, "We do not live naturally, but by grace, if you take naturally for the manner of nature. As Christ hath eternal life of his Father, so have we of him;" and, on Weston's sticking to the word "naturally," Cranmer added, "I mean it touching the truth of nature. For Christ liveth otherwise by his Father, than we live by Christ." Then said Weston, "Hilary, in his eighth book De Trinitate, denieth it, when he saith, He liveth therefore by his Father; and as he liveth by his Father, after the same manner we shall live by his flesh." Cranmer then observed, "We shall live after the same manner, as concerning the nature of the flesh of Christ; for as he hath of his Father the nature of eternity, so shall we have of him." Then said Weston, "Answer unto the parts of the argument. As Christ liveth by his Father, of the same manner shall we live by his flesh: But Christ doth not live by his Father only in unity of will, but naturally; therefore, we eating of his flesh do not live only by faith and love, but naturally." To this Cranmer replied, "I grant, as I said,
we live by Christ naturally; but I never heard that Christ liveth with his Father in unity of will only." To this Weston observed, "Because it seemeth a marvel unto you, hear what Hilary saith: 'These things are recited of us to this end, because the heretics, feigning an unity of will only between the Father and the Son, did use the example of our unity with God, as though we, being united to the Son, and by the Son to the Father only by obedience and will of religion, had no propriety of the natural communion by the sacrament of the body and blood.' But answer to the argument. Christ liveth by his father naturally and eternally; therefore do we live by Christ naturally and eternally." Then said Cranmer, "Cyril and Hilary do say, that Christ is united to us not only by will, but also by nature: he doth communicate to us his own nature, and so is Christ made one with us carnally and corporally, because he took our nature of the Virgin Mary. And Hilary doth not say only that Christ is naturally in us, but that we also are naturally in him, and in the Father; that is, we are partakers of their nature, which is eternity or everlastingness. For as the Word, receiving our nature, did join it in unity of person, and did communicate unto that our nature, the nature of his eternity; that like as he, being the everlasting Word of the Father, had everlasting life of the Father, even so he gave the same nature to his flesh. Likewise also did he communicate with us the same nature of eternity, which he and the Father have, and that we should be one with them, not only in will and love, but that we should be also partakers of the nature of everlasting life." Weston then remarked, that "Hilary, where he saith, Christ communicated to us his nature, meaneth not by his nativity, but by the sacrament;" but Cranmer affirmed, it was "by his nativity." Weston then said, "We have communicated to him our flesh when he was born;" which Cranmer inverted, that "he communicated to us his flesh;" as Cyril upon the place, "And was made man," sheweth. From which Weston inferred, "Therefore, Christ being born, gave us his flesh;" but Cranmer said, "in his nativity, he made us partakers of his flesh." On this Weston exclaimed, "Right, sirs;" and Cranmer said, "Yea, right."

This occasioned Chedsey to say, "This place of Hilary is so dark, that you were compelled to falsify it in your book, because you could not draw it to confirm your purpose. "If Christ have taken verily the flesh of our body, and the man that was verily born of the Virgin Mary is Christ, and also we receive under the true mystery the flesh of his body, by means whereof we shall be one, (for the Father is in Christ, and Christ in us,) how shall that be called the unity of the will, when the natural property, brought to pass by the sacrament, is the sacrament of unity? We must not speak in the sense of man, or of the world, in matters concerning God: neither must we pervertedly wrest any strange or wicked sense out of the wholesome meaning of the holy scripture, through impudent and vile contention. Let us read those things that are written, and let us understand those things that we read, and then we shall perform the duty of perfect faith. For as touching that natural and true being of Christ in us, except we learn of him, we speak foolishly and ungodly that thing that we do speak. For he saith, 'My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed: He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, abideth in me, and I in him. As touching the verity of his flesh and blood, there is left no place of doubt; for now both the testimony of the Lord, and also by our faith, it is verily flesh, and verily blood.' Here you have falsified Hilary, for you have set [vero sub mysterio] for [vero sub mysterio], we receive truly under a mystery. Hilary thrice reporteth [vero sub mysterio] and you interpret it twice [vero sub mysterio] but the third time you have [vero] for [vero]." Then said Cranmer, "Assuredly, I am not guilty of any deceit herein. It may be that the copy which I followed had [sub vero mysterio] that is, under a true mystery; although touching the sense it differeth little. God I call to witness, I have always hated falsifying, and if you had leisure and lust to hear false citations, I could recite unto you six hundred."

It was then observed by Weston, "Here shall be shewed you two copies of Hilary, the one printed at Basil, the other at Paris:" on which Cranmer said, "I suppose Dr. Smith's book hath [vero]." When Weston replied, "Here is Dr. Smith, let him answer for himself." On this was a general calling for Dr. Smith; when "either for the truth in his book
alleged, or esle astonished with Dr. Weston's hasty calling, staid to answer. He only put off his cap, and kept silence." Then Weston continued, "Your own book, printed by Wolf, your own printer, hath [vero:]" to which Cranmer said, "That book is taken from me, which easily might have ended this controversy. I am sure the book of decrees hath [vero:]"

Then said Cole, "Now you admit the book of decrees, when it maketh for you;" but he answered, "Touching the sense of the matter, there is little difference. The change of one letter for another is but a small matter."

On this Weston felt disposed to shew his wit, and said, in a tone of surprise, "No? Yes; Pastor, as you know, signifies a bishop, and Pistor signifies a baker. But pastor shall be Pistor, a bishop shall be a baker, by this your change of one letter, if vere and vero do nothing change the sense." To which quaint witticism Cranmer said, "Let it be so, that in Pistor and Pastor one letter maketh some difference: yet let Pistor be either a maker or a baker of bread, you see here the change of a letter, and yet no great difference to be in the sense."

The vice-chancellor of Cambridge, Doctor Young, to give it another turn, then remarked, "This disputation is taken in hand, that the truth might appear. I perceive that I must go another way to work than I had thought. It is a common saying, Against them that deny principles, we must not dispute. Therefore, that we may agree of the principles, I demand, Whether there be any other body of Christ than his instrumental body?" To this Cranmer replied, "there is no natural body of Christ, but his organical body;" and he farther answered, that "sense and reason ought to give place to faith:" and to the question, "Whether Christ be true in all his words," he admitted, that "he is most true, and truth itself." Again, he asked, "Whether Christ at his supper minded to do that which he spake, or no?" But Cranmer answered, "In saying he spake, but in saying he made not, but made the sacrament to his disciples." To which Young cavalierly replied, "Answer according to the truth, Whether did Christ that as God and man which he spake, when he said, This is my body?" and Cranmer promptly said, "This is a sophistical cavillation; go plainly to work. There is some deceit in these ques-

tions. You seek subtilness; leave your crafty fetches." Young then again demanded, "Whether Christ by these words wrought any thing or no?" and Cranmer said, "He did institute the sacrament." To this he rejoined, "Whether did he work any thing?" and Cranmer replied, "He did work in instituting the sacrament."

Upon this Young triumphantly exclaimed, "Now I have you; for before you said, it was a figurative speech: But a figure worketh nothing; therefore, it is not a figurative speech. A liar ought to have a good memory." To this Cranmer answered, "I understood your sophistry before. You by working understand converting into the body of Christ: but Christ wrought the sacrament not in converting, but in instituting." Then said Young cavalierly, "Wo be to them that make Christ a deceiver. Did he work any other thing than he spake, or the self-same thing?" when Cranmer again said, "He wrought the sacrament, and by these words he signified the effect." Then Young replied, "A figurative speech is no working thing: But the speech of Christ is working; therefore, it is not figurative;" and Cranmer again said, "It worketh by instituting, not by converting." Once more he observed, "The thing signified in the sacrament, is it not that sacrament?" "It is," replied Cranmer; "for the thing is ministered in a sign. He followeth the letter that taking the thing for a sign. Augustine separateth the sacrament from the thing. The sacrament, saith he, is one, and the thing of the sacrament another." Then Weston said, "Stick to this argument. It is a figurative speech; therefore, it worketh nothing." And then Young said, "But the speech of Christ is a working thing; therefore, it is not figurative." To which Cranmer ejaculated, "Oh, how many crafts are in this argument! they are mere fallacies. I said not, that the words of Christ do work, but Christ himself; and he worketh by a figurative speech." But Weston observed, "If a figure work, it maketh of bread the body of Christ;" and Cranmer said, "A figurative speech worketh not;" to which Weston replied, "A figurative speech, by your own confession, worketh nothing: But the speech of Christ in the supper, as you grant, wrought somewhat; therefore the speech of Christ in the supper was not figurative." Then Cranmer declared,
"These are mere sophisms: The speech doth not work, but Christ by the speech doth work the sacrament." And he then said, "I look for scripture at your hands, for they are the foundation of disputations." To this Young said, "Are not these words of scripture, This is my body? The word of Christ is of strength; and by the Lord's words the heavens were made. He said, This is my body; therefore, he made it." But Cranmer said, "He made the sacrament, and I deny your argument." Again Young said, "If he wrought nothing, nothing is left there. He said, This is my body. You say, contrary to the scriptures, it is not the body of Christ, and fall from the faith;" but Cranmer replied, "You interpret the scriptures contrary to all the old writers, and feign a strange sense."

In opposition to this, Young observed, that Ambrose saith, in his book of those who are initiated, chap. 9. "Thou hast read of the works of all the world; that he spake the word, and they were made; he commanded, and they were created. Cannot the word of Christ, which made of nothing that which was not, change those things that are, into that they were not? For it is no less matter to give new things, than to change natures. But what use we arguments? let us use his own examples, and let us confirm the variety of the mystery by example of his incarnation. Did the use of nature go before, when the Lord Jesus was born of Mary? If you seek the order of nature, conception is wont to be made by a woman joined to a man. It is manifest, therefore, that, contrary to the order of nature, a virgin did conceive: and this body that we make, is of the virgin. What sekest thou here the order of nature in the body of Christ, when against the order of nature the Lord Jesus was conceived of a virgin? It was the true flesh of Christ, which was crucified, and which was buried; therefore it was truly the sacrament of him. The Lord Jesus himself crieth, This is my body. Before the blessing of the heavenly words, it is named another kind: but, after the consecration, the body of Christ is signified. He calleth his blood. Before consecration, it is called another thing; after consecration, it is called blood; and thou sayest Amen; that is, It is true. That the mouth speaketh, let the inward mind confess: that the word soundeth, let the heart perceive."

The same Ambrose, in his fourth book of sacraments, the fourth chapter, saith thus: "This bread is bread before the words of the sacraments; when the consecration cometh to it, of bread it is made the flesh of Christ. Let us confirm this, therefore: How can that which is bread, by consecration, be the body of Christ? By what means then is the consecration made, and by whose words? By the words of our Lord Jesus. For touching all other things that are said, Praise is given to God, prayer is made for the people, for kings, and for the rest: when it cometh that the reverend sacrament must be made, then the priest useth not his own words, but the words of Christ: Therefore, the word of Christ maketh this sacrament. What word? That word, by which all things were made: the Lord commanded, and heaven was made; the Lord commanded, and the earth was made; the Lord commanded, and the seas were made; the Lord commanded, and all creatures were made. Dost thou not see then how strong in working the word of Christ is? If therefore so great strength be in the Lord's word, that those things should begin to be which were not before, how much the rather it is of strength to work, that these things which were, should be changed into another thing?" Ambrose saith, that the words are of strength to work.

When this had been read, Weston observed, "You omit those words which follow, which maketh the sense of Ambrose plain," as in the margin of Mr. Fox is stated to be in the fifth chapter: "Heaven was not, the sea was not, the earth was not, but hear him that said; He spake the word, and they were made; he commanded, and they were created. Therefore, to answer thee, it was not the body of Christ before consecration, but after the consecration, I say to thee, that now it is the body of Christ." To this Cranmer replied, "All these things are common. I say, that God doth chiefly work in the sacraments." And to Young's question, "How doth he work?" Cranmer answered, "By his power, as he doth in baptism." But Young replied, "Nay, by the word he changeth the bread into his body. This is the truth, acknowledge the truth, give place to the truth." On which Cranmer called out, "O glorious words! You are too full of words!" and Young said, "Nay,
O glorious truth! You make no change at all!” To this Cranmer answered, “Not so, but I make a great change; as in them that are baptized, is there not a great change, when the child of a bond-slave of the devil is made the son of God? so it is also in the sacrament of the supper, when he receiveth us into his protection and favour.” Then Young said, “If he work in the sacraments, he worketh in this sacrament;” and Cranmer answered, “God worketh in his faithful, not in his sacraments.”

The archbishop’s ready answers now roused Weston to renew the attack, by observing that “in the supper, the words are directed to the bread; in baptism, to the Spirit. He said not, the water is the Spirit; but of the bread he said, This is my body:” and to this Cranmer answered, “He calleth the Spirit a dove, when a spirit descended in likeness of a dove,” which Weston denied, “but he saith, that he descended as a dove. He was seen in the likeness of a dove. As in baptism, the words are directed to him that is baptized, so in the supper the words are directed unto the bread.” To this Cranmer replied, “Nay, it is written, Upon whomsoever thou shalt see the Spirit descending. He calleth that which descended the Holy Spirit. And Augustine calleth the dove the Spirit. Hear what Augustine saith, in 1 Joh. What meant he by the dove, that is, by the Holy Ghost? Forsooth, to teach who sent him.”

Now we have Young once more thursting in his oar to swamp the venerable archbishop, whom before he had treated in so insolent and uncourteous a manner. “He understandeth of the Spirit descending as a Dove: The Spirit is invisible. If you mind to have the truth heard, let us proceed. Hear what Ambrose saith: ‘You see what a working power the word of Christ hath. Therefore, if there be so great power in the Lord’s word, that those things which were not, begin to be; how much more of strength is it, to work, that those things that were, should be changed into another thing?” And in the fifth chapter he saith: “Before it is consecrated, it is bread; but, when the words of Christ come to it, it is the body of Christ.” But hear what he saith more: “Take ye, eat ye; this is my body. Before the words of Christ, the cup is full of wine and water; when the words of Christ have wrought, there is made the blood of Christ, which redeemed the people. What can be more plain?” To all this Cranmer replied, “Nay, what can be less to the purpose? The words are of strength to work in this sacrament, as they are in baptism.”

Then Pye thought proper, whose name has before been mentioned, to interpose an observation or two; and, first, “The words of Christ, as Ambrose saith, are of strength to work. What do they work? Ambrose saith, they make the blood which redeemed the people; therefore, the natural body is made.” To this Cranmer replied, “The sacrament of his blood is made. The words make the blood to them that receive it: not that the blood is in the cup, but in the receiver.” Then Pye said, “There is made the blood which redeemed the people;” and to this Cranmer said, “The blood is made, that is, the sacrament of the blood, by which he redeemed the people. It is made, that is to say, it is shewed forth there. And Ambrose saith, We receive in a similitude. As thou hast received the similitude of his death, so also thou drinkest the similitude of his precious blood.”

On this Weston observed, “He saith, in a similitude, because it is ministered under another likeness. And this is the argument: There is made the blood which redeemed the people: But the natural blood redeemed the people; therefore, there is the natural blood of Christ. You answer, that words make it blood to them that receive it: not that blood is in the cup, but because it is made blood to them that receive it. That all men may see how falsely you would avoid the fathers, hear what Ambrose saith in the sixth book and first chapter. “Peradventure thou wilt say, how be they true? I, which see the similitude, do not see the truth of the blood. First of all, I told thee of the word of Christ, which so worketh, that it can change and turn kinds ordained by nature. Afterward, when the disciples could not abide the words of Christ, but hearing that he gave his flesh to eat, and his blood to drink, they departed. Only Peter said, Thou hast the words of eternal life, whither should I go from thee? Lest, therefore, more should say this thing, as though there should be a certain horror of blood, and yet the grace of redemption should remain: therefore, in a similitude thou receivest the sacrament, but indeed thou obtainest the grace and power of his nature.”
To this Cranmer observed, that “these words of themselves are plain enough. And he read this place again, Thou receivest the sacrament for a similitude. But what is that he saith, Thou receivest for a similitude? I think he understandeth the sacrament to be the similitude of his blood.”

In the next place Chedsey observed, “That you may understand that truth dissenteth not from truth, to overthrow that which you say of that similitude, hear what Ambrose saith: “If the heavenly Word did work in other things, doth it not work in the heavenly sacraments? Therefore thou hast learned, that of bread is made the body of Christ, and that wine and water is put into that cup, but by consecration of the heavenly word it is made blood. But thou wilt say, peradventure, that the likeness of blood is not seen. But it hath a similitude. For as thou hast received the similitude of his death, so also thou drinkest the similitude of his precious blood, so that there is no horror of blood, and yet it worketh the price of redemption. Therefore, thou hast learned, that that which thou receivest is the body of Christ.” To this Cranmer answered, “He speaketh of sacraments sacramentally. He calleth the sacraments by the names of the things; for he useth the signs for the thing signified; and, therefore, the bread is not called bread, but his body, for the excellency and dignity of the things signified by it. So doth Ambrose interpret himself, when he saith, “For a type or figure whereof we receive the mystical cup of his blood, for the safeguard of our bodies and souls.” On this Chedsey exclaimed, “A type! He calleth not the blood of Christ a type or sign; but the blood of bulls and goats, in that respect, was a type or sign?” but Cranmer said, “This is new learning; you shall never read this among the fathers;” and on Chedsey’s saying, “Ambrose saith so,” Cranmer answered, “He calleth the bread and the cup a type or sign of the blood of Christ, and of his benefit.” Then Weston said, “Ambrose understandeth it for a type of his benefit, that is, of redemption, not of the blood of Christ, but of his passion. The cup is the type or sign of his death, seeing it is his blood:” but Cranmer answered, “He saith most plainly, that the cup is a type of Christ’s blood.” Then said Chedsey, “As Christ is really and truly incarnate, so is he truly and really in the sacrament: But Christ is really and truly incarnate; therefore, the body of Christ is truly and really in the sacrament.”

The major of the argument being denied by Cranmer, Chedsey attempted to prove it from Justin, in his second apology, which he quoted in the Greek; and Cranmer asserted, that the place hath been falsified by Marcus Constantius; that “Justin meant nothing else but that the bread which nourisheth us, is called the body of Christ.” Chedsey then repeated the argument, “As Christ is truly and naturally incarnate, &c., as above,” the major of which Cranmer again denied. Chedsey then recited Justin’s words in English, “As by the word of God, Jesus Christ our Saviour, being made flesh, had both flesh and blood for our salvation; so we are taught, that the meat, consecrated by the word of prayer, instituted of him, whereby our blood and flesh are nourished by communion, is the flesh and blood of the same Jesus which was made flesh.” The justness of the translation was admitted by Cranmer, but he still denied the major of the argument, and added, “This is the sense of Justin; that the bread is called the body of Christ, and yet of that sanctified meat our bodies are nourished.” But Chedsey contended, that “both our bodies and souls are nourished” thereby; which Cranmer opposed, that “he saith not so; but he saith, that it nourisheth our flesh and blood; and how can that nourish the soul, that nourisheth the flesh and blood?” Then Cole said, “It feedeth the body by the soul;” when Cranmer required him to “speak uprightly. Can that which is received by the soul and spirit be called the meat of the body?”

Upon this Weston interposed, “Hear then what Irenæus saith, ‘This the same cup which is a creature, he confirmed to be his body, by which he increaseth our bodies. When both the cup mixed and bread broken, hath joined to it the Word of God, it is made the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, of which the substance of our flesh is increased and consisteth.’ The substance of our flesh is increased by the body and blood of Christ; therefore, our body is nourished by the body and blood of Christ.” But Cranmer denied his argument, saying, “He calleth it the flesh and blood, for the sacrament of the body and blood, as Tertullian also saith: Our flesh is nourished with symbolical or sacramental
bread, but our soul is nourished with the body of Christ.” Then said Weston, “Look what he saith more: How do they say, that the flesh cannot receive the gift of God, that is eternal life, which is nourished with the blood and body of Christ?” and to this Cranmer answered, “The body is nourished both with the sacrament, and with the body of Christ: with the sacrament, to a temporal life; with the body of Christ, to eternal life.”

Then Chedsey rudely interrupted the argument by saying, “I cannot but be sorry, when I see such a manifest lie in your writings. For where you translate Justin on this fashion; that the bread, water, and wine, are not so to be taken, in this sacrament, as common meats and drinks are wont to be taken of us, but are meats chosen out particularly for this, namely, for the giving of thanks, and therefore be called of the Greeks Eucharistia, that is, thanksgiving; they are called moreover the blood and body of Christ (so have you translated it:) the words of Justin are thus; “We are taught that the meat, consecrated by the word of prayer, by which the our flesh and blood is nourished by communion, is the body and blood of the same Jesus which was made flesh.” Then Cranmer denied, that he had translated Justin “word for word,” and asserted, that he gave only the meaning, from which he had not departed. Then Harpsfield observed, that this apology was written “to an heathen man. The heathens thought, that the christians came to the church to worship bread; Justin answereth, that we come not to common bread, but as to, &c., as is said afore. Weigh the place well; it is right worthy to be noted: our flesh is nourished according to mutation.” To this Cranmer said, “We ought not to consider the bare bread; but whosoever cometh to the sacrament eateth the true body of Christ.” Then Weston accused him of having corrupted Emissenus, “To be filled with spiritual meats,” asserting that he had added the word spiritual;” but Cranmer asserted, it was so “in the decrees.” Weston then accused him of having, in another place of Emissenus, omitted these words: “Marvel thou when thou comest up to the reverend altar to be filled with spiritual meats: Look in faith to the holy body and blood of thy God, marvel at his honour, worthily touch him.”—“This book hath not that,” said Cranmer.

Again Weston said, “You have falsified this place by evil translating,—Honour the body of thy God, and have rendered it, Honour him, which is thy God; whereas Emissenus hath not, Honour him, but, Honour the body of thy God.” Cranmer avowed that he had done so, “and yet no less truly, than not without a weighty cause; else it should not have been without danger, because of certain that, according to the error of the Anthropomorphites, dreamed that God had a body.”

Upon this Weston continued, “Nay, you most of all have brought the people into that error, which so long have taught that he sitteth at the right hand of God the Father; and counted me for an heretic, because I preached, that God had no right hand. Then I will oppose you in the very articles of your faith. Christ sitteth at the right hand of God the Father: But God the Father had no right hand; therefore, where is Christ now?” To which Cranmer answered, “I am not so ignorant a novice in the articles of my faith, but that I understand, that to sit at the right hand of God, doth signify to be equal in the glory of the Father.” Then Weston produced another argument. “Wheresoever God’s authority is, there is Christ’s body: But God’s authority is in every place; therefore, what letteth the body of Christ to be in every place? Moreover you have also corrupted Duns.” And to this Cranmer said, “This is a great offence, I promise you.” Then added Weston, “For you have omitted Secundum apparentiam, that is, As it appeareth. Where his words are these: ‘If you demand why the church did choose this so hard an undertaking of this article, whereas the words of scripture may be salved after an easy and true understanding [As appeareth] of this article, &c.’” But this Cranmer denied. Yet again, said Weston, “You have set forth a catechism in the name of the synod of London, and yet there be fifty, which witnessing that they were of the number of the convocation, never heard one word of this catechism.” To this Cranmer answered, “I was ignorant of the setting to of that title; and as soon as I had knowledge thereof, I did not like it: Therefore when I complained thereof to the council, it was answered me by them, that the book was so intitled, because it was set forth in the time of the convocation.” Weston then said, “You
have in Duns translated, In the church of Rome, for, The catholic church;" but Cran
er asserted, that "he meant the Romish church."

Weston then accused him of having "depra
ved S. Thomas," (i.e. Thomas Aquinas, as Mr. Fox has it in the margin.) "where he hath these words, 'Inasmuch as it is a sacrifice, it hath the power of satisfaction: But in satisfac
tion the affection of the offerer is more to be weighed than the quantity of the obla
tion. Wherefore the Lord said in Luke's gos
pel, of the widow which offered two mites, that she cast in more than they all. Therefore, although this oblation of the quantity of itself will suffice to satisfy for all pain, yet it is made satisfactory to them for whom it is offered, or to the offerers, according to the quantity of their devotion, and not for all the pain.' Where, says he, you have thus turned it, 'That the sacrifice of the priest hath power of satisfac
tion, &c.' And, therefore, you have chopp
ed in this word [sacerdotis] of the priest, whereas in the translation of all the New Test
ament you have not set it, but where Christ was put to death. And again, where S. Tho
mas hath [pro omni peña] for all pain, your book omittef many things there.

Thus you see, brethren, the truth stedfast and invincible; you see also the craft and de
ciet of heretics; the truth may be pressed, but it cannot be oppressed; therefore, cry alto
tgether, vincit veritas, The truth overcometh.

This disordered disputation, sometime in Latin, sometime in English, continued almost till two of the clock. Which being finished, and the arguments written and delivered to the hands of Mr. Say, the prisoner was had away by the mayor, and the doctors dined together at the University-college.

CHAP. XIII.

The Preface or Protestation of Bishop Ridley, with his Disputations.

The next day, which was the 12th of April, Dr. Ridley was brought forth to dispute, against whom Dr. Smith was set to be principal oppo
nent. Concerning which Dr. Smith, forasmuch as his name is here mentioned, the rea
der is first to be advertised what is to be attri
buted to his judgment in religion, which so oftentimes before had turned and returned to
and fro, grounded (as it seemeth) upon no firm conscience of doctrine, as both by his articles by him recanted may appear, and also by his own letter, sent a little before, in King Ed
ward's days, to the Archbishop of Canterbury from Scotland. Which letter I thought here to exhibit as a preface before his own argu
ment, or rather as a testimony against himself, whereby the reader may understand how dev
tently he magnified them and their doctrine a little before, against whom he now disputeth so busily. Read his epistle, I beseech thee, and judge.

The True Copy of Doctor Richard Smith's Letter, declaring his Affection to the setting forth of God's sincere Word.

"Most honourable, I commend me unto your lordship, doing the same to understand, that I wrote letters to your grace in January last, and the tenth day of February, declaring the causes of my sudden and unadvised depa
rature from your grace over the sea; and de
siring your lordship of your charity towards them that repent of their ill acts, to forgive me yourself all the wrong I did toward your grace, and to obtain in writing the king's maj
esty's pardon for me in all points concerning his laws: upon the receipt whereof I would return again home, and within half a year (at the uttermost) afterward write De Sacerdo
tum cannibii, &c., a Latin book that should be a just satisfaction for any thing that I have written against the same. Reliqua; omnia
dogmata vestra tum demum libenter amplex
urum, ubi Deus mentem, meam, ut ea citra conscientia lesionem agnoscam, doceamque. I wrote not this that I want any good living here, but because mine absence out of the realm is dishonour to the king's highness and realm, and because I must needs (if I tarry here a quarter of a year longer) write an an
swer to your grace's book of the sacrament, and also a book of common places against all the doctrine set forth by the king's majesty, which I cannot do with a good conscience. Wherefore I beseech your grace help me home, as soon as you may conveniently, for God's sake, and ye shall never, I trust in God, repent that fact."

And thus much concerning Dr. Richard Smith, being sent here (as is said) to dispute against Bishop Ridley, who was brought the next day after the archbishop to answer in the divinity-school. Against whom also, besides Dr. Smith, disputed Dr. Weston, Dr. Tresham, Dr. Ogletorpe, Dr. Glin, Dr. Seaton, and Dr. Cole, Mr. Ward, Mr. Harpsfield, Dr. Watson, Mr. Pye, Mr. Harding, Mr. Curton, Mr. Feckenham; to all of them he answered very learnedly. He made a preface to these questions, but they would not let him go forward, but caused him to make an end of the same, and said it was blasphemy; and some said he drave off the time in ambiguous things, nothing to the purpose, not suffering him to speak his mind. Dr. Smith could get nothing at his hand; insomuch that others took his arguments, and prosecuted them. He shewed himself to be learned, and a great clerk. They could bring nothing, but he knew it as well as they.

Dr. Weston, the prolocutor, thus began the disputation: “Good Christian people and brethren, we have begun this day our school, by God’s good speed I trust, and are entering into a controversy, whereof no question ought to be moved concerning the verity of the body of our Lord Jesu Christ in the eucharist. Christ is true, which said the words. The words are true which he spake, yea, Truth itself that cannot fail. Let us, therefore, pray unto God to send down unto us his Holy Spirit, which is the true interpreter of his word; which may purge away errors, and give light, that verity may appear. Let us also ask leave and liberty of the church to permit the truth received to be called this day in question, without any prejudice to the same. Your parts thereof shall be to implore the assistance of Almighty God, to pray for the prosperity of the queen’s majesty, and to give us quiet and attentive ears. Now go to your question.”

Then Dr. Smith continued, “This day (right learned Mr. Doctor) three questions are pronounced, whereof no controversy among christians ought to be moved, to wit:

1. Whether the natural body of Christ our Saviour, conceived of the Virgin Mary, and offered for man’s redemption upon the cross, is verily and really in the sacrament, by virtue of God’s word spoken by the priests, &c.

2. Whether in the sacrament, after the words of consecration, be any other substance, &c.

3. Whether in the mass be a sacrifice propitiatory, &c.

“Touching which questions, although you have publicly and partly professed your judgment and opinion on Saturday last; yet, being not satisfied with that your answer, I will assay again to demand your sentence in the first question: Whether the true body of Christ, after the words pronounced, be really in the Eucharist, or else only the figure. In which matter I stand now to hear your answer.”

Dr. Ridley’s Preface or Protestation, before his Disputation.

“I received of you the other day, right worshipful Mr. Prolocutor, and ye my reverend masters, commissioners from the queen’s majesty and her honourable council, three propositions; whereunto ye commanded me to prepare against this day, what I thought good to answer concerning the same.

“Now whilst I weighed with myself how great a charge of the Lord’s flock was of late committed unto me, for which I am certain I must once render an account to my Lord God (and that how soon he knoweth,) and that moreover, by the commandment of the apostle Peter, I ought to be ready always to give a reason of the hope that is in me with meekness and reverence, unto every one that will demand the same: besides this, considering my duty to the church of Christ, and to your worshipes, being commissioners by public authority; I determined with myself to obey your commandment, and so openly to declare unto you my mind touching the aforesaid propositions. And albeit, plainly to confess unto you the truth in these things which ye now demand of me, I have thought otherwise in times past than now I do, yet (God I call to record unto my soul, I lie not) I have not altered my judgment, as now it is, either by constraint of any man, or laws, either for the dread of any dangers of this world, either for any hope of commodity, but only for the love of the truth revealed unto me by the grace of God (as I am undoubtedly persuaded) in his holy word, and in the reading ancient fathers.

“These things I do rather recite at this present, because it may happen to some of you
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hereafter, as in times past it hath done to me: I mean, if you think otherwise of the matters propounded in these propositions than I now do, God may open them unto you in time to come.

"But howsoever it shall be, I will in few words do that which, I think, ye all look I should do; that is, as plainly as I can, I will declare my judgment herein. Howbeit, of this I would ye were not ignorant, that I will not indeed wittingly and willingly speak in any point against God's word, or dissent in any one jot from the same, or from the rules of faith, or Christian religion; which rules that same most sacred word of God prescribeth to the church of Christ, whereunto I now and for ever submit myself and all my doings. And because the matter I have now taken in hand is weighty, and ye all well know how unready I am to handle it accordingly, as well for lack of time, as also for lack of books; therefore, here I protest, that I will publicly this day require of you, that it may be lawful for me concerning all mine answers, explications, and confirmations, to add or diminish whatsoever shall seem hereafter more convenient and meet for the purpose, through more sound judgment, better deliberation, and more exact trial of every particular thing. Having now, by the way of preface and protestation, spoken these few words, I will come to the answer of the propositions propounded unto me, and so to the most brief explication and confirmation of mine answers."

On this Dr. Weston observed, "Reverend Mr. Doctor, concerning the lack of books, there is no cause why you should complain. What books soever you will name, you shall have them; and as concerning the judgment of your answers to be had of yourself with farther deliberation; it shall (I say) be lawful for you until Sunday next to add unto them what you shall think good yourself. My mind is, that we should use short arguments, lest we should make an infinite process of the thing:" Then Bishop Ridley replied, "There is another thing besides, which I would gladly obtain at your hands. I perceive, that you have writers and notaries here present. By all likelihood our disputations shall be published; I beseech you, for God's sake, let me have liberty to speak my mind freely, and without interruption, not because I have determined to protract the time with a solemn preface, but lest it may appear that some be not satisfied. God wot I am no orator, nor have I learned rhetoric to set colours on the matter." Then said Weston, "Among this whole company it shall be permitted you to take two for your part." On which he said, "I will choose two, if there were any here, with whom I were acquainted." Then Weston said, "Here are two which Mr. Cranmer had yesterday. Take them, if it please you." He then said, "I am content with them; I trust they are honest men." In the margin of Mr. Fox, these are said to have been Master Jewel, sometime bishop of Salisbury, and Gilbert Mounson.

The First Proposition.—In the sacrament of the altar, by the virtue of God's word spoken of the priest, the natural body of Christ born of the Virgin Mary, and his natural blood, is really present under the forms of bread and wine.

The answer of N. Ridley.—"In matters appertaining to God, we may not speak according to the sense of man, nor of the world; therefore, this proposition or conclusion is framed after another manner of phrase or kind of speech than the scripture useth. Again, it is very obscure and dark, by means of sundry words of doubtful signification. And, being taken in the sense which schoolmen teach, and at this time the church of Rome doth defend, it is false and erroneous, and plain contrary to the doctrine which is according to godliness."

The Explication.—"How far the diversity and newness of the phrase in all this first proposition is from the phrase of the holy scripture, and that in every part almost, it is so plain and evident to any that is but meanly exercised in holy writ, that I need not now (especially in this company of learned men) to spend any time therein, except the same shall be required of me hereafter.

"First, there is a double sense in these words [by virtue of God's word,] for it is doubtful what word of God this is; whether it be that which is read in the evangelists, or in Paul, or any other. And if it be that which is in the evangelists, or in St. Paul, what is it? If it be in none of them, then how it may be
known to be God's word, and of such virtue that it should be able to work so great a matter.

"Again, there is a doubt of these words [of the priest,] whether no man may be called a priest, but he which hath authority to make a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead; and how it may be proved, that this authority was committed of God to any man, but to Christ alone.

"It is likewise doubted, after what order the sacrificing priest shall be, whether after the order of Aaron, or else after the order of Melchisedech. For, as far as I know, the holy scripture doth allow no more."

Here he was interrupted by Weston, who said, "Let this be sufficient;" and, on Bishop Ridley's saying, "there is time enough hereafter," Weston said, "these are but evasions or starting-holes, you consume the time in vain." But he replied, "I cannot start from you, I am captive and bound:" and on this Weston called out, "Fall to it, my masters;" when Dr. Smith said, "That which you have spoken may suffice at this present;" when the bishop observed, "Let me alone, I pray you, for I have not much to say behind." Then said Weston, "Go forward."

He then said, "Moreover, there is ambiguity in this word [really.] whether it be taken as the logicians term it, [transcendenter:] i.e. most generally: and so it may signify any manner of thing which belongeth to the body of Christ, by any means: after which sort we also grant Christ's body to be really in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, (as in disputation, if occasion be given, shall be declared,) or whether it be taken to signify the very same thing, having body, life, and soul, which was assumed and taken of the word of God, into the unity of person. In which sense, sith the body of Christ is really in heaven, because of the true manner of his body, it may not be said to be here in the earth. There is yet a farther doubtfulness in these words [under the forms of bread and wine.] whether the forms be there taken to signify the only accidental and outward shews of bread and wine; or therewithal the substantial natures thereof, which are to be seen by their qualities, and perceived by exterior senses.

"Now the error and falseness of the proposition after the sense of the Roman church and schoolmen, may hereby appear, in that they affirm the bread to be transubstantiated and changed to the flesh assumed of the Word of God, and that (as they say) by virtue of the word, which they have devised by a certain number of words, and cannot be found in any of the evangelists, or in Paul: and so they gather, that Christ's body is really contained in the sacrament of the altar. Which position is grounded upon the foundation of the transubstantiation; which foundation is monstrous, against reason, and destroyeth the analogy or proportion of the sacraments; and, therefore, this proposition also, which is builded upon this rotten foundation, is false, erroneous, and to be counted as a detestable heresy of the sacramentaries."

Then Weston called out, "We lose time;" and Ridley said, "You shall have time enough." But Weston said, "Fall to reasoning. You shall have some other day for this matter;" when Ridley added, "I have no more to say concerning my explication. If you will give me leave, and let me alone, I will but speak a word or two for my confirmation:" on which Weston said, "Go to, say on." The Confirmation of his Answer was then stated, in this manner: "There ought no doctrine to be established in the church of God, which dissenteth from the word of God, from the rule of faith, and draweth with it many absurdities that cannot be avoided: But this doctrine of the first proposition is such; therefore, it ought not to be established and maintained in the church of God. The major and first part of my argument is plain, and the minor or second part is proved thus: The doctrine containeth a real, corporal, and carnal presence of Christ's flesh, assumed and taken of the Word, to be in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, and that not by virtue and grace only, but also by the whole essence and substance of the body and flesh of Christ: But such a presence disagreeth from God's word, from the rule of faith, and cannot but draw with it many absurdities; therefore, the second part is true. The first part of this argument is manifest, and the second may yet farther be confirmed thus."

Again he was interrupted by Weston, who said, "Thus you consume time, which might be better bestowed on other matters. Master Opponent, I pray you to your arguments." On
this Doctor Smith began, "I will here reason with you concerning transubstantiation, which you say is contrary to the rule and analogy of faith. The contrary whereof I prove by the scriptures and doctors. But before I enter argumentation with you, I demand first, whether in the sixth chapter of John there be any mention made of the sacrament, or of the real presence of Christ in the sacrament?" On this said Ridley, "It is against reason that I should be impeached to prosecute that which I have to speak in this assembly, being not so long, but that it may be comprehended in few words:" when Weston said, "Let him read on." Then said Ridley, "First of all, this presence is contrary to many places of the holy scripture. Secondly, It varieth from the articles of the faith. Thirdly, It destroyeth and taketh away the institution of the Lord's supper. Fourthly, It maketh precious things common to profane and ungodly persons; for it casteth that which is holy unto dogs, and pearls unto swine. Fifthly, It forceth men to maintain many monstrous miracles, without necessity and authority of God's word. Sixthly, It giveth occasion to the heretics which erred concerning the two natures of Christ, to defend their heresies thereby. Seventhly, It falsifieth the sayings of the godly fathers; it falsifieth also the catholic faith of the church, which the apostles taught, the martyrs confirmed, and the faithful (as one of the fathers saith) do retain and keep until this day. Wherefore the second part of my argument is true."

The Probation of the Antecedent or former part of this Argument by the Parts thereof.

This carnal presence is contrary to the word of God, as appeareth, John 16. "I tell you the truth. It is profitable for you that I go away; for, if I go not away, the Comforter shall not come unto you." Acts 3. "Whom the heavens must receive until the time of restoring all things which God hath spoken." Matt. 9. "The children of the bridegroom shall not mourn so long as the bridegroom is with them: but now is the time of mourning." John 16. "But I will see you again, and your hearts shall rejoice." John 14. "I will come again, and take you to myself." Matt. 24. "If they shall say unto you, Behold, here is Christ, or there is Christ, believe them not: for wheresoever the dead carcase is, thither the eagles will resort.

It varieth from the articles of the faith; he ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God the Father, from whence (and not from any other place, said Augustine) he shall come to judge both the quick and the dead.

It destroyeth and taketh away the institution of the Lord's supper, which was commanded only to be used and continued until the Lord himself should come. If, therefore, he be really present in the body of his flesh, then must the supper cease: for a remembrance is not of a thing present, but of a thing past and absent. And there is a difference between remembrance and presence; and (as one of the fathers saith) a figure is in vain where the thing figured is present.

It maketh precious things common to profane and ungodly persons, and constraineth men to confess many absurdities. For it affirmeth, that whoresomongers and murderers, yea, and (as some of them hold opinion) the wicked and faithless, mice, rats, and dogs, also may receive the very real and corporal body of the Lord, wherein the fulness of the Spirit of light and grace dwelleth, contrary to the manifest words of Christ in six places and sentences of the sixth chapter of St. John.

It confirmeth also and maintaineth that beastly kind of cruelty of the Anthropophagi, that is, the devourers of man's flesh: for it is a more cruel thing to devour a quick man, than to slay him.

Then Pye interrupted him, saying, "He requireth time to speak blasphemies. Leave your blasphemies;" and Ridley replied, "I little thought to have had such reproachful words at your hands:" and Weston replied, "All is quiet. Go to your arguments, Mr. Doctor:" when Ridley said, "I have not many things more to say." To this replied Weston, "You utter blasphemies with a most impudent face: leave off, I say, and get you to the argument." Ridley then proceeded thus:

It forceth men to maintain many monstrous miracles, without any necessity and authority of God's word. For at the coming of this presence of the body and flesh of Christ, they thrust away the substance of bread, and affirm, that the accidents remain without any subject;
and, instead thereof, they take Christ's body, without his qualities and the true manner of a body. And, if the sacrament be reserved so long until it mould, and worms breed, some say, that the substance of bread miraculously returneth again, and some deny it. Other some affirm, the real body of Christ goeth down into the stomach of the receivers, and doth there abide so long only as they shall continue to be good: but another sort hold, that the body of Christ is carried into heaven, so soon as the forms of bread be bruised with the teeth. O work of miracles!

Truly, and most truly I see that fulfilled in these men, whereof St. Paul prophesied, 2 Thes. 2. "Because they have not received the love of the truth, that they might be saved, God shall send them strong delusions, that they should believe lies, and be all damned, which have not believed the truth." This gross presence hath brought forth that fond phantasy of concomitance, whereby is broken at this day and abrogated the commandment of the Lord for distributing the Lord's cup to the laity.

It giveth occasion to heretics to maintain and defend their errors; as to Marcion, which said, that Christ had but a fantastical body; and to Eutyches, which wickedly confounded the two natures in Christ.

Finally, It falsifieth the sayings of the godly fathers, and the catholic faith of the church, which, Virgilius a martyr and grave writer saith, was taught of the apostles, confirmed with the blood of martyrs, and was continually maintained by the faithful, until his time. By the sayings of the fathers, I mean of Justin, Irene, Tertullian, Origen, Eusebius, Emisene, Athanasius, Cyril, Epiphanius, Jerome, Chrysostom, Augustine, Vigilius, Fulgentius, Bertram, and other most ancient fathers. All those places, as I am sure I have read, making for my purpose, so am I well assured that I could shew the same, if I might have the use of mine own books, which I will take to me to do, even upon the peril of my life, and loss of all that I may lose in this world.

But now, my brethren, think not, because I disallow that presence, which the first proposition maintaineth (as a presence, which I take to be forged, fantastical, and, besides the authority of God's word, perniciously brought into the church by the Romanists,) that I, therefore, go about to take away the true presence of Christ's body in his supper, rightly and duly ministered, which is grounded upon the word of God, and made more plain by the commentaries of the faithful fathers. They that think so of me, the Lord knoweth how far they are deceived. And, to make the same evident unto you, I will in few words declare what true presence of Christ's body in the sacrament of the Lord's supper I hold and affirm, with the word of God and the ancient fathers.

I say and confess with the Evangelist Luke, and with the Apostle Paul, that the bread, on the which thanks are given, is the body of Christ in the remembrance of him and his death, to be set forth perpetually of the faithful until his coming.

I say and confess the bread which he brake to be the communion and partaking of Christ's body, with the ancient and faithful fathers.

I say and believe, that there is not only a signification of Christ's body set forth by the sacrament, but also that therewith is given to the godly and faithful the grace of Christ's body, that is, the food of life and immortality. And this I hold with Cyprian.

I say also with St. Augustine, that we eat life, and we drink life; with Emisene, that we feel the Lord to be present in grace; with Athanasius, that we receive celestial food which cometh from above; the propriety of natural communion, with Hilary; the nature of flesh and benediction which giveth life in bread and wine, with Cyril; and with the same Cyril, the virtue of the very flesh of Christ, life and grace of his body, the property of the only begotten, that is to say, life, as he himself in plain words expoundeth it.

I confess also with Basil, that we receive the mystical advent and coming of Christ, grace and virtue of his very nature; the sacrament of his very flesh, with Ambrose; the body by grace, with Epiphanius; spiritual flesh, but not that which was crucified, with Jerome; grace flowing into a sacrifice, and the grace of the Spirit, with Chrysostom; grace and invisible verity, grace and society of the members of Christ's body, with St. Augustine.

Finally, with Bertram, (which was the last of all these,) I confess that Christ's body is in the sacrament in this respect; namely, (as he writeth,) because there is in it the spirit of Christ, that is, the power of the word of God,
which not only feedeth the soul, but also cleanseth it. But of these I suppose it may clearly appear unto all men, how far we are from that opinion, whereof some go about falsely to slander us to the world, saying, we teach that the godly and faithful should receive nothing else at the Lord’s table, but a figure of the body of Christ.

The Second Proposition.

After the consecration, there remaineth no substance of bread and wine, neither any other substance than the substance of God and Man.

The Answer.

The second conclusion is manifestly false, directly against the word of God, the nature of the sacrament, and the most evident testimonies of the godly fathers; and it is the rotten foundation of the other two conclusions propounded by you, both of the first, and also of the third. I will not, therefore, now tarry upon any further explication of this answer, being contented with that which is already added afore to the answer of the first proposition.

The First Argument for the Confirmation of this Answer.

It is very plain by the word of God, that Christ did give bread unto his disciples, and called it his body. But the substance of bread is another manner of substance than is the substance of Christ’s body, God and Man. Therefore, the conclusion is false.

The second part of mine argument is plain, and the first is proved thus:

The Second Argument.

That which Christ did take, on the which he gave thanks, and the which he brake, he gave to his disciples, and called it his body. But he took bread, gave thanks on bread, and brake bread. Therefore, the first part is true. And it is confirmed with the authorities of the fathers, Irene, Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, Epiphanius, Jerome, Augustine, Theodoret, Cyril, Rabanus, and Bede; whose places I will take upon me to shew most manifest in this behalf, if I may be suffered to have my books, as my request is

Bread is the body of Christ. Therefore, it is bread.

A tertio adjacente ad secundum adjacentem substantivi pura copula.

The Third Argument.

As the bread of the Lord’s table is Christ’s natural body, so is his mystical body. But it is not Christ’s mystical body by transsubstantiation. Therefore, it is not his natural body by transsubstantiation.

The second part of my argument is plain, and the first is proved thus: As Christ, who is the verity, spake of the bread, This is my body, which shall be betrayed for you, speaking of his natural body; even so Paul, moved with the same Spirit of truth, said, We, though we be many, yet are we all one bread and one body, which be partakers of one bread.

The Fourth Argument.

We may no more believe bread to be transsubstantiate into the body of Christ, than the wine into his blood. But the wine is not transsubstantiate into his blood. Therefore, neither is that bread therefore transsubstantiate into his body.

The first part of this argument is manifest, and the second part is proved out of the authority of God’s word in Matthew and Mark, I will not drink of the fruit of the vine, &c. Now the fruit of the vine was wine, which Christ drank, and gave to his disciples to drink. With this sentence agreeth plainly the place of Chrysostom on the 20th chapter of Matthew. As Cyprian doth also, affirming that there is no blood, if wine be not in the cup.

The Fifth Argument.

The words of Christ, spoken upon the cup and upon the bread, have like effect and working. But the words spoken upon the cup have not virtue to transsubstantiate. Therefore, it followeth, that the words spoken upon the bread have no such virtue. The second part of the argument is proved, because they would then transsubstantiate the cup, or that which is in the cup in the New
Testament. But neither of these things can be done, and very absurd it is to confess the same.

The Sixth Argument.

The circumstances of the scripture, the analogy and proportion of the sacraments, and the testimony of the faithful fathers, ought to rule us in taking the meaning of the holy scripture touching the sacrament.

But the words of the Lord's supper, the circumstances of the scripture, the analogy of the sacraments, and the sayings of the fathers, do most effectually and plainly prove a figurative speech in the words of the Lord's supper.

Therefore, a figurative sense and meaning is specially to be received in these words, This is my body.

The circumstances of the scripture, "Do this in remembrance of me. As oft as ye shall eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, ye shall shew forth the Lord's death. Let a man prove himself, and so eat of this bread and drink of this cup. They came together to break bread; and they continued in breaking of bread. The bread which we break, &c. For we, being many, are all one bread and one body," &c.

The analogy of the sacraments is necessary: for, if the sacraments had not some similitude or likeness of the things whereof they be sacraments, they could in no wise be sacraments. And this similitude, in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, is taken three manner of ways.

1. The first consisteth in nourishing, as ye shall read in Rabana, Cyprian, Augustine, Irene, and most plainly in Isidore out of Bertram.

2. The second in the uniting and joining of many into one, as Cyprian teacheth.

3. The third is a similitude of unlike things: where, like as the bread is turned into one body, so we, by the right use of this sacrament, are turned, through faith, into the body of Christ.

The sayings of the fathers declare it to be a figurative speech, as it appeareth in Origen, Tertullian, Chrysostom in opere imperfecto, Augustine, Ambrose, Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, Hilary, and most plainly of all in Bertram. Moreover, the sayings of all the fathers, whose names I have before recited against the assertion of the first proposition, do quite overthrow transubstantiation. But of all most evidently and plainly, Irene, Origen, Cyprian, Chrysostom to Cæsarius the monk, Augustine against Adamantius, Gelasius, Cyril, Epiphanius, Chrysostom again on the 20th of Matthew, Rabana, Damascene, and Bertram.

Here, right worshipful Mr. Prolocutor, and ye the rest of the commissioners, it may please you to understand, that I do not lean to these things only, which I have written in my former answers and confirmations; but that I have also for the proof of that I have spoken, whatsoever Bertram, a man learned, of sound and upright judgment, and ever counted a catholic for these seven hundred years until this our age, hath written. His treatise, who soever shall read and weigh, considering the time of the writer, his learning, godliness of life, the allegations of the ancient fathers, and his manifold and most grounded arguments, I cannot (doubtless) but much marvel, if he have any fear of God at all, how he can with good conscience speak against him in this matter of the sacrament. This Bertram was the first that pulled me by the ear, and that first brought me from the common error of the Roman church, and caused me to search more diligently and exactly both the scriptures and the writings of the old ecclesiastical fathers in this matter. And this I protest before the face of God, who knoweth I lie not in the things I now speak.

The Third Proposition.

In the mass is the lively sacrifice of the church, propitious and available for the sins as well of quick as of the dead.

The Answer to this Proposition.

I answer to this third proposition as I did to the first. And moreover I say, that being taken in such sense as the words seem to import, it is not only erroneous, but withal so much to the derogation and defacing of the death and passion of Christ, that I judge it may and ought most worthily to be accounted wicked and blasphemous against the most precious blood of our Saviour Christ.

The Explication.

Concerning the Romish mass, which is used
at this day, or the lively sacrifice thereof, propitiatory and available for the sins of the quick and the dead, the holy scripture hath not so much as one syllable.

There is ambiguity also in the name of mass: what it signifieth, and whether at this day there be any such indeed as the ancient fathers used; seeing that now there be neither Catechists nor Poenitentes to be sent away.

Again, touching these words [the lively sacrifice of the church,] there is no doubt whether they are to be understood figuratively and sacramentally, for the sacrament of the lively sacrifice (after which sort we deny it not to be in the Lord’s supper,) or properly and without any figure: of which manner there was but one only sacrifice, and that once offered, namely, upon the altar of the cross.

Moreover, in these words [As well as,] it may be doubted whether they be spoken in mockage, as men are wont to say in fort, of a foolish and ignorant person, that he is apt as well in conditions as in knowledge; being apt indeed in neither of them both.

There is also a doubt in the word [Propitiable,] whether it signify here that which taketh away sin, or that which may be made available for the taking away of sin; that is to say, whether it is to be taken in the active or in the passive signification.

Now the falseness of the proposition, after the meaning of the schoolmen and the Romish church, and impiety in that sense which the words seem to import, is this: that they, leaning to the foundation of their fond transsubstantiation, would make the quick and lively body of Christ’s flesh (united and knit to the divinity) to lie hid under the accidents and outward shews of bread and wine; which is very false, as I have said afore: and they, building upon this foundation, do hold, that the same body is offered unto God by the priest in his daily massings, to put away the sins of the quick and the dead; whereas by the apostle to the Hebrews it is evident, that there is but one oblation, and one true and lively sacrifice of the church, offered upon the altar of the cross, which was, is, and shall be for ever, the propitiation for the sins of the whole world: and where there is remission of the same, there is (saith the apostle) no more offering for sin.

Arguments confirming his Answer.

No sacrifice ought to be done, but where the priest is meet to offer the same.
All other priests be unmeet to offer sacrifice propitiatory for sin, save only Christ.
Therefore, no other priest ought to sacrifice for sin, but Christ alone.
The second part of my argument is thus proved.
No honour in God’s church ought to be taken where a man is not called, as Aaron.
It is a great honour in God’s church to sacrifice for sin:
Therefore, no man ought to sacrifice for sin, but only they which are called.
But only Christ is called to that honour.
Therefore, no other priest but Christ ought to sacrifice for sin. That no man is called to this degree of honour but Christ alone, it is evident. For there are but two only orders of priesthood allowed in the word of God; namely, the order of Aaron, and the order of Melchisedech. But now the order of Aaron is come to an end, by reason that it was unprofitable and weak; and of the order of Melchisedech there is but one priest alone, even Christ the Lord, which hath a priesthood that cannot pass to any other.

An Argument.

That thing is in vain, and to no effect, where no necessity is wherefore it is done.
To offer up any more sacrifice propitiatory for the quick and the dead, there is no necessity; for Christ our Saviour did that fully and perfectly once for all.
Therefore, to do the same in the mass, it is in vain.

Another Argument.

After that eternal redemption is found and obtained, there needeth no more daily offering for the same.
But Christ coming an high bishop, &c. found and obtained for us eternal redemption.
Therefore, there needeth now no more daily oblation for the sins of the quick and the dead.

Another Argument.

All remission of sins cometh only by shedding of blood.
In the mass there is no shedding of blood. Therefore, in the mass there is no remission of sins; and so it followeth also that there is no propitiatory sacrifice.

Another Argument.

In the mass, the passion of Christ is not in verity, but in a mystery, representing the same: yea, even there, where the Lord’s supper is duly administered.

But, where Christ suffereth not, there is he not offered in verity: For the apostle saith, “Not that he might offer up himself oftentimes (for then must he have suffered oftentimes since the beginning of the world;)” now where Christ is not offered, there is not propitiatory sacrifice:

Therefore, in the mass there is no propitiatory sacrifice: “For Christ appeared once in the latter end of the world, to put sin to flight by the offering up of himself. And, as it is appointed to all men, that they shall once die, and then cometh the judgment; even so Christ was once offered to take away the sins of many. And unto them that look for him, shall he appear again without sin unto salvation.”

Another Argument.

Where there is any sacrifice that can make the comers thereunto perfect, there ought men to cease from offering any more expiatory and propitiatory sacrifices.

But in the New Testament there is one only sacrifice, now already long since offered, which is able to make the comers thereto perfect for ever.

Therefore, in the New Testament they ought to cease from offering any more propitiatory sacrifices.

Sentences of Scripture tending to the same End and Purpose, out of which also may be gathered other manifest Arguments for more Confirmation thereof.

“By the which will (saith the apostle) we are sanctified, by the offering up of the body of Jesus Christ once for all.” And in the same place, “But this man, after that he had offered one sacrifice for sin, sitteth for ever at the right hand of God, &c. For with one offering hath he made perfect for ever them that are sanctified, and by himself hath he purged our sins.” I beseech you to mark these words [by himself] the which, well weighed, will without doubt cease all controversy.

The apostle plainly denieth any other sacrifice to remain for him that treadeth under his feet the blood of the Testament, by the which he was made holy. Christ will not be crucified again, he will not his death to be had in derision.

“He hath reconciled us in the body of his flesh.” Mark, I beseech you, he saith not, in the mystery of his body; but in the body of his flesh.

“If any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous, and he is the propitiation for our sins, not for ours only, but for the sins of the whole world.”

I know, that all these places of the scripture are avoided by two manner of subtle shifts: the one is, by the distinction of the bloody and unbloody sacrifice, as though our unbloody sacrifice of the church were any other than the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, than a commemoration, a shewing forth, and a sacramental representation, of that one only bloody sacrifice, offered up once for all.

The other is, by depraving and wresting the sayings of the ancient fathers unto such a strange kind of sense, as the fathers themselves indeed never meant. For what the meaning of the fathers was, is evident by that which St. Augustine writeth in his epistle to Boniface, and in the 83d chapter of his ninth book against Faustus the Manichee, besides many other places; likewise by Eusebius, Emisene, Cyprian, Chrysostom, Fulgentius, Bertram, and others, which do wholly concord and agree together in this unity of the Lord, that the redemption, once made in verity for the salvation of man, continueth in full effect for ever, and worketh without ceasing, unto the end of the world, that the sacrifice once offered cannot be consumed; that the Lord’s death and passion is as effectual, the virtue of that blood once shed as fresh at this day, for the washing away of sins, as it was even the same day that it flowed out of the blessed side of our Saviour: And finally, That the whole substance of our sacrifice, which is frequented of the church in the Lord’s supper, consisteth in prayers, praise, and giving of thanks, and in
remembering and shewing forth of that sacrifice once offered upon the altar of the cross; that the same might continually be had in reverence by mystery, which once only, and no more, was offered for the price of our redemption.

These are the things (right worshipful Mr. Prolocutor, and ye the rest of the commissioners) which I could presently prepare to the answering of your three aforesaid propositions, being destitute of all help in this shortness of time, sudden warning, and want of books. Wherefore I appeal to my first protestation, most humbly desiring the help of the same (as much as may be) to be granted unto me. And because ye have lately given most unjust and cruel sentence against me, I do here appeal (so far forth as I may) to a more indifferent and just censure and judgment of some other superior, competent, and lawful judge, and that according to the approved state of the church of England. Howbeit, I confess, that I am ignorant what that is at this present, through the trouble and alteration of the state of the realm. But, if this appeal may not be granted to me upon each, then do I fly (even as to my only refuge and alone heaven of health) to the sentence of the eternal Judge, that is, of the Almighty God, to whose most merciful justice towards us, and most just mercifulness, I do wholly commit myself and all my cause, nothing at all despairing of the defence of mine Advocate and alone Saviour Jesus Christ, to whom, with the everlasting Father and the Holy Spirit, the sanctifier of us all, be, now and for ever, all honour and glory. Amen.

Albeit this learned bishop was not suffered to read all that is above prefixed before the disputations, yet because he had it then ready, and offered it up to the prolocutor after the disputations and sentence pronounced, I thought here the place not unmeet to annex the same, together with the rest. Now let us hear the arguments and answers between Dr. Smith and him, to be narrated in the next chapter.

CHAP. XIV.

Continuation of the Disputation with Bishop Ridley.

When Dr. Smith began to oppose, he said, "You have occasioned me to go otherwise to work with you, than I had thought to have done. Meseemed you did in your supposition abuse the testimonies of scripture concerning the ascension of Christ, to take away his presence by the sacrament, as though this were a strong argument to enforce your matter withal. Christ did ascend into heaven; therefore, he is not in the sacrament. Now, therefore, I will go about to disprove this reason of yours. Christ's ascension is no lett to his real presence in the sacrament; therefore you are deceived, whereas you do ground yourself upon those places." To this Ridley answered, "You import as though I had made strange argument by Christ's going up into heaven. But howsoever mine argument is made, you collect it not rightly. For it doth not only stay upon his ascension, but upon his ascension and his abiding there also." Then Smith said, that both these "hinder not his real presence in the sacrament; therefore, you are deceived." But Ridley replied, "Of Christ's real presence there may be a double understanding; if you take the real presence of Christ, according to the real and corporeal substance which he took of the virgin, that presence, being in heaven, cannot be on earth also. But, if you mean a real presence, according to something that appertaineth to Christ's body, certes [certainly] the ascension and abiding in heaven are no lett at all to that presence. Wherefore Christ's body after that sort is here present to us in the Lord's supper; by grace, I say, as Epiphanius speaketh it."

Then Weston remarked, "I will cut off from henceforth all equivocation and doubt. For whensoever we speak of Christ's body, we mean that which he took of the virgin," but Ridley replied, "Christ's ascension and abiding in heaven cannot stand with his presence." Then said Smith, "Christ appeared corporally and really on the earth, for all (notwithstanding is here meant, being a provincial expression) his ascension and continual abide in heaven until the day of doom; therefore, his ascension and abiding in heaven is no lett to his real presence in the sacrament." To which Ridley replied, "Mr. Doctor, this argument is nothing worth. I do not straitly tie Christ up in heaven, that he may not come into the earth at his pleasure. For when he will, he may come down from heaven, and be on the earth,
as it liketh himself. Howbeit, I do affirm, That it is not possible for him to be both in heaven and earth at one time.” Upon this Smith exclaimed, “Mark, I pray you, my masters that be here, diligently what he answereth: First, he saith, That the sitting of Christ at the right hand of his Father, is a lett to the real presence of his body in the sacrament; and then afterward he filleth from it again.” Then Ridley said, “I would not have you think, that I do imagine or dream upon any such manner of sitting as these men here sit in the school;” from which Smith thus inferred, “Therefore, it is lawful for Christ then to be here present on the earth, when he will himself;” and Ridley rejoined, “Yea, when he will, it is lawful indeed.” On which Smith drew another inference, “Therefore, he ascending into heaven, doth not restrain his real presence in the sacrament.” Then said Ridley, “I do not gainsay, but that it is lawful for him to appear on the earth, when he will, but prove you that he will;” when Smith replied, “Then your answer dependeth upon the will of Christ, I perceive; therefore, I will join again with you in that short argument. Christ, albeit he doth alway abide in heaven after his ascension, was seen really and corporally on earth; therefore, notwithstanding his ascension and continual sitting at the right hand of his Father, he may be really and corporally in the sacrament.” To which Ridley answered, “If the notaries should so record your argument as you have framed it, you peradventure would be ashamed of it hereafter.” Then Smith again said, “Christ, after his ascension, was seen really and corporally upon the earth; therefore, notwithstanding his ascension and abiding with his Father, he may be corporally in the sacrament:” when Ridley said, “I grant the antecedent, but I deny the consequence.” Then Smith exultingly replied, “Do you grant the antecedent?” when Ridley again said, “Yea, I grant the antecedent. I am content to let you have so much; because I know that there be certain ancient fathers of that opinion. I am well content to let you use that proposition as true; and I will frame the argument for you. He was seen on earth after his ascension; therefore, &c.” But Smith said, “Nay, nay, I will frame it myself. Christ, after his ascension, was seen really and corporally on earth, albeit he do abide in heaven continually; there-
Christ in all places, both perfect here and perfect there, one only body.' Now thus I argue: We offer one thing at all times: There is one Christ in all places, both here and there complete; therefore, by Chrysostom, there is one body both in heaven and earth.” On this Ridley said, “I remember the place well. These things make nothing against me;” and then Weston said, “One Christ is in all places, here full and there full;” but Ridley answered, “One Christ is in all places, but not one body in all places,” when Weston remarked, “One body, says Chrysostom,” and Ridley replied, “but not after the manner of bodily substance he is in all places, nor by circumcryption of place. For here and there [hic et illic] in Chrysostom do assign no place, as Augustine saith, The Lord is above, but the truth of the Lord is in all places.” Then Weston said, “You cannot so escape. He saith not, the verity of Christ is one; but one Christ is in all places, both here and there;” and Ridley said, “One sacrifice is in all places, because of the unity of him whom the sacrifice doth signify; not that the sacrifices be all one and the same;” whence Weston made this inference, “Therefore, by your saying, it is not Christ, but the sacrifice of Christ, though Chrysostom saith, One body and one Christ is there, and not one sacrifice.”

It was then answered by Ridley, “I say, that both Christ and the sacrifice of Christ is there: Christ by spirit, grace, and verity; the sacrifice by signification. Thus I grant with Chrysostom, that there is one host or sacrifice, and not many; and this our host is called one, by reason of the unity of that one, which one only all our hosts do represent. The only host was never other, but that which was offered on the altar of the cross, of which host all our hosts are but sacramental examples. And where you alledge out of Chrysostom, that Christ is offered in many places at once, both here full Christ, and there full Christ, I grant it to be true; that is, that Christ is offered in many places at once, in a mystery and sacramentally, and that he is full Christ in all those places; but not after the corporal substance of our flesh which he took, but after the benediction which gives life; and he is given to the godly receivers in bread and wine, as Cyril speaketh; concerning the oblation of Christ, whereof Chrysostom here speaketh, he him-

self doth clearly shew what he meaneth thereby, in saying by the way of correction, ‘We always do the self-same, howbeit by the recordation or remembrance of his sacrifice.” Then said Weston, “The second witness is Bernard, in a sermon that he made of the supper of the Lord, who saith, ‘How cometh this to us, most gentle Jesus, that we silly worms, creeping on the face of the earth, that we, I say, which are but dust and ashes, may deserve to have thee present in our hands, and before our eyes, who both together, full and whole, doth sit at the right hand of the Father, and who also in the moment of one hour, from the rising of the sun to the going down of the same, art present one and the self-same in many and divers places?’ To this Ridley replied, “These words of Bernard make for you nothing at all. But I know that Bernard was in such a time, that in this matter he may worthily be suspected. He hath many good and fruitful sayings; as also in the same fore-said place by you alledged. But yet he followed in such an age, when as the doctrine of the holy supper was sore perverted. Notwithstanding, yet I will expound him, rather than reject him, that he will make nothing for you at all. He saith, that we have Christ in a mystery, in a sacrament, under a veil or cover, but hereafter shall have him without veil or cover. In the mean time, here now he saith, That the verity of Christ is every-where. The verity of Christ is both here and there, and in all places.”

Upon this Weston asked, “What do you call verity? He saith not the verity of Christ, but the verity of the body of Christ;” and Ridley replied, “The verity of the body of Christ is the true faith of the body of Christ; after that verity he is with them which truly believe upon him.” Then said Weston, “Christ is one and the same in divers places. I urge these words [in divers places] and yet I am not satisfied;” and Smith said, “Christ was seen really and corporally on the earth after his ascension, and continually sitting at the right hand of the Father; therefore, the ascension and perpetual sitting in heaven hinder nothing, but that he may be really and corporally in the sacrament.” To which Ridley replied, “If by perpetual sitting you mean the residence of his body in heaven, your reason containeth manifest contradiction;” but Smith said, “These
two have no contradiction in them at all, both to sit continually at his Father's right hand, and also to be seen here really on earth after his ascension. First, You will give me, that Christ sitteth in heaven at the right hand of the Father. For so it is written, Acts 5, 'Heaven must receive him unto the time of the resting of all,' &c. Secondly, he was also seen of Paul here corporally on earth. Wherefore these two do import, as ye see, no contradiction." Then Ridley observed, "What letteth, but that Christ, if it please him, and when it pleaseth him, may be in heaven and in earth, and appear to whom he will? And yet notwithstanding, you have not yet proved that he will do so. And, though Christ continually shall be resident in heaven unto the judgment, yet there may be some intermission, that notwithstanding. But this controversy, as I said, is amongst all the ancient doctors and writers. And that Christ hath here been seen, that they grant all: but whether then he being in earth or in heaven, that is doubtful." Then said Smith, "I will prove, that he would appear on earth. He so would, and also did appear here in earth after his ascension; therefore, &c." To which Ridley said, "He appeared, I grant; but how he appeared, whether then being in heaven or in earth, that is uncertain. So he appeared to Stephen, being then corporally sitting in heaven. For, speaking after the true manner of man's body, when he is in heaven, he is not the same time in earth; and when he is in earth, he is not the same time corporally in heaven."

To this argument Smith observed, "Christ hath been both in heaven and in earth all at one time; therefore, you are deceived in denying that;" when Ridley answered, "I do not utterly deny Christ here to have been seen on earth. Of uncertain things I speak uncertainly." On this Smith said, "He was seen of Paul, as being born before his time, after his ascending up to heaven, 1 Cor. 15. But his vision was a corporal vision; therefore, he was seen corporally upon the earth after his ascending into heaven:" but Ridley replied, "He was seen really and corporally indeed: but whether being in heaven or earth, is a doubt. And of doubtful things we must judge doubtfully. Howbeit you must prove, that he was in heaven at the same time, when he was corporally on earth." Then said Smith, "I would know of you, whether this vision may enforce the resurrection of Christ;" and Ridley admitted, "I account this a sound and firm argument to prove the resurrection. But whether they saw him in heaven or in earth, I am in doubt; and, to say the truth, it maketh no great matter. Both ways, the argument is of like strength. For whether he were seen in heaven, or whether he were seen on earth, either of both maketh sufficiently for the matter. Certain it is, he rose again; for he could not have been seen, unless he had risen again." Again Smith remarked, "Paul saw him, as he was here conversant on earth, and not out of heaven, as you affirm:" but Ridley observed, "You run to the beginning again; that you take for granted, which you should have proved." Then observed Smith, "You make delays for the nonce;" but replied Ridley, "Say not so, I pray you. Those that hear us be learned; they can tell both what you oppose and what I answer well enough, I warrant you." Then Tresham interposed, "He was seen after such sort as that he might be heard; therefore, he was corporally on the earth, or else how could he be heard?" To which Ridley observed, "He that found the means for Stephen to behold him in heaven, even he could bring to pass well enough, that Paul might hear him out of heaven." Then Smith retorted, "As other saw him, so Paul saw him: Other did see him visibly and corporally on earth; therefore, Paul saw him visibly and corporally on earth;" and Ridley granted that "he was seen visibly and corporally; but yet have you not proved, that he was seen on earth." To this Smith replied, "He was seen of him as of other: But he was seen of other being on earth, and appeared visibly to them on earth; therefore, he was seen of Paul on earth." Ridley, in answer, said, "Your controversy is about his being on earth; but if [existere] to be, be referred as unto the place, I deny that Christ after that sort was on earth. But, if it be referred to the verity of the body, then I grant it. Moreover, I say, that Christ was seen of men on earth after his ascension, it is certain; for he was seen of Stephen; he was seen also of Paul. But whether he descended unto the earth, or whether he, being in heaven, did reveal or manifest himself to Paul, when Paul was wrapt into the third heaven, I know that
some contend about it: and the scripture, as far as I have read or heard, doth not determine it. Whereas we cannot but judge uncertainly of those things which be uncertain." To this Smith observed, 'We have Egesippus and Linus against you, which testify that Christ appeared corporally on the earth to Peter after his ascension: 'Peter, overcome with the requests and mournings of the people, which desired him to get him out of the city, because of Nero's lying in wait for him, began without company to convey himself away from there: And, when he was come to the gate, he seeth Christ come to meet him; and worshipping him, he said, Master, whither walk you?' Christ answered, I am come again to be crucified.' Linus, writing of the passion of Peter, hath the self-same story. St. Ambrose hath the same likewise, and also Abdias, scholar to the apostles, which saw Christ before his ascending into heaven. With what face, therefore, dare you affirm it to be a thing uncertain, which these men do manifestly witness to have been done?' But Ridley observed, "I said before, that the doctors in that matter did vary;" when Smith said, "Do you think this story is not certain, being approved by so ancient and probable authority?" and Ridley replied, "I do so think, because I take and esteem not their words for the words of scripture. And though I did grant you that story to be certain, yet it maketh not against me." And to this Smith said, "Such things as be certain and approved of them, you do reject as things uncertain;" but Ridley asserted, that the story of Linus is not of so great authority; although I am not ignorant, that Eusebius so writeth also in the story of the church. And yet I account not these men's reports so sure as the canonical scriptures. Albeit if at any time he had to any man appeared here on the earth after his ascension, that doth not disprove my saying. For I go not about to tie Christ up in fetters, (as some do untruly report of us,) but that he may be seen upon the earth, according to his divine pleasure, whencesoever it liketh him. But we affirm, that it is contrary to the nature of his manhood, and the true manner of his body, that he should be together and at one instant both in heaven and earth, according to his corporal substance. And the perpetual sitting at the right hand of the Father, may (I grant) be taken for the stability of Christ's kingdom, and of his continual or everlasting equality with his Father in the glory of heaven." Then said Smith, "Now whereas you boast, that your faith is the very faith of the ancient church, I will shew here that it is not so; but that it doth directly strive against the faith of the old fathers, I will bring in Chrysostom for this point. 'Eliseus received the mantle as a right excellent inheritance. For it was indeed a right excellent inheritance, and more precious than any gold beside. And the same was a double Helias: He was both Helias above, and Helias beneath. I know well, you think that just man to be happy, and you would gladly be every one of you as he is. What will you then say, if I shall declare unto you a certain other thing, which all we that are endued with these holy mysteries do receive much more than that? Helias indeed left his mantle to his scholar: But the Son of God ascending did here leave his flesh unto us. Helias left it, putting off the same; but Christ both left it to us, and ascended also to heaven, having it with him." After him Ridley again observed, "I grant that Christ did both; that is, both took up his flesh with him ascending up, and also did leave the same behind him with us, but after a diverse manner and respect. For he took his flesh with him, after the true and corporal substance of his body and flesh: again he left the same in mystery to the faithful in the supper, to be received after a spiritual communication, and by grace. Neither is the same received in the supper only, but also at other times, by hearing the gospel, and by faith. For, the bread which we break is the communication of the body of Christ: And, generally, unless ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye shall have no life in you." Then again said Smith, "Chrysostom saith: 'O miracle, O good will of God! he that sitteth above at the sacrifice time is contained in the hands of men.' Or else, as other have translated it, thus: "O miracle, O the gentleness of God! He that sitteth above with the Father is handled with the hands of all men at the very same moment of time, and doth himself deliver himself to them that are desirous to take and embrace him." It was next observed by Ridley, "He that sitteth there is here present in mystery and by
grace, and is holden of the godly, such as communicate him, not only sacramentally with the hand of the body, but much more wholesomely with the hand of the heart, and by inward drinking is received; but by the sacramental signification he is holden of all men." On this, Seaton interposed a question, "Where is the miracle, if he be only present through his grace and mystery only?" which Ridley answered, "Yes, there is a miracle, great sir; Christ is not idle in his sacraments. Is not the miracle great, trow you, when bread, which is wont to sustain the body, becometh food to the soul? He that understandeth not that miracle, he understandeth not the force of that mystery. God grant, we may every one of us understand his truth, and obey the same." Then said Smith, "Chrysostom calleth it a miracle, that Christ sitteth at the right hand of God in heaven, and at the same time is held in the hands of men; not that he is handled with the hands of men, only in a mystery, and is with them through grace. Therefore, while you deny that, you are altogether deceived, and stray far from the truth.

Then was Dr. Smith relieved by Harpsfleld, who said, "The former part of Chrysostom is not to be let slip. Let me, before I begin, ask this one question of you. Is it not a great matter, that Elias left his cloak or mantle, and the gift of his prophecy to his scholar?" Dr. Ridley admitted this question and the next, "Did not Elias then leave great grace?" Then Harpsfleld said, "But Christ left a far greater grace than Elias; for he could not both leave his cloak, and take it with him; Christ did both in his flesh:" when Ridley said, "I am well content to grant, that Christ left much greater things to us than Elias to Eliseus, albeit he be said to have left his double spirit with him; for that the strength and grace of the body of Christ, which Christ ascending up here left us, is the only salvation and life of all men which shall be saved; which life Christ hath here left unto us, to be received by faith through the hearing of the word, and the right administration of the sacraments. This virtue and grace Chrysostom, after the phrase and manner of John the evangelist, calleth Christ's flesh." Harpsfleld then observed, "But Christ performed a great matter. He carried up, and left behind. You understand not the comparison. The comparison is in this, That Elias left his mantle, and carried it not with him; Christ left his flesh behind him, and carried it with him also." To this Ridley asserted, "True it is, and I myself did affirm no less before. Now where you seem to speak many things, indeed you bring no new things at all. Let there be a comparison between grace and grace, then Christ gave the far greater grace, when he did insert or graft us into his flesh." Again Harpsfleld said, "If you will give me leave, I will ask you this question. If Chrysostom would have meant so, that Christ left his body in the eucharist, what plainer words, think you, or more evident, could he have used than these?" But Ridley observed, "These things be not of so great force as they bear a great shew outwardly. He might also have used grosser words, if he had listed to have uttered his mind so grossly, for he was an eloquent man. Now he speaketh after the manner of other doctors, which of mystical matters speak mystically; and of sacraments, sacramentally."

Harpfield then said, "The comparison lieth in this; That which was impossible to Elias, is possible with Christ," which Ridley granted, and also that "Elias left his cloak, but Christ both left his flesh, and took it with him;" and, after another observation from Harpsfleld to the same purpose, added, "He took up his flesh with him to heaven and left here the communion of his flesh in earth."

And now Weston relieved Harpsfleld, observing, "You understand in the first place his flesh for very true flesh; and, in the second place, for grace, and communion of his flesh: and why do you not understand it in the second place also for his true flesh? I will make it evident how blockish and gross your answer is." But to this Ridley replied, "These be taunts and reproaches, not beseeming, as I think, the modesty of this school." Upon this Weston observed, that "Elias left his cloak to his disciples; but the Son of God, going up to heaven, left his flesh; that Elias certainly left his cloak behind, and Christ likewise his flesh, and yet ascending he carried the same with him too. By which words we make this reason: Christ left his flesh to his disciples, and yet for all that he took the same up with him; therefore, he is present here with us." Here Dr. Weston, crying to the people, said unto them, "Mr. Doctor answereth it after
this fashion: He carried his flesh into heaven, and he left the communion of his flesh behind. Assuredly the answer is too unlearned.” To this Ridley answered, “I am glad you speak in English, and I wish that all the world might understand your reasons and my answers. He left his flesh. This you understand of his flesh, and I understand the same of grace. He carried his flesh into heaven, and left behind the communion of his flesh unto us.” Then Weston exclaimed, “Ye judges, what think you of this answer?” who replied, “It is ridiculous, and a very fond answer.” And to this Ridley calmly observed, “Well, I take your words patiently for Christ’s sake.” On this, Weston cited a place, “We are sprinkled with the blood of Christ;” to which Ridley replied, pertinently, as I conceive, “Mr. Doctor, it is the same blood, but yet spiritually received, and indeed all the prophets were sprinkled with the same blood, but yet spiritually, I say, and by grace. And whatsoever (this is Mr. Fox’s expression, for whosoever) they be, that are not sprinkled with this blood, they cannot be partakers of this everlasting salvation.” Then said Weston, “Here I bring Bernard unto you again, Even from the west unto the east, from the north unto the south, there is one and the self-same Christ in many and divers places.”

On such an observation, no wonder that Ridley should remark, “The answer is soon made, that one Christ is here and in divers places. For God, according to his majesty, and according to his providence, as St. Augustine saith, is every where with the godly, according to his invisible and unspeakable grace. Or else, if ye would understand Bernard according to the corporal presence, how monstrous, or huge and giant-like a body would you then make Christ’s body to be, which would reach even from north to south, from west to east?” To which Weston replied, “Nay, nay, you make a monstrous answer, and unlearned,” and Ward added, “Before I come in with those reasons which I had purposed to bring against you, I am minded to come again to Mr. Doctor’s argument, by which your being brought into the briars, seemed to doubt of Christ’s presence on the earth. To the proof of this matter, I will bring nothing else than that which was agreed upon in the catechism of the city of London, set out not long ago by you.” But Ridley replied, “Sir, I give you to wit, before you go any farther, that I did set out no catechism;” but Weston affirmed, that he made a person subscribe to it, when he was a bishop in his ruff; and he replied, “I compelled no man to subscribe.” Then said Ward, “Yes, by rood, you are the very author of that heresy;” but he answered, “I put forth no catechism.” Cole then demanded, “Did you never consent to the setting out of those things, which you allowed?” when Ridley granted, “I saw the book, but I deny that I wrote it. I perused it after it was made, and I noted many things for it. I consented to the book, but I was not the author of it.” Then the judges observed, “The catechism is so set forth, as though the whole convocation-house had agreed to it. Cranmer said yesterday, that you made it.” This audacious assertion was contradicted by Ridley, in these words: “I think, surely, that he would not say so:” and from this we may collect with what degree of liberality this discussion was conducted. Then again Ward replied, “The catechism hath this clause, If visibly on the earth;” to which Ridley answered, “that those articles were set out, I both writing and consenting to them. Mine own hand will testify the same, and Mr. Cranmer put his hand to them likewise, and gave to other afterward. Now, as for the place you alleged out of it, that may easily be expounded, and without any inconvenience.”

Then Ward started a new subject, “Christ is the power and virtue of his Father; therefore, he was not of so little strength, that he could not bring to pass whatsoever he would himself.” This Dr. Ridley granted. Then said Weston, “Christ was the wisdom of his Father; therefore, That he spake, he spake wisely, and so as every man might understand; neither was it his mind to speak one thing instead of another;” which also was granted. Then said Ward again, “Christ was likewise the very truth: therefore, he made and performed indeed that which he intended to make. And likewise it is, that he doth neither deceive, nor could be deceived, nor yet would go about to deceive other;” and then Weston observed, “Hilarius hath these words: ‘All God’s words or sayings are true, and neither idly placed, or unprofitably, but fiery, and wonderful fiery, without all doubtfulness of superfluous vanity,
that there may be nothing thought to be there, which is not absolute and proper." And again said Ward, "He is the truth of the Father; therefore, he can neither deceive, nor yet be deceived; especially I mean when he spake at his latter end, and his Testament." To this Ridley replied, "Christ is the very truth of the Father, and I perceive well to what scope you drive your reason. This is but a far-fetched compass of words. If that these words of Christ, This is my body, which you mean, be rightly understood, they are most true." Then said Ward, "He took, he brake, he gave, &c. What took he?" and Ridley answered, "Bread, his body;" and to the questions, "What brake he? What gave he?" he answered, "Bread." Then said Ward, "Gave he bread made of wheat, and material bread?" to which Ridley replied, "I know not whether he gave bread made of wheat; but he gave true and material bread." Then retorted Ward, "I will prove the contrary by scriptures. He delivered to them that which he bade them take: But he bade not them take material bread, but his own body; therefore, he gave not material bread, but his own body." To this Ridley replied, "I deny the minor. For he bade them take his body sacramentally in material bread, and after that sort it was both bread which he bade them take, because the substance was bread; and it was also his body, because it was the sacrament of his body, for the sanctifying and the coming of the Holy Ghost, which is always assistant to those mysteries which were instituted of Christ, and lawfully administered."

And now Harpsfield interposed, "What is he that so saith, By the coming unto of the Holy Spirit?" when Ridley answered, "I have Theophylact for mine author for this manner of speaking And here I bring him, that ye may understand that phrase not to be mine, upon Matthew 26. Furthermore the said Theophylact, writing upon these words, This is my body, sheweth, that the body of the Lord is bread, which is sanctified on the altar." But, said Ogle, "That place of Theophylact maketh openly against you; for he saith in that place, that Christ said not, This is the figure of my body, but my body. For, saith he, by an unspeakable operation it is transformed, although it seem to us to be bread." But Ridley replied, "It is not a figure, that is to say, It is not only a figure of his body;"

on which Weston said, "Where have you that word only?" and Ridley answered, "It is not in that place, but he hath it in another; and Augustine doth so speak many times, and other doctors more."

Weston then, repeating the words of Theophylact in English, said, "He saith it is no figure; and you say it is a figure; and the same Theophylact saith moreover, that the converting or turning of the bread is made into the Lord's flesh. That which Christ gave, we do give. But that which he gave was not a figure of his body: therefore, we give no figure, but his body." As concerning the authority of Theophylact, what he thought and might have spoken of that author, Dr. Ridley did not then speak, nor could conveniently, (as he himself afterward declared, reporting and writing with his own hand the disputations in the prison, (because of the uproars and clamours, which were so great, and he of so many called upon, that he could not answer as he would, and what he thought touching the authority of Theophylact, but answered simply to that which is brought out of that author on this sort.

"I grant (quoth he) the bread to be converted and turned into the flesh of Christ, but not by transubstantiation, but by sacramental conversion or turning. It is transformed, saith Theophylact, in the same place, by a mystical benediction, and by the accession or coming of the Holy Ghost unto the flesh of Christ. He saith not, by expulsion or driving away the substance of bread, and by substituting or putting in its place the corporal substance of Christ's flesh. And where he saith, it is not a figure of the body, we should understand that saying, as he himself doth elsewhere add [only,] that is, it is no naked or bare figure only. For Christ is present in his mysteries, neither at any time, as Cyprian saith, doth the Divine Majesty absent himself from the Divine Mysteries."

Upon this said Weston, "You put in only, and that is one lie. And I tell you farther, Peter Martyr was fain to deny the author, because the place was so plain against him. But mark his words, how he saith, It is no figure, but his flesh." To this said Ridley, "Take his words, and not his meaning, is to do injury to the author;" when Harpsfield replied, "No
other doctor maketh more against you; for the words in Greek are μεταστασεις, which is, turned from one element into another; and shewing the cause why it is in form of bread, he saith, Because we are infirm, and abhor to eat the raw flesh, especially the flesh of man; therefore, it appeareth bread, but it is flesh.” But to this Ridley replied, “That word hath not that strength, which you seem to give it. You strain it overmuch, and yet it maketh not so much for your purpose. For the same author hath in another place, ἡμεῖς μεταστασείσασθαι; that is, We are transelemented, or transformed, and changed into the body of Christ. And so by that word, in such meaning as you speak of, I could prove as well that we are transformed indeed into the very body of Christ.” Then said Ward, “Learned Mr. Doctor, thus you expound the place, This is my body; that is, a figure of my body;” but Ridley answered, “Although I know there be some that so expound it, yet that exposition is not full to express the whole.” Again, said Ward, “My sheep hear my voice, and follow me: But all the sheep of Christ hear his voice, This is my body, without a figure; therefore the voice of Christ here hath no figure.” Ridley then observed, “The sheep of Christ follow the voice of Christ, unless they be seduced and deceived through ignorance.” Weston then said, “The fathers took this place for no figurative speech;” whereas Ridley asserted, “They do all number this place among figurative and tropical speeches.”

Justin Martyr was then quoted by Ward, from his second apology, and thus translated by him, “For we do not take this for common bread and drink, but like as Jesus Christ our Saviour, incarnate by the Word of God, had flesh and blood for our salvation; even so we be taught the food wherewith our flesh and blood is nourished by alteration, when it is consecrated by the prayer of his Word, to be the flesh and blood of the same Jesus incarnate.” But, adds he, “Dr. Cranmer hath thus translated it: ‘Bread, water, and wine, are not to be taken as other common meats and drinks be, but they be ordained purposely to give thanks to God, and therefore be called Eucharistia, and be called the body and blood of Christ; and that it is lawful for none to eat and drink of them, but such as profess Christ, and live according to the same: and yet the same meat and drink is changed into our flesh and blood, and nourisheth our bodies.” Having done this, Ridley exclaimed, “O good Mr. Doctor, go sincerely to work; I know that place, and I know how it is used;” and on this Ward again quoted the place out of Justin; when Ridley retorted, “O what upright dealing is this! I have the self-same place of Justin here copied out. You know yourself, which are skilful in Greek, how the words here be removed out of the right place, and without any just cause.” But Ward, persisting in his argument, was answered, “If you will that I should answer to Justin, then you must hear. I have but one tongue; I cannot answer at once to you all.” Weston then advanced this argument: “Christ gave us his very and true flesh to be eaten: But he never gave it to be eaten but in his last supper, and in the sacrament of the altar; therefore, there is the very flesh of Christ.” To this said Ridley, “If you speak of the very true flesh of Christ, after the substance of his flesh taken in the womb of the Virgin Mary, and not by grace spiritually, I then do deny the first part of your reason. But, if you understand it of the true flesh, after grace and spiritual communication, I then grant the first part, and deny the second. For he gave unto us truly his flesh, to be eaten of all that believe in him. For he is the very and true meat of the soul, wherewith we are fed unto everlasting life, according to his saying, My flesh is meat indeed, &c.”

But Ward thus replied, by way of paraphrase, “I have desired with my hearty desire to eat this paschal with you. What paschal, I pray you, desired he to eat? If you stand in doubt, you have Tertullian against Marcion: He, therefore, protesting a great desire to eat his paschal, his own paschal, I say, (for it was not meet that he should desire any other than his own,) taking bread and distributing it to his disciples, made it his body, saying, this is my body, &c. Did he understand by this paschal the Judaical lamb, or that which afterwards he gave in his supper?” And to this Ridley replied, “I suppose that the first he understood of the Judaical passover, and afterwards of the eucharist.” On this said Ward, “Tertullian is against you, which saith, He desired to eat his passover: But the Judaical passover was not his, but
strange from Christ; therefore, he meant not of the Judaical passover.” Ridley then replied, “The Judaical passover was not strange from Christ, but his own, insomuch as he is the Lord of all; and as well the Lord of the Judaical passover, as of his own supper.” To this Ward rejoined, “What answer you then to Tertullian, the which saith, He desired to eat his own passover, and not the Jewish passover, which stood upon words without flesh?” Ridley then observed, “Tertullian may here daily in sense analogical. I know that Cyprian hath these words—He began then to institute the holy eucharist, but both were Christ’s.”

Then Ward proceeded with a quotation from “Augustine, in Psalm 96, writing upon these words, ‘Worship his footstool,’ &c. I ask (saith he) what is the footstool of his feet? and the scripture telleth me, The earth is the footstool of my feet. And so in searching thereof I turn myself to Christ, because I seek him here in the earth, and find how, without impiety, the footstool of his feet may be worshipped; for he took earth of earth, in that he is flesh and earth, and of the flesh of Mary he took flesh, and because that in the same flesh here he walked, and also he gave the same flesh to us to be eaten unto salvation. But no man eateth that flesh, except he have worshipped before. And so it is found, how such a footstool of the feet of the Lord is to be worshipped; so that not only we sin in not worshipping, but also do sin in not worshipping the same. He gave to us his flesh to be eaten, the which he took of the earth, in which also here he walked, &c. But he never gave his flesh to be eaten, but when he gave it at his supper, saying, This is my body; therefore, in the eucharist he gave us his flesh.” But Ridley told him, that he had alleged “Austin upon the 98th Psalm, where he saith, that Christ gave his flesh to be eaten which he took of the earth, and in which here he walked; inferring hereupon, that Christ never gave the same his flesh to be eaten, but only in the eucharist: I deny your minor; for he gave it both in the eucharist to be eaten, and also otherwise, as well in the word, as also upon the cross.” To this Smith observed, “What if Augustine say, that Christ did not only give himself to us in a figure, but gave his own very flesh indeed and really?” Ridley then replied, “I never said that Christ gave only a figure of his body. For, indeed, he gave himself in a real communication, that is, he gave his flesh after a communication of his flesh.” Weston then “read the place of Augustine in English, and afterward said, ‘Ye say, Christ gave not his body, but a figure of his body;’ which Ridley denied, adding, ‘I say he gave his own body verily, but he gave it by a real, effectual, and spiritual communication.”

CHAP. XV.

Conclusion of the Disputation with Doctor Ridley.

We now come to that part of the ordeal, when Dr. Glin commenced his opposition, though the bishop had always considered him as his old friend. He began with a very contumelious preface, which, on that account, was felt more severely. But he considered that Dr. Glin might feel disposed to serve the time, because he afterwards, on visiting him at the house of confinement, desired, in the presence of Dr. Young and Dr. Oglethorpe, that Ridley would be pleased to pardon his words, or to that effect, to the best of the bishop’s remembrance. This he not only did from his heart, but earnestly wished, that “God would give not only to him, but unto all other, the true and evident knowledge of God’s evangelical sincerity, that all offences put apart, they being perfectly and fully reconciled, might agree and meet together in the house of the heavenly Father.”

The opening of this investigation was by this question of Dr. Glin: “I see that you elude or shift away all scriptures and fathers; I will go to work with you after another sort. Christ hath here his church known in earth, of which you were once a child, although now you speak contumeliously of the sacraments.” To this Ridley replied, “This is a grievous contumely, that you call me a shifter away of the scripture, and of the doctors; as, touching the sacraments, I never yet spake contumeliously of them. I grant, that Christ hath here his church in earth; but that church did ever receive and acknowledge the eucharist to be a sacrament of the body of Christ, yet not the body of Christ really, but the body of Christ by grace.” Then said Dr. Glin, “I ask
this question, Whether the catholic church hath ever or at any time been idolatrous?” and Ridley answered, “The church is the pillar and stay of the truth, that never yet hath been idolatrous in respect of the whole; but, peradventure, in respect of some part thereof, which sometimes may be seduced by evil pastors, and through ignorance.” To this Glin observed, “That church ever hath worshipped the flesh of Christ in the eucharist: But the church hath never been idolatrous; therefore, it hath always judged the flesh of Christ to be in the eucharist.” Then said Ridley, “And I also worship Christ in the sacrament, but not because he is included in the sacrament; like as I worship Christ also in the scriptures, not because he is really included in them. Notwithstanding I say, that the body of Christ is present in the sacrament, but yet sacramentally and spiritually, according to his grace giving life, and in that respect really, that is, according to his benediction giving life. Furthermore, I acknowledge gladly the true body of Christ to be in the Lord’s supper, in such sort as the church of Christ (which is the spouse of Christ, and is taught of the Holy Ghost, and guided by God’s word) doth acknowledge the same. But the true church of Christ doth acknowledge a presence of Christ’s body in the Lord’s supper to be communicated to the godly, by grace, and spiritually, as I have often shewed, and by a sacramental signification, but not by the corporal presence of the body of the flesh.” But to this Glin observed, that “Austin saith, Some there were which thought us, instead of bread and of the cup, to worship Ceres and Bacchus;” whence he gathers, “that there was an adoration of the sacrament among the fathers: and Erasmus, in an epistle to the brethren of Low-Germany, saith, that the worshipping of the sacrament was before Austin and Cyprian.” Ridley then remarked, “We do handle the signs reverently; but we worship the sacrament as a sacrament, not as a thing signified by the sacrament.” On which Glin asked, “What is the symbol or sacrament?” and Ridley said, “Bread;” therefore, inferred Glin, “we worship bread;” when Ridley observed, “There is a deceit in this word, we worship. We worship the symbols, when reverently we handle them. We worship Christ wheresoever we perceive his benefits. But we understand
the blood also which flowed out of Christ's side, because it is the sacrament of that blood which flowed out of his side, instituted of the Lord himself for our singular commodity; namely, for our spiritual nourishment: like as baptism is ordained in water to spiritual regeneration.” Then Curtop declared, “The sacrament of the blood is not the blood;” but Ridley affirmed it, and added, “That is attributed to the sacrament, which is spoken of the thing of the sacrament.” On this Weston repeated Curtop’s argument in English. “That which is in the chalice is the same which flowed out of Christ’s side: But there came out very blood: therefore, there is blood in the chalice.” And Ridley said, “The blood of Christ is in the chalice indeed, but not in the real presence, but by grace, and in a sacrament;” on which Weston said, “That is very well. Then we have blood in the chalice;” and Ridley said, “It is true, but by grace, and in a sacrament.” Here the people hissed at him, when he exclaimed, “O my masters! I take this for no judgment: I will stand to God’s judgment.” And then Watson interposed, “Good sir, I have determined to have respect of the time, and to abstain from all those things, which may hinder the entrance of our disceptation: and therefore, first, I ask this question, When Christ said, in the sixth of John, He that eateth my flesh, &c.; doth he signify in those words the eating of his true and natural flesh, or else of the bread and symbol?” To which he answered, “I understand that place of the very flesh of Christ to be eaten, but spiritually; and further I say, that the sacrament also pertaineth unto the spiritual manucration. For without the Spirit, to eat the sacrament is to eat it unprofitably. For whose eateth not spiritually, he eateth his own condemnation.” Then said Watson, “I ask, whether the eucharist be a sacrament;” and Ridley said, “Taken by a sign or symbol, it is a sacrament.” To the question by Watson, “Is it instituted of God?” he replied, “It is;” and to the question by him, “Where?” he answered, “In the supper.” Watson then asked, “With what words is it made a sacrament?” and Ridley replied, “By the words and deeds which Christ said and did, and commanded us to say and do the same.” Then again said Watson, “It is a thing commonly received of all, that the sacraments of the new law give grace to them that worthily receive;” and Ridley replied, “True it is, that grace is given by the sacrament, but by an instrument. The inward virtue and Christ give the grace through the sacrament.”

Watson then asked, “What is a sacrament?” and Ridley answered, that “there be many definitions of it in Augustine.” He then said, “A sacrament is a visible sign of invisible grace,” and Watson inferred, “Therefore, grace is given to the receivers;” on which Ridley observed, “The society or conjunction with Christ through the Holy Ghost is grace, and by the sacrament we are made the members of the mystical body of Christ, for that by the sacrament the part of the body is grafted in the head.” But, said Weston, “There is no difference between the mystical body and natural body;” which Ridley admitted, but added, “the head of them both is one.” Then Watson replied, “The eucharist is a sacrament of the New Testament; therefore, it hath a promise of grace: But no promise of grace is made to bread and wine; therefore, bread and wine be not the sacraments of the New Testament.” To this Ridley said, “I grant that grace pertaineth to the eucharist, according to this saying, ‘The bread which we break, is it not the communication or partaking of the body of Christ?’ And like as he that eateth, and he that drinketh unworthily the sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord, eateth and drinketh his own damnation: even so he that eateth and drinketh worthily, eateth life, and drinketh life. I grant also, that there is no promise made to bread and wine. But, inasmuch as they are sanctified, and made the sacraments of the body and blood of the Lord, they have a promise of grace annexed unto them; namely, of spiritual partaking of the body of Christ to be communicated and given, not to the bread and wine, but to them which worthily receive the sacrament.”

To this Watson remarked, “If the substance of bread and wine do remain, then the society be twixt Christ and us is promised to them that take bread and wine: but that society is not promised to bread and wine, but to the receivers of the flesh and blood, John 6. ‘He that eateth my flesh,’ &c.; therefore, the substance of bread and wine remaineth not.” Then Ridley said, “The promise undoubtedly
s made to the flesh and blood, but the same is to be received in the sacrament through faith;” and Watson observed, that “every sacrament hath a promise of grace annexed unto it; therefore, the bread and wine are not sacraments;” when Ridley, after the first, but remarked, that “the understanding of this word hath of grace promised, and by that the Holy Spirit is given; not that grace is included in water, but that grace cometh by water.” Then said Watson, “This promise is made to the flesh and blood of Christ, and not to the bread and wine; therefore, the sacrament is not bread and wine, but the body and blood of Christ.” Ridley then answered, “There is no promise made to him that taketh common bread and wine; but to him that receiveth the sanctified bread, and bread of the communion, there is a large promise of grace made: neither is the promise given to the symbols, but to the thing of the sacrament; and this is the flesh and blood.” But Watson said, “Every sacrament of the New Testament giveth grace, promised of God to those that worthily receive it;” and Ridley rejoined, that “this sacrament hath a promise of grace made to those that receive it worthily, because grace is given by it, as by an instrument, not that Christ hath transfused grace into the bread and wine.”

Again Watson returned to his old argument, and said, “But this promise which is made, is not to but to those that worthily receive the flesh and blood; not the bread and wine;” when Ridley observed, “That proposition hath a diverse understanding. There is no promise made to them that receive common bread, as it were; but to those that worthily receive the sanctified bread, there is a promise of grace made, like as Origen doth testify.” Then Watson asked, without wishing to hear any more about Origen, “Where is that promise made?” and Ridley replied, “The bread which we break, is it not a communication of the body of Christ?” And “we being many, are one body, one body of Christ?” On which Watson said, “What doth he mean by bread in that place?” and Ridley answered, “The bread of the Lord’s table, the communion of the body of Christ.” Then said Watson, “Hearken what Chrysostom saith upon that place: ‘The bread which we break, is it not the communication of Christ’s body? Wherefore did he not say, participation? Because he would signify some great matter, and that he would declare a great convenience and conjunction betwixt the same. For we do not communicate by participation only and receiving, but also by co-uniting. For, likewise, as that body is co-united to Christ, so also we by the same bread are conjoined and united to him.” To this Ridley observed, “Let Chrysostom have this manner of speaking and his sentence. If it be true, I reject it not. But let it not be prejudicial to me to name it true bread.” Then Watson rejoined, “All (saith Chrysostom) which sit together at one board, do communicate together of one true body.”—“What do I call (saith he) this communicating? We are all the self-same body. What doth bread signify? The body of Christ. What is true bread receive it? The body of Christ. For many are but one body.” Chrysostom doth interpret this place against you. “All we be one bread, and one mystical body, which do participate together one bread of Christ.” But Ridley thus expressed it: “All we be one mystical body, which do communicate of one Christ in bread, after the efficacy of regeneration or quickening.” And now again Watson asked, “Of what manner of bread speakest he?” and was answered, “The bread of the Lord’s table.” On being asked, “Is that bread one?” Ridley replied, “It is one, of the church being one, because one bread is set forth upon the table; and so of one bread all together do participate, which communicat at the table of the Lord.” Watson then charged him with speaking absurdly; but he replied, “All, I say, which at one table together have communicated in the mysteries, might well so do. Albeit the heavenly and celestial bread is likewise one also, whereof the sacramental bread is a mystery; the which being one, all we together do participate.” Watson called this a perverse answer, and asked what he meant by all; and Ridley said, “I do distribute this word (All:) for all were wont together to communicate of the one bread, divided into parts: All, I say, which were one congregation, and which all
did communicate together at one table." On this Watson exclaimed, "What? Do you exclude then from the body of Christ all them which did not communicate, being present?" And Fecknam added, "But Cyprian saith, 'Bread which no multitude doth consume.' This only can be understood of the body of Christ;' when Ridley remarked, that "Cyprian in this place did speak of the true body of Christ, and not of the material bread;'" but Fecknam replied, "Nay, rather he did there intreat of the sacrament in that tractation De CENA DOMINI, writing upon the supper of the Lord." This Ridley admitted, and that he "there intreateth of the sacrament: but also that he doth admix something wherewithal of the spiritual manuation."

To this Smith observed, "When the Lord saith, This is my body, he useth no tropical speech; therefore, you are deceived." But Ridley replied, "I deny your antecedent." To this Smith rejoined, "I bring here Augustine, in Psalm 33, expounding these words, Ferебatur in manibus suis, He was carried in his own hands. 'How may this be understood to be done in man? For no man is carried in his own hands, but in the hands of other. How this may be understood of David, after the letter, we do not find: Of Christ we find it. For Christ was borne in his own hands, when he saith, This is my body, for he carried the same body in his own hands.' &c. Augustine here did not see how this place after the letter could be understood of David, because no man can bear himself in his own hands. Therefore, saith he, this place is to be understood of Christ after the letter. For Christ carried himself in his own hands in his supper, when he gave the sacrament to his disciples, saying, This is my body." Then said Ridley, "I deny your argument, and I explicate the same. Austin could not find after his own understanding, how this could be understood of David after the letter. Austin goeth here from other in this exposition but I go not from him. But let this exposition of Austin be granted to you, although I know this place of scripture be otherwise read of other men, after the verity of the Hebrew text, and it is also otherwise to be expounded. Yet to grant to you this exposition of Austin, I say yet notwithstanding it maketh nothing against my assertion: For Christ did bear himself in his own hands, when he gave the sacrament of his body to be eaten of his disciples." It was then inferred by Smith, "Therefore, it is true of Christ after the letter, that he was borne in his own hands." And Ridley rejoined, "He was borne literally, and after that letter which was spoken of David; but not after the letter of these words, Hoc est corpus meum. I grant, that St. Austin saith, that it is not found literally of David, that he carried himself in his own hands, but that it is found of Christ. But this word, [ad litteram], literally, you do not well refer to that which was borne, but rather it ought to be referred to him that did bear it. St. Augustine's meaning is this: that it is not read any where in the Bible, that this carnal David, the son of Jesse, did bear himself in his hands, but of that spiritual David that overthrew Goliath the devil; that is, of Christ our Saviour, the son of the Virgin, it may well be found literally, that he bare himself in his own hands after a certain manner, namely, in carrying the sacrament of himself. And note, that St. Austin hath these words, Quodam modo, after a certain manner; which manifestly declare how the doctor's meaning is to be taken."

Upon this Smith demanded, "When then was he borne in his own hands, and after what letter?" and Ridley answered, in the supper sacramentally, when he said, "This is my body." Smith then replied, "Every man may bear in his own hands a figure of his body: But Augustine denieth that David could carry himself in his own hands; therefore, he speaketh of no figure of his body." Then said Ridley, "If Austin could have found in all the scripture, that David had carried the sacrament of his body, then he would never have used that exposition of Christ:" and Smith rejoined, "But he did bear himself in his own hands; therefore, he did not bear a figure only." Ridley admitted, that "he did bear himself, but in a sacrament:" and Austin afterward addeth, Quodam modo, that is, sacramentally." To this Smith said, "You understand not what Austin meant, when he said, Quodam modo; for he meant that he did bear his very true body in that supper, not in figure and form of a body, but in form and figure of bread; therefore, you are holden fast, neither are you able to escape out of this labyrinth." Then Dr. Weston repeated this place again in Eng-
lish; which done, Dr. Tresham began thus to speak, moved (as it seemed to Mr. Ridley) with great zeal, and desired that he might be instead of John Baptist, in converting the hearts of the fathers, and in reducing the said Bishop Ridley again to the mother-church. Now, at the first, not knowing the person, he thought he had been some good old man, which had the zeal of God, although not according to knowledge, and began to answer him with mansuetude and reverence. But afterward he smelled a fox under a sheep's clothing. “God Almighty grant that it may be fulfilled in me, that was spoken by the prophet Malachi of John Baptist, which may turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the hearts of the children to their fathers, that you at length may be converted. The wise man saith, Son, honour thy father, and reverence thy mother. But you dishonour your Father in heaven, and pollute your mother the holy church here on earth, while ye set not by it.” To which Ridley replied, “These by-words do pollute your school;” and Tresham rejoined, “If there were an Arian which had that subtle wit that you have, he might soon shift off the authorities of the scripture and fathers.” Then said Weston, “Either dispute, or else hold your peace, I pray you.” On which Tresham said, “I bring a place here out of the council of Lateran; the which council representing the universal church, wherein were congregated three hundred bishops and seventy metropolitans, besides a great multitude of other, decreed, That bread and wine, by the power of God’s word, was transsubstantiated into the body and blood of the Lord. Therefore, whosoever saith contrary, cannot be a child of the church, but an heretic;” when Ridley said, “Good sir, I have heard what you have cited out of the council of Lateran, and remember, that there was a great multitude of bishops and metropolitans, as you said; but yet you have not numbered how many abbots, priors, and friars, were in that council, who were to the number of eight hundred.” Then said one of the scribes, “What! will you deny then the authority of that council for the multitude of those priors?” and he answered, “No, sir, not so much for that cause, as for that especially, because the doctrine of that council agreed not with the word of God, as it may well appear by the acts of that council, which was holden under Innocent the Third, a man (if we believe the histories) most pernicious to the church and commonwealth of Christ.”

In answer to this Tresham exclaimed, “What! do you not receive the council of Lateran? Whereupon he with certain other cried, Write, write;” and Ridley replied with animation, “No, sir, I receive not that council; Write, and write again.” Then said Tresham, “Evil men do eat the natural body of Christ; therefore, the true and natural body of Christ is on the altar.” But Ridley said, “Evil men do eat the very true and natural body of Christ sacramentally, and no farther, as St. Augustine saith: But good men do eat the very true body, both sacramentally and spiritually, by grace.” Tresham replied, “I prove the contrary by Augustine, ‘Like as Judas, to whom the Lord gave the morsel, did offend; not in taking a thing that was evil, but in receiving it after an evil manner,’ &c. And a little after, ‘Because some do not eat unto salvation, it followeth not, therefore, that it is not his body.’ But, said Ridley, “It is the body to them, that is, the sacrament of the body: and Judas took the sacrament of the Lord to his condemnation. Austin hath distinguished these things well in another place, where he saith, ‘The bread of the Lord, the bread the Lord. Evil men eat the bread of the Lord, but not bread the Lord. But good men eat both the bread of the Lord, and bread the Lord.” To this Weston observed, “Paul saith the body; and you say, the sacrament of the body;” when Ridley answered, “Paul meaneth so indeed;” and again Weston said, “You understand it evil concerning the sign; for the fathers say, that evil men do eat him which descended from heaven.” This Ridley allowed, “but sacramentally. The fathers use many times the sacrament for the matter of the sacrament, and all that same place maketh against you; and so here he cited the place.” Weston then said, “I bring Theophylact, which saith, That Judas did taste the body of the Lord. The Lord did shew the cruelty of Judas, which when he was rebuked, did not understand, and tasted the Lord’s flesh,” &c. But Ridley observed, “This phrase to divines is well known, and used of the doctors. He tasted the flesh of the Lord [insensibly] that is, the sacrament of the Lord’s flesh.” Wes-
ton then replied, “Chrysostom saith, That the same punishment remaineth to them which receive the body of the Lord unworthily, as to them which crucified him;” and Ridley added, “That is, because they defile the Lord’s body; for evil men do eat the body of Christ sacramentally, but good men eat both the sacrament and the matter of the sacrament.”

Watson then observed, “You reject the council of Lateran, because (you say) it agreeth not with God’s word. What say you then to the council of Nice? The words of the council be these: ‘Let us not look a-low by the ground upon the bread and the drink set before us, but lifting up our mind let us faithfully believe, there upon the holy table to lie the Lamb of God, taking away the sins of the world, being sacrificed of the priests.’ Then said Ridley, “That council was collected out of ancient fathers, and is to me of great authority, for it saith, ‘That bread is set upon the altar, and having our minds lifted up, we must consider him which is in heaven.’ The words of the council make for me.” Watson then rejoined, “[Exaltata mente,] with a mind exalted; that is, not as brute beasts at the rack or manger, having an eye only upon the truth that is before them. The Lamb of God lieth on the table, saith the council.” Ridley replied, “The Lamb of God is in heaven, according to the verity of the body; and here he is with us in a mystery, according to his power, not corporally.” Watson again rejoined, “But the Lamb of God lieth on the table;” when Ridley observed, “It is a figurative speech; for in our mind we understand him which is in heaven.” On this said Watson, “But he lieth there, the Greek word is ἔστιν;” when Ridley explained it, “he lieth there, that is, he is there present, not corporally, but in his operation;” when Watson said, “his operation lieth not.” Ridley then observed, “You think very grossly of the sitting or lying of the celestial Lamb on the table of the Lord. For we may not imagine any such sitting or lying upon the table, as the reason of man would judge; but all things are here to be understood spiritually. For that heavenly Lamb is (as I confess) on the table, but by a spiritual presence, by grace, and not after any corporal substance of his flesh taken out of the Virgin Mary. And indeed the same
cannon doth plainly teach, that the bread which is set on the table is material bread; and therefore it (the canon I mean) commandeth that we should not creep on the ground in our cogitation, to those things which are set before us: as who should say, what other things are they (as much as pertaineth to their true substance) than bread and wine? but rather, saith the canon, lifting up your minds into heaven, let us consider with faith the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world, sitting or lying upon the table. For a lifted-up faith, saith he, seeth him which sitteth on the right hand of God the Father, after the true manner of the body set by grace on the Lord’s table, and taking away the sins of the world. For I think you mean not so, as though the Lamb did lie there prostrate with his members spread upon the table.”

Smith replied thus: “I bring another place out of the council of Nice,—None of the apostles said, This is a figure of the body of Christ. None of the reverend elders said the unbloody sacrifice of the altar to be a figure; therefore, you are deceived.” But, said Ridley, “This canon is not in the council of Nice; for I have read over this council many times.” Then came in another, whom Mr. Ridley knew not, and said, “The universal church, both of the Greeks and Latins, of the east and of the west, have agreed in the council of Florence, uniformly in the doctrine of the sacrament, that in the sacrament of the altar there is the true and real body.” To him Ridley replied, “I deny the Greek and the east church to have agreed either in the council at Florence, or at any time else with the Romish church, in the doctrine of transubstantiation of bread into the body of Christ. For there was nothing in the council of Florence, where-in the Greeks would agree with the Romanists; albeit, hitherto I confess it was left for every church to use, as they were wont, leavened or unleavened bread.” Here cried out Dr. Cole, and said, “they agreed together concerning transubstantiation of bread into the body of Christ.” Mr. Ridley said, “that could not be.” Here started up another, unknown to Mr. Ridley, but thought to be one of the scribes, who affirmed with him, “that indeed there was nothing decreed concerning transubstantiation; the council left that as a matter not meet nor worthy to disturb the
peace and concord of the church." To whom Mr. Ridley answered again, "That he said the truth." Then said Pye, "What say you to that council, where it is said, that the priest doth offer an unbloody sacrifice of the body of Christ?" and he answered, "It is well said, if it be rightly understood." To this Pye observed, "But he offereth an unbloody sacrifice," and Ridley answered, "It was called unbloody, and is offered after a certain manner, and in a mystery, and as a representation of that bloody sacrifice; and he doth not lie, which saith Christ to be offered." Then said Weston, vauntingly, "I, with one argument, will throw down to the ground your opinion out of Chrysostom, Hom. 24, in I ad Cor. And I will teach, not only a figure and a sign, or grace only, but the very same body which was here conversant on the earth to be in the eucharist. We worship the self-same body in the eucharist which the wise men did worship in the manger: "But that was his natural and real body, not spiritual; therefore, the real body of Christ is in the eucharist. Again, the same Chrysostom saith, We have not the Lord in the manger, but on the altar. Here a woman holdeth him not in her hands, but a priest." To this Ridley replied, "We worship, I confess, the same true Lord and Saviour of the world which the wise men worshipped in the manger; howbeit, we do it in a mystery, and in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, and that in spiritual liberty, as saith St. Aust. 1. 3. De Doctrina Christiana: not in carnal servitude; that is, we do not worship servilely the signs for the things: for that should be, as he also saith, a part of a servile infirmity. But we behold with the eyes of faith him present after grace, and spiritually set upon the table; and we worship him which sitteth above, and is worshipped of the angels. For Christ is always assistant to his mysteries, as the said Augustine saith. And the Divine Majesty, as Cyprian saith, doth never absent himself from the divine mysteries; but this assistance and presence of Christ, as in baptism it is wholly spiritual, and by grace, and not by any corporal substance of the flesh: even so it is here in the Lord's supper, being rightly, and, according to the word of God, duly ministered." Weston then again said, "That which the woman did hold in her womb, the same thing holdeth the priest;" which Ridley admitted, "but after another manner. She did hold the natural body; the priest holdeth the mystery of the body." Then Weston repeated his argument out of Chrysostom in English; and Ridley asserted, "that the author meant it spiritually."

Then Weston, the prolocutor, put an end to the disputation with this arrogant speech: "Here you see the stubborn, the boasting, the crafty, the unconstant, mind of this man. Here you see, this day, that the strength of the truth is without foil. Therefore, I beseech you all most earnestly to blow the note; and he began, and they followed, Verity hath the victory, Verity hath the victory."

CHAP. XVI.

The Preface or Protestation of Dr. Hugh Latimer, sometime Bishop of Worcester; with his Disputation.

On the 18th of April, this venerable old man was brought out to dispute at eight o'clock, which began nearly in the same manner as the others, but mostly in English, as he stated his long discourse of Latin, and his unfitness for it. Mr. Smith, of Oriel College, with Dr. Cartwright, and Mr. Harpsfield, and others, by turns had snatches at him, and gave him bitter taunts. He escaped no hissings and scornful laughings, no more than they that went before him. He was very faint, and desired that he might not long tarry. He durst not drink for fear of vomiting. The disputation ended before eleven of the clock. Mr. Latimer was not suffered to read what he had, as he said, painfully written; but it was exhibited up, and the prolocutor read part thereof, and so proceeded unto the disputation.

The Preface of Weston unto the following Disputation.

Men and brethren, we are come together this day (by the help of God) to vanquish the strength of the arguments and dispersed opinions of adversaries, against the truth of the real presence of the Lord's body in the sacrament. And therefore, you, father, if you have any thing to answer, I do admonish that you answer in short and few words." Then said Dr. Latimer, "I pray you, good master prolocutor, do not exact that of me which is not in
me; I have not these twenty years much used the Latin tongue:" and then Weston replied, "Take your ease, father." To this he replied, "I thank you, sir, I am well; let me here protest my faith, for I am not able to dispute; and afterwards do your pleasure with me."

The Protestation of Mr. Hugh Latimer, given up in writing to Dr. Weston.

The conclusions whereunto I must answer are these:

1. The first is, That in the sacrament of the altar, by the virtue of God's word pronounced by the priest, there is really present the natural body of Christ, conceived of the Virgin Mary, under the kinds of the appearance of bread and wine; in like manner his blood.

2. The second is, That after consecration there remaineth no substance of bread and wine; nor any other substance but the substance of God and man.

3. The third is, That in the mass there is the lively sacrifice of the church, which is propitiable, as well for the sins of the quick, as of the dead.

Concerning the first conclusion, me thinketh it is set forth with certain new-found terms that be obscure, and do not sound according to the speech of the scripture. Howbeit, howsoever I understand it, this I do answer plainly, though not without peril; I answer, I say, that to the right celebration of the Lord's supper there is no other presence of Christ required than a spiritual presence: and this presence is sufficient for a christian man, as a presence by which we abide in Christ, and Christ abideth in us, to the obtaining of eternal life, if we persevere. And the same presence may be called most fitly a real presence, that is, a presence not feigned, but a true and a faithful presence. Which thing I here rehearse, lest some sycophant or slander should suppose me, with the Anabaptists, to make nothing else of the sacrament but a naked and a bare sign. As for that which is feigned of many concerning the corporal presence, I, for my part, take it but for a papistical invention; therefore, think it utterly to be rejected.

Concerning the second conclusion, I dare be bold to say, that it hath no ground or stay in God's word, but is a thing invented and found out by man; and, therefore, to be taken as fond and false: and I had almost said, as the mother and nurse of other errors. It were good for my lords and masters of the transubstantiation, to take heed lest they conspire with the Nestorians, for I do not see how they can avoid it.

The third conclusion (as I do understand it) seemeth subtilly to sow sedition against the offering which Christ himself offered for us in his own proper person, according to that pithy place of Paul, Heb. i. where he saith, "That Christ his own self hath made purgation of our own sins." And afterward, "That he might (saith he) be a merciful and faithful bishop, concerning those things which are to be done with God, for the taking away of our sins." So that the expiation or taking away of our sins may be thought rather to depend on this, that Christ was an offering bishop, than that he was offered, were it not that he was offered of himself; and, therefore, it is needless, that he should be offered of any other, I will speak nothing of the wonderful presumption of man, to dare to attempt this thing without a manifest vocation, specially in that it tendeth to the overthrowing, and maketh fruitless (if not wholly, yet partly) of the cross of Christ; for truly it is no base or mean thing to offer Christ. And therefore worthy a man may say to my lords and masters the offerers, By what authority do ye this? and who gave you this authority? Where? When? A man cannot (saith the baptist) take any thing except it be given him from above; much less then may any man presume to usurp any honour, before he be thereto called. Again, If any man sin, (saith St. John,) we have, saith he, not a master or offerer at home, which can sacrifice for us at mass, but we have (saith he) an advocate, Jesus Christ, which once offered himself long ago; of which offering the efficacy and effect is perdurable for ever, so that it is needless to have such offerers.

What meaneth Paul, when he saith, "They that serve at the altar are partakers of the altar?" and so addeth, "So the Lord hath ordained, that they that preach the gospel, should live of the gospel." Whereas he should have said, The Lord hath ordained that they that sacrifice at mass, should live of there as-
sacrificing, that there might be a living assigned to our sacrificers now, as was before Christ's coming, to the Jewish priests. For now they have nothing to allege for their living, as they that be preachers have. So that it appeareth, that the sacrificing priesthood is changed by God's ordinance into a preaching priesthood; and the sacrificing priesthood should cease utterly, saving inasmuch as all christian men are sacrificing priests.

The supper of the Lord was instituted to provoke us to thanksgiving for the offering, which the Lord himself did offer for us, much rather than that our offerers should do there as they do. "Feed (saith Peter) as much as ye may the flock of Christ:" nay, rather let us sacrifice as much as we may for the flock of Christ. If so be the matter be as men now make it, I can never wonder enough, that Peter would or could forget this office of sacrificing, which at this day is in such a price and estimation, that to feed is almost nothing with many. If thou cease from feeding the flock, how shalt thou be taken? Truly catholic enough. But if thou cease from sacrificing and massing, how will that be taken? At the least, I warrant thee, thou shalt be called an heretic.

And whence, I pray you, come these papistical judgments? Except perchance they think a man feedeth the flock in sacrificing for them: and then what needeth there any learned pastors? For no man is so foolish, but soon may he learn to sacrifice and mass it.

Thus lo, I have taken the more pains to write, because I refused to dispute, in consideration of my debility thereunto; that all men may know, how that I have so done not without great pains, having not any man to help me, as I have never before been debared to have. O sir, you may chance to live till you come to this age and weakness that I am of. I have spoken in my time before two kings more than once, two or three hours together, without interruption: But now, that I may speak the truth (by your leave) I could not be suffered to declare my mind before you, no, not by the space of a quarter of an hour, without snatches, revilings, checks, rebukes, taunts, such as I have not felt the like, in such an audience, all my life long. Surely it cannot be but an heinous offence that I have given. But what was it? Forsooth.

I had spoken of the four marrow-bones of the mass. The which kind of speaking I never read to be a sin against the Holy Ghost.

I could not be allowed to shew what I meant by my metaphor: But, sir, now by your favour, I will tell you my mastership what I mean.

The first is, the popish consecration, which hath been called a God's body-making.

The second is, transubstantiation.

The third is, massal oblation.

The fourth, adoration.

The chief and principal portions, parts, and points, belonging or incident to the mass, and most esteemed and had in price in the same, I call the marrow-bones of the mass; which indeed you, by force, might, and violence, intrude in sound of words in some of the scripture, with racking and cramping, injuring and wronging the same; but else indeed, plain out of the scripture, as I am thoroughly persuaded, although in disputation I now could nothing do to persuade the same to others, being both unapt to study, and also to make a shew of my former study in such readiness as should be requisite to the same.

I have heard much talk of Mr. Doctor Weston to and fro in my time: but I never knew your person to my knowledge, till I came before you as the queen's majesty's commissioner. I pray God send you so right judgment, as I perceive you have a great wit, great learning, with many other qualities. God give you grace ever well to use them, and ever to have in remembrance, that he that dwelleth on high, looketh on the low things on the earth; and that there is no council against the Lord; and also that this world hath been, and yet is, a tottering world. And yet again, that though we must obey the princes, yet that hath this limitation, namely, in the Lord. For whose doth obey them against the Lord, they be most pernicious to them, and the greatest adversaries that they have; for they so procure God's vengeance upon them, if God be the only ruler of things.

There be some so corrupt in mind, the truth being taken from them, that they think gain to be godliness; great learned men, and yet men of no learning, but of railing and raging about questions and strife of words. I call them men of no learning, because they know not Christ, how much else soever they know. And on this sort we are wont to call
great learned clerks, being ignorant of Christ, unlearned men; for it is nothing but plain ignorance, to know any thing without Christ: whereas, whoso knoweth Christ, the same hath knowledge enough, although in other knowledge he be to seek. The apostle St. Paul confesseth of himself to the Corinthians, that he did know nothing but Jesus Christ crucified. Many men babble many things of Christ, which yet know not Christ; but, pretending Christ, do craftily colour and darken his glory. Depart from such men, saith the apostle St. Paul to Timothy.

It is not out of the way to remember what St. Augustine saith. The place where, I now well remember not, except it be against the epistle of Petilian: "Whosoever (saith he) teacheth anything necessarily to be believed, which is not contained in the Old and New Testament, the same is accursed." Oh! beware of this curse, if you be wise. I am much deceived, if Basilius have not such like words: "Whosoever (saith he) is besides the holy scripture, if the same be taught as necessary to be believed, that is sin." Oh, therefore, take heed of this sin!

There be some that speak many false things, more probable, and more like to the truth, than the truth itself. Therefore, Paul giveth a watch-word: "Let no man (saith he) deceive you with probability and persuasions of words." But what mean you, saith one, by this talk so far from the matter? Well, I hope, good masters, you will suffer an old man a little to play the child, and to speak one thing twice. O Lord God! you have changed the most holy communion into a private action; and you deny to the laity the Lord's cup, contrary to Christ's commandment: and you do blemish the annunciation of the Lord's death till he come: For you have changed the common prayer, called the divine service, with the administration of the sacraments, from the vulgar and known language into a strange tongue, contrary to the will of the Lord revealed in his word. God open the door of your heart, to see the things you should see herein! I would as feign obey my sovereign as any in this realm; but in these things I can never do it with an upright conscience. God be merciful unto us. Amen."

Weston began with observing, "Then refuse you to dispute? Will you here then sub-

scribe?" when Latimer answered, "No, good master, I pray be good to an old man. You may, if it please God, be once old, as I am: you may come to this age, and to this debility." Then said Weston, "Ye said upon Saturday last, that ye could not find the mass nor the marrow-bones thereof in your book; but we will find a mass in that book:"

"but he replied, "No, good Mr. Doctor, ye cannot." Weston asked, "What find you then there?" and Latimer answered, "Forsooth a communion I find there." Then Weston asked, "Which communion, the first or the last?" when Latimer replied, "I find no great diversity in them; they are one supper of the Lord; but I like the last very well." Weston then observed, "The first was naught belike;" when Latimer rejoined, "I do not well remember wherein they differ;" when Weston smartly retorted, "Then cake bread, and loaf bread are all one with you. Ye call it the supper of the Lord, but you are deceived in that; for they had done the supper before, and, therefore, the scripture saith, After they had supped. For ye know, that St. Paul findeth fault with the Corinthians, for that some of them were drunken at this supper; and ye know no man can be drunken at your communion." Latimer then said, "The first was called [CENA JUDAICA] the Jewish supper, when they did eat the paschal lamb together; the other was called [CENA DOMINICA] the Lord's supper." Weston then said, "That is false; for Chrysostom denieth that. And St. Ambrose, in cap. 10. prioris ad Corinthios, saith, that 'the mystery of the sacrament, given as they were at supper, is not the supper of the Lord.' And Gregory Nazianzen saith the same, 'Again he kept the holy feast of passover with his disciples in the dining-chamber, after the supper, and one day before his passion. But we keep it both in the churches and houses of prayer, both before the supper, and also after the resurrection.' And that first supper was called αὔλην : can you tell what that is?"

"When Latimer said, "I understand no Greek. Yet I think it meaneth charity." Then said Weston, "Will you have all things done that Christ did then? Why, then must the priest be hanged on the morrow? And where find you, I pray, that a woman should receive the sacrament?"

Then Latimer replied, "Will you give me
leave to turn to my book? I find it in the 11th chapter to the Corinthians. I trow these be his words, _Probet autem seipsum homo, &c._ I pray you, good master, what gender is homo?” and Weston answered, “Marry, the common gender.” Cole said, “It is in the Greek, & _av jur®;” and Harpsfield, “It is _long, that is, vir._” But Latimer said, “It is in my book of Erasmus’s translation, _Probet seipsum homo;_” when Fecknam remarked, “It is _Probet seipsum, indeed, and therefore it importeth the masculine gender;_” and Latimer replied, “What then? I trow, when the woman touched Christ, he said, _Quis tettigit me?_” SCIO QUOD ALIQUIS ME TETTIGIT; that is, ‘Who touched me?’ I know that some man touched me.”

Upon this Weston vauntingly said, “I will be at host with you anon. When Christ was at supper, none were with him but his apostles only; therefore, he meant no woman, if you will have his institution kept.” But Latimer said, “In the twelve apostles was represented the whole church, in which you will grant both men and women to be;” when Weston said, “So, through the whole heretical translated Bible ye never make mention of priest, till ye come to the putting of Christ to death. Where find you then, that a priest or minister (a minstrel I may call him well enough) should do it of necessity?” To this Latimer replied, “A minister is a more fit name for that office; for the name of a priest importeth a sacrifice.” Then Weston said, “Well, remember that ye cannot find that a woman may receive by scripture. Mr. Opponent, fall to it.” On this Smith observed, “Because I perceive, that this charge is laid upon my neck to dispute with you: to the end that the same may go forward after a right manner and order, I will propose three questions, so as they are put forth unto me. And first, I ask this question of you, although the same indeed ought not to be called in question: but such is the condition of the church, that it is always vexed of the wicked sort. I ask, I say, whether Christ’s body be really in the sacrament?” Then said Latimer, “I trust I have obtained of Mr. Prolocutor, that no man shall exact that thing of me, which is not in me. And I am sorry, that this worshipful audience should be deceived of their expectation for my sake. I have given up my mind in writing to Mr. Prolocutor.” Then said Smith, “Whatsoever you have given up, it shall be registered among the acts.” Latimer then added, “Disputation requireth a good memory; my memory is gone clean, and marvelously weakened, and never the better, I wist, for the prison.” On this Weston asked, “How long have you been in prison?” when he answered, “This three-quarters of this year;” and Weston replied, “And I was in prison six years;” to which Latimer observed, “The more pity, sir.” Then Weston again asked, “How long have you been of this opinion?” and he answered, “It is not long, sir, that I have been of this opinion.”

When Weston continued, “The time has been, when you said mass full devoutly;” he said, “Yea, I cry God mercy heartily for it.” Again Weston asked, “Where learn you this new fangleness?” and Latimer answered, “I have long sought for the truth in this matter of the sacrament, and have not been of this mind past seven years; and my lord of Canterbury’s book hath especially confirmed my judgment herein. If I could remember all therein contained, I would not fear to answer any man in this matter.” But Tresham said, “There are in that book six hundred errors.” Weston also said, “You were once a Lutheran;” but Latimer said, “No, I was a papist: for I never could perceive, how Luther could defend his opinion without transubstantiation. The Tygurines once did write a book against Luther, and I oft desired God, that he might live so long to make them answer.” But Weston said, “Luther, in his book, _De privata massa_ said, That the devil reasoned with him, and persuaded him, that the mass was not good, fol. 14. _Contigit me, &c._ Whereof it may appear, that Luther said mass, and the devil dissuaded him from it.” Then said Latimer, “I do not take in hand here to defend Luther’s sayings or doings. If he were here, he would defend himself well enough, I trow. I told you before, that I am not meet for disputations. I pray you read mine answer, wherein I have declared my faith.”

Weston then asked, “Do you believe this as you have written;” and, on Latimer’s saying, “Yea, sir,” he added, “Then have you no faith;” to which Latimer replied, “Then would I be sorry, sir.” Then Tresham said, “It is written, ‘Except you shall eat the flesh of the
Son of man, and drink his blood, ye shall have no life in you.' Which, when the Capernautes and many of Christ's disciples heard, they said, This is a hard saying, &c. Now, that the truth may the better appear, here I ask of you, Whether Christ, speaking these words, did mean of his flesh to be eaten with the mouth, or of the spiritual eating of the same?" To this Latimer said, "I answer (as Augustine understandeth) that Christ meant of the spiritual eating of his flesh;" when Tresham asked, "Of what flesh meant Christ, his true flesh, or no?" and Latimer answered, "Of his true flesh, spiritually to be eaten in the supper by faith, and not corporally." Then Tresham asked, "Of what flesh meant the Capernautes?" and he answered, "Of his true flesh also, but to be eaten with the mouth." Tresham then replied, "They, as ye confess, did mean his true flesh to be eaten with the mouth. And Christ also (as I shall prove) did speak of the receiving of his flesh with the mouth; therefore, they both did understand it of the eating of one thing, which is done by the mouth of the body." But Latimer said, "I say, Christ understood it not of the bodily mouth, but of the mouth of the spirit, mind, and heart;" when Tresham replied, "I prove the contrary, that Christ understandeth it of the eating with the bodily mouth. For whereas custom is a right good mistress and interpreter of things, and whereas the acts put in practice by Christ, do certainly declare those things which he first spake, Christ's deeds in his supper, where he gave his body to be taken with the mouth, together with the custom which hath been ever since that time, of that eating which is done with the mouth, doth evidently infer, that Christ did understand his words, here cited of me out of the sixth of John, of the eating with the mouth." But Latimer said, "He gave not his body to be received with the mouth, but he gave the sacrament of his body to be received with the mouth: he gave the sacrament to the mouth, his body to the mind." Tresham then replied, "But my reason doth conclude, That Christ spake concerning his flesh to be received with the corporal mouth: for otherwise (which God forbid) he had been a deceiver, and had been offensive to the Capernautes and his disciples, if he had not meant in this point as they thought he meant: for, if he had thought as you do feign, it had been an easy matter for him to have said, You shall not eat my flesh with your mouth, but the sacrament of my flesh; that is to say, Ye shall receive with your mouth not the thing itself, but the figure of the thing, and thus he might have satisfied them: but so he said not, but continued in the truth of his words, as he was wont. Therefore, Christ meant the self-same thing that the Capernautes did,—I mean concerning the thing itself to be received with the mouth, videlicet, that his true flesh is truly to be eaten with the mouth. Moreover, forasmuch as you do expound for [Corpus Christi] the body of Christ, [Sacramentum Corporis Christi] the sacrament of the body of Christ, and hereby do suppose, that we obtain but a spiritual union, or union of the mind between us and Christ, plain it is, that you are deceived in this thing, and do err from the mind of the fathers: for they affirm by plain and express words, that we are corporally and carnally joined together. And these be the words of Hilary, 'Therefore, if Christ did truly take the flesh of our body upon him, and the same man be Christ indeed, which was born of Mary; then we also do receive under a mystery the flesh of his body indeed, and thereby shall become one, because the Father is in him, and he in us. How is the unity of will affirmed, when a natural propriety by the sacrament is a perfect sacrament of unity?' Thus far hath Hilary. Lo here you see how manifestly these words confound your assertion. To be short, I myself have heard you preaching at Greenwich before King Henry VIII., where you did openly affirm, That no christian man ought to doubt of the true and real presence of Christ's body in the sacrament, forasmuch as he had the word of scripture on his side, [videlicet] Hoc est corpus meum. This is my body: whereby he might be confirmed. But now there is the same truth: the word of scripture hath the self-same thing which it then had. Therefore, why do you deny at this present that, whereof it was not lawful once to doubt before, when you taught it?" Then said Latimer, "Will you give me leave to speak?" when Tresham said, "Speak Latin, I pray you, for ye can do it, if ye list, properly enough." But Latimer said, "I cannot speak Latin so long and so largely. Mr. Prolocutor hath given me leave to speak English.
And as for the words of Hilary, I think they make not so much for you. But he that shall answer the doctors had not need to be in my case, but should have them in readiness, and know their purpose. Melancthon saith, If the doctors had foreseen, that they should have been so taken in this controversy, they would have written more plainly.” Then Smith said, “I will reduce the words of Hilary into the form of a syllogism.—Such as is the unity of our flesh with Christ’s flesh, such (yea greater) is the unity of Christ with the Father: But the unity of Christ’s flesh with ours is true and substantial; therefore, the unity of Christ with the Father is true and substantial.” To this Latimer replied, “I understand you not.” Then Seaton said, “I know your learning well enough, and how subtle ye be; I will use a few words with you, and that out of Cyprian, De Cena Domini. The Old Testament doth forbid the drinking of blood: the New Testament doth command the drinking and tasting of blood; but where doth it command the drinking of blood?” To which Latimer answered, “In these words, Drink ye all of this.” Seaton replied, “Then we drink true blood;” which Latimer admitted, “but spiritually; and this is enough.” But Seaton said, “Nay, the Old and New Testament in this do differ; for the one doth command, the other doth forbid, to drink blood;” which Latimer admitted to be “true, as touching the matter, but not as touching the manner of the thing.” Seaton rejoined, “Then there is no difference between the drinking of blood in the New Testament, and that of the Old; for they also drink spiritually;” and Latimer replied, “And we drink spiritually also, but a more precious blood.” Then said Weston, “Augustine upon the 45th Psalm saith, ‘Drink boldly the blood which ye have poured out;’ therefore, it is blood.”

Then said Latimer, “I never denied it, nor ever will I go from it, but that we drink the very blood of Christ indeed, but spiritually; for the same Augustine saith, ‘Believe, and thou hast eaten.” But Weston said, “Nay, to believe, is not to drink or eat. You will not say, I pledge you, when I say, I believe in God.” Then Latimer replied, “Is not [Manducare] to eat, in your learning, put for [credere] to believe?” Then Weston remarked, “I remember my lord-chancellor demanded of Mr. Hooper these questions, Whether [edere] to eat, were [credere] to believe, and [altare] an altar, were Christ in all the scripture, &c. And he answered, Yea. Then said my lord-chancellor, Why then [Habemus altare de quo non licet edere], that is, We have an altar, of which it is not lawful to eat, is as much as to say, [Habemus Christum, in quo non licet credere.] We have a Christ, in whom we may not believe.” Then said Tresham, “Believe that thou hast eaten, is spoken of the spiritual eating;” which Latimer also affirmed; and Weston added, “We are commanded to drink blood in the new law; therefore, it is very blood:” but said Latimer, “We drink blood, so as appertaineth to us to drink to our comfort, in sacramental wine. We drink blood sacramentally; he gave us his blood to drink spiritually; he went about to shew, that as certainly as we drink wine, so certainly we drink his blood spiritually.” To this Weston observed, “Do you not seem to be a papist, which do bring in new words, not found in scripture? Where find you that [sacramentaliter] sacramentally, in God’s book?” when Latimer said, “It is necessarily gathered upon scripture.” But said Weston, “The Old Testament doth forbid the tasting of blood, but the New doth command it;” which Latimer allowed, though not as touching the thing, but as touching the manner thereof.” On this Weston said, “Hear, ye people, this is the argument: That which was forbidden in the Old Testament, is commanded in the New: To drink blood was forbidden in the Old Testament, and commanded in the New.”

This argument, because the major thereof is not universal, is not formal, and may well be retorted against Weston thus: “No natural or moral thing, forbidden materially in the Old Testament, is commanded in the New: To drink man’s natural blood, is forbidden materially in the Old Testament; therefore, to drink man’s natural blood materially, is not commanded in the New.”

Latimer again said, “It is commanded spiritually to be drank; I grant it is blood drank in the New Testament, but we receive it spiritually.” Then said Pye, “It was not forbidden spiritually in the old law;” and Latimer added, “The substance of blood is drank, but not in one manner;” to which Pye said,
"It doth not require the same manner of drinking." But said Latimer, "It is the same thing, not the same manner. I have no more to say."

Upon this Weston cited the place of Chrysostom, of Judas's treason: "O the madness of Judas! He made bargain with the Jews for thirty pence to sell Christ, and Christ offered him his blood which he sold."

Lat. I grant he offered to Judas his blood which he sold, but in a sacrament.

West. Because ye can defend your doctors no better, ye shall see what worshipful men ye hang upon, and one that hath been of your mind shall dispute with you. Mr. Cartwright, I pray you dispute.

Cart. Reverend father, because it is given me in commandment to dispute with you, I will do it gladly. But first understand, ere we go any farther, that I was in the same error that you are in: but I am sorry for it, and do confess myself have erred; I acknowledge mine offence, and I wish, and desire God, that you may also repent with me.

Lat. Will you give me leave to tell what hath caused Mr. Doctor here to recant? It is pena legis, the pain of the law, which hath brought you back, and converted you and many more: the which letteth many to confess God. And this is a great argument; there are few here can dissolve it.

Cart. This is not my case; but I will make you this short argument, by which I was converted from mine errors:—If the true body of Christ be not really in the sacrament, all the whole church hath erred from the apostles' time: But Christ would not suffer his church to err; therefore, it is the true body of Christ.

Lat. The Popish church hath erred, and doth err. I think for the space of six or seven hundred years, there was no notion made of any eating but spiritually: for, before these five hundred years, the church did ever confess a spiritual manudication. But the Romish church begat the error of transubstantiation. My Lord of Canterbury's book handleth that very well, and by him I could answer you, if I had him.

Cart. Linus and all the rest do confess the body of Christ to be in the sacrament; and St. Augustine also upon the 99th Psalm, upon this place, "Worship his footstool," &c. granteth, that it is to be worshipped.

Lat. We do worship Christ in the heavens, and we do worship him in the sacrament: but the massing worship is not to be used.

Smith. Do you think that Cyril was of the ancient church?

Lat. I do think so.

Smith. He saith, That Christ dwelleth in us corporally: These be Cyril's words of the mystical benediction.

Lat. That [corporally] hath another understanding than you do grossly take it. Cyril saith, That Christ dwelleth corporally in us, but he saith not, that Christ dwelleth corporally in the bread. Which dwelling of Christ in us, is as our dwelling is also in Christ, not local or corporal, but spiritual and heavenly. Corporally, therefore, is to be taken in the same sense as St. Paul saith the fulness of divinity to dwell in Christ corporally, that is, not lightly nor accidentally, but perfectly and substantially, with all his virtue and power, &c. And so dwelleth Christ corporally in us also.

Smith. Here Smith repeateth these words of Cyril: "By the communicating of the body of Christ, Christ dwelleth in us corporally."

Lat. The solution of this is in my Lord of Canterbury's book.

Smith. Cyril was a papist; and yet these be his words: "Christ dwelleth in us corporally:" But you say, he dwelleth in us spiritually.

Lat. I say both, that he dwelleth in us both corporally and spiritually, according to his meaning: spiritually by faith, and corporally by taking our flesh upon him. For I remember I have read this in my Lord of Canterbury's book.

West. Because your learning is let out to farm, and shut up in my Lord of Canterbury's book, I will recite unto you a place of St. Ambrose, De apparatione ad missam, where he saith, "We see the chief priest coming unto us, and offering blood, &c." Likewise both Augustine, in the 38th Psalm, and Chrysostom, concerning the incomprehensible nature of God, tom. 3. say, Non solum homines, &c.

Lat. I am not ashamed to acknowledge mine ignorance, and these testimonies are more than I can bear away.

West. Then you must leave some behind you for lack of carriage.

Lat. But of Chrysostom, he hath many figurative speeches and emphatical locutions in many places; as in that which you have now
You say you are of the old fathers' faith, where they say well, and yet ye are not.

Lat. I am of their faith, when they say well. I refer myself to my Lord of Canturbury’s book wholly herein.

Smith. Then are not you of Chrysostom’s faith, nor of St. Augustine’s faith.

Lat. I have said, when they say well, and bring scripture for them, I am of their faith; and farther Augustine requireth not to be believed.

West. Origen, Hom. 13, upon Leviticus.

Lat. I have but one word to say, The sacramental bread is called a propitiation, because it is a sacrament of the propitiation. What is your vocation?

West. My vocation is, at this time, to dispute; otherwise I am a priest, and my vocation is, to offer.

Lat. Where have you your authority given you to offer?

West. Hoc facite, Do this: for facete in that place is taken for offerte, that is, offer you.

Lat. Is facere nothing but sacrificare, to sacrifice? Why, then no man must receive the sacrament but priests only: For there may none other offer but priests; therefore, there may none receive but priests.

West. Your argument is to be denied.

Lat. Did Christ then offer himself at his supper?

Pye. Yea, he offered himself for the whole world.

Lat. Then, if this word [facite,] do ye, signify [sacrificare,] sacrifice ye, it followeth, as I said, that none but priests only ought to receive the sacrament, to whom it is only lawful to sacrifice: And where find you that, I pray you?

West. Forty years ago whither could you have gone to have found your doctrine?

Lat. The more cause we have to thank God, that hath now sent the light into the world.

West. The light? Nay, light and lewd preachers; for you could not tell what you might have. Ye altered and changed so often your communions and altars, and all for this one end, to spoil and rob the church.

Lat. These things pertain nothing to me; I must not answer other men's deeds, but only for mine own.
After this Weston addressed him as follows: "Well, Mr. Latimer, this is our intent, to will you well, and to exhort you to come to yourself, and remember, that without Noah's ark there is no health. Remember what they have been that were the beginners of your doctrine; none but a few flying apostates, running out of Germany for fear of the faggot. Remember what they have been, which have set forth the same in this realm: A sort of flying brains and light heads, which were never constant in any one thing, as it was to be seen in the turning of the table, where, like a sort of apes, they could not tell which way to turn their tails, looking one day west, and another day east; one that way, and another this way. They will be like (they say) to the apostles, they will have no churches; a novel is good enough for them. They come to the communion with no reverence. They get them a tankard, and one saith, I drink, and I am thankful; the more joy of thee, saith another. And in them was it true that Hilary saith, "We make every year and every month a faith." A runnagate Scot did take away the adoration or worshipping of Christ in the sacrament, by whose procurement that heresy was put into the last communion-book; so much prevailed that one man's authority at that time. You never agreed with the Tygurines or Germans, or with the church, or with yourself. Your stubbornness cometh of vanity, which is to no purpose; for it will do you no good, when a faggot is in your beard. And we say all, by your own confession, how little cause you have to be stubborn; for your learning is in feoffors hold. The Queen's grace is merciful, if ye will turn.

Lat. You shall have no hope in me to turn. I pray for the queen daily, even from the bottom of my heart, that she may turn from this religion.

West. Here you all see the weakness of heresy against the truth: He denieth all truth, and all the old fathers.

Here all good readers may see how this glorious proclocutor triumpheth; but whether he hath victory or no, that I suppose they have yet neither heard nor seen. And grant that he had the victory, yet what great marvel was it, disputing as he did, NON SINE SUO THESEO, that is, not without his tippling cup standing at his elbow all the time of his disputa-

—- tion; not without a privy noting and smiling of them that beheld the matter; but especially at that time, when Dr. Ridley, disputing with one of the opponents, the said proclocutor took the cup, and holding it in his hand, said to the opponent, URGE HOC, URGE HOC, NAM HOC FACIT PRO NOSIS. In which words, as he moved the beholders thereof to laughter, so I thought it proper to mention here, to delight the reader withal, after his tedious weariness in reading the story thereof.

Thus ended the disputation with Latimer; in which, as in various parts of the preceding ones, their railing and blasphemous language is manifest; and, except in his insolent expression of the "oyster-board," in none so conspicuous as in the last address. But "he could say what he pleased, having the law in his own hands, although he said never a true word, nor never made a true conclusion, almost in all that disputation."

CHAP. XVII.

Disputation of Mr. Harpsfield, Bachelor of Divinity, answering for his form to be made Doctor.

It was on the 19th of April, that this new scene was to take place, on a subject where they were all determined to agree, and in which no difference of opinion was expected. Yet was Archbishop Cranmer brought forward to be opposed to him, not for the purpose of being convinced of any error, but to afford Harpsfield an opportunity of distinguishing himself; so that, in this respect, it was so managed, that it might have a semblance of the former disputations, though designed for a purpose of a very opposite nature. Mr. Harpsfield introduced the subject in language to the following purport:

"I am not ignorant what a weighty matter it is to intreat of the whole order and trade of the scriptures: And most hard it is, too, in the great contention of religion, to show the ready way whereby the scriptures may be best understood; for the often reading of them doth not bring the true understanding of them. What other thing is there then? Verily, this is the ready way, not to follow our own heads and senses, but to give over our judgment unto the holy catholic church,
who hath had of old years the truth, and always delivered the same to their posterity: but, if the often reading of the scriptures, and never so painfully comparing of places, should bring the true understanding, then divers heretics might prevail even against whole general councils. The Jews did greatly brag of the knowledge of the law, and of the Saviour that they waited for. But what availed it them? Notwithstanding, I know right well, that divers places of the scripture do much warn us of the often reading of the same, and what fruit doth thereby follow; as, 'Search the scriptures, for they do bear witness of me, &c. The law of the Lord is pure, able to turn souls.' And that saying of St. Paul, 'All scripture inspired from above, doth make that a man may be instructed to all good works.' Howbeit, doth the law of the Jews convert their souls? Are they by reading instructed to every good work? The letter of the Old Testament is the same that we have. The heretics also have ever had the same scriptures which we have that be catholicks. But they are served as Tantalus, that the poets speak of, who in the plenty of things to eat and drink, is said to be oppressed with hunger and thirst. The swifter that men do seek the scriptures without the catholic church, the deeper they fall, and find hell for their labour. St. Cyprian, never swerving from the catholic church, saith, 'He that doth not acknowledge the church to be his mother, shall not have God to his Father.' Therefore, it is true divinity to be wise with the church, where Christ saith, 'Unless ye eat my flesh, and drink my blood, ye have no life in you.' If he had meant of only eating bread and drinking wine, nothing had been more pleasant to the Capernautes, neither would they have forsaken him. The flesh profiteth nothing to them that do so take it. For the Capernautes did imagine Christ to be given in such sort as he lived. But Christ spake high things; not that they should have him as flesh in the market, but to consider his presence with the Spirit, under the forms whereby it is given. As there is an alteration of bodies by courses and times of ages, so there is no less variety in eating of bodies.'

These things, which I have recited briefly, Mr. Harpsfield did set out with many more words: and hereupon Dr. Weston disputed against him.

Then Weston began with saying, "Christ's real body is not in the sacrament; therefore, you are deceived;" when Harpsfield denied the antecedent, and Weston replied from John xiv. "I speak the truth unto you: it behoveth me that I go away from you. For, unless I do depart, that Comforter cannot come, &c." Upon this I will make this argument: Christ is so gone away, as he did send the Holy Ghost: But the Holy Ghost did verily come into the world; therefore, Christ is verily gone." To this Harpsfield replied, "He is verily gone, and yet remaineth here." Again said Weston, "St. Augustine saith, that these words, 'I will be with you even to the end of the world,' are accomplished [secundum majestatem] according to his majesty: but [secundum presentiam carnis non est hic] by the presense of his flesh he is not here. The church hath him not in flesh, but by belief." Harpsfield then said, "We must diligently weigh that there are two natures in Christ; the divine nature and human nature. The divine nature is of such sort that it cannot choose but be in all places. The human nature is not such, that of force it must be in all places, although it be in divers after diverse manner. So where the doctors do in trat of his presence by majesty, they do commend the majesty of the divine nature, not to hinder us of the natural presence here in the sacrament." Weston then added, "He saith farther, 'Ye shall not have me always with you,' is to be understood in the flesh;" and Harpsfield said, "The presence of the flesh is to be considered, that he is not here as he was wont to live in conversation with them, to be seen, talked withal, or in such sort as a man may give him any thing: after that sort, he is not present." Then replied Weston, "But what say you to this of Augustine, He is not here?" and he said, "I do answer out of St. Augustine upon John, Tractat. 25, upon these words, 'I go to the Father, ye shall not see me: that is, such as I am now.' Therefore, I do deny the manner of his presence." But, said Weston, "I will overthrow St. Augustine with St. Augustine, who saith this also, 'How may a man hold Christ? send thy faith, and thou holdest him.' So he sheweth that by sending our faith we do hold Christ." Harpsfield then said, "Indeed, no man holdeth Christ unless he believe in him; but it is another thing to
have Christ merciful and favourable unto us, and to have him present in the sacrament. There St. Augustine speaketh of holding him by faith, as he is favourable unto us." But Weston rejoined, "Nay, he speaketh there how the fathers had him in the flesh, and teacheth that we have him not so in the flesh, as they had him long time, saying, 'Your fathers did hold Christ present in the flesh: Do you hold him in your heart?' What words can be more plain?" Further he saith, "He is gone, and is not here: he hath left us, and yet hath not forsaken us. He is here in majesty, and gone touching the flesh." Then said Harpsfield, "I do understand Augustine thus, that Christ is here in the flesh to them that receive him worthily: to such as do not worthily receive him, to them he is not present in the flesh. I judge St. Augustine meant that. We have him, and have him not: we have him in receiving him worthily, otherwise not." To this Weston said, "Nay, Tenere caenem est tenere corticem littere. I will prosecute another argument. Cyril doth say, 'By the majesty of his divinity he is ever here, but the presence of his flesh hath he taken away.' But Harpsfield said, "The sense of Cyril is thus to be understood: The most true flesh of Christ is at the right hand of the Father. Thus the fathers taught, and so they believed. Thus said Cyril; thus said Augustine; and because this is the foundation of our faith, they did oftentimes teach it. Therefore, when they prove this, (the body to be in heaven,) they do not make against the presence in the sacrament. So unless ye can plainly shew, that the fathers do directly say he is not in the sacrament, you make nothing against me; for I have shewed why the fathers so spake. They did teach the great difference between the divine nature and the human nature, as I have before said." Then said Weston, "I will prove that he is not in the sacrament. Vigiliius against the heretic Eutyches, upon these words, 'Ye shall not have me always with you,' saith, 'The Son of God, as touching his humanity, is gone from us, by his divinity he remaineth with us.' And the same Vigiliius, in his fourth book, saith, 'He that is in the heaven is not in the earth,' speaking of Christ." Again Harpsfield replied, "I will shew you the reason of these words. The heretic Eutyches did believe that the divine nature of Christ was fastened on the cross, and believed that Christ had no natural body. To this Vigiliius said, that the human nature was taken up and ascended, which could not so have done unless he had a body. This he said not to take away the presence in the sacrament. For what had he to refer this sentence to the sacrament? He never did so much as dream of the sacrament." But Weston remarked thus, "Cyril saith, Although he be absent from us in body, yet are we governed by his spirit;" which Harpsfield thus explained, "By these words he gave us cheerfulness to aspire upwards, seeking there hence our help. For, as touching his conversation, he is not so in the sacrament as one meet to be lived withal. But let him not teach us that he is not there to feed us; for after that sort he is here."

These remarks were approved by Weston in these words: "You have satisfied me with your answers, in doing the same learnedly and catholicly. But now to another argument: Christ is now so absent from the earth by his body, as he was absent from heaven when he lived here: But when he did live bodily on earth, the same natural body was out of heaven; therefore, now whilst this natural body is in heaven, it is not in the earth." But, said Harpsfield, "I deny the major." Weston then added, "Fulgentius ad Thrasimundum regem, lib. 2. saith, touching his human substance, 'He was absent from heaven when he descended from heaven; and, touching the same substance, now he is in heaven he is not on the earth; but, concerning the divine nature, he never forsook neither heaven nor earth.'

Weston did not wait for Harpsfield's answer, but immediately offered Mr. Cranmer to dispute, who thus began, "I have heard you right learnedly and eloquently intreat of the dignity of the scriptures, which I do both commend, and have marvelled thereof, you are much deceived; especially for that under the name of the church you appoint such judges as have corruptly judged, and contrary to the sense of the scripture. I wonder, likewise, why you attribute so little to the diligent reading of the scriptures, and conferring of places, seeing the
scriptures do so much commend the same, as well in divers other places, as also in those which you yourself have already alleged. And, as touching your opinion of these questions, it seemeth to me neither to have any ground of the word of God, nor of the primitive church. And, to say the truth, the schoolmen have spoken diversely of them, and do not agree thereof among themselves. Wherefore, minding here briefly to shew my judgment also, I must desire you first to answer to me a few questions which I shall demand of you. Which being done, we shall the better proceed in our disputation. Moreover, I must desire you to bear also with my rudeness in the Latin tongue, which, through long disuse, is not now so prompt and ready with me as it hath been; and now all other things set apart, I mind chiefly to have regard to the truth. My first question is this: How Christ's body is in the sacrament, according to your mind or determination? To this a doctor replied, "He is there as touching his substance, but not after the manner of his substance;" and Harpsfield added, "He is there in such sort and manner as he may be eaten." Then said Cranmer, "My next question is, Whether he hath his quantity and qualities, form, figure, and such like properties?" To which Harpsfield hastily replied, "Are these your questions? I may likewise ask you, When Christ passed through the virgin's womb, An Rupert neces?" When they had thus a little while contended, there were divers opinions in this matter. All the doctors fell in a buzzing, uncertain what to answer; some thought one way, some another; and thus Mr. Doctors could not agree." Then Mr. Cranmer said thus, "You put off questions with questions, and not with answers; I ask one thing of you, and you answer another. Once again I ask, Whether he have those properties which he had on the earth?" And Tresham answered, "No, he hath not all the quantities and qualities belonging to the body." But Smith said, "Stay you, Mr. Tresham. I will answer you, Mr. Doctor, with the words of Damascene, [Transformatum panis, &c.] The bread is transformed, &c. But, if thou wilt enquire how, [Modus impossibilis.] The manner is impossible." Then two or three others added their answers to this question, somewhat doubtfully. A great hurry-burly was among them, some affirming one thing, and some another. Then Cranmer said, "Do you appoint me a body, and cannot tell what manner of body? Either he hath not his quantity, or else you are ignorant how to answer it." But, said Harpsfield, "These are vain questions, and it is not meet to spend the time on them;" and Weston added, "Hear me a while. Lanfrancus, some time Bishop of Canterbury, doth answer in this wise unto Berengarius, upon such like questions, They may well be believed, but never faithfully asked." But Cranmer said, "If you think good to answer it, some of you declare it;" and to this said Harpsfield, "He is there as pleaseth him to be there."

Upon this Cranmer observed, "I would be best contented with that answer, if that your appointing of a carnal presence had not driven me of necessity to have inquired, for disputation's sake, how you place him there, since you will have a natural body." When again he was answered of divers at one time, some denying it to be a [quantum.] some saying it to be [quantitativum.] some affirming it to have [modum quanti.] some denying it; some one thing, some another: up starts Dr. Weston, and doubtfully decided, as he thought, all the matter, saying, It is a body having quantity, but not according to the manner of quantity. Whereunto Mr. Ward, a great sophister, thinking the matter not fully answered, did largely declare and discourse his sentence: how learnedly and truly I cannot tell, nor I think he himself neither, nor yet the best learned there. For it was said since, That far better learned than he, laid as good ear to him as they could, and yet could by no means perceive to what end all his talk tended. Indeed, he told a formal tale to clout up the matter. He was full of [quantum et quantitativum.] This that follows was, as it was thought, the effect, yet others think not. Howbeit, we will rehearse the sum of his words, as it is thought he spake them. Then followed Ward, "We must consider, saith he, that there are two positions. The one standeth by the order of parts, with respect of the whole. The other in respect of that which containeth Christ, is in the sacrament in respect of the whole. This proposition is in one of Aristotle's predicaments, called Situs. I remember I did intreat these matters very
largely, when I did rule and moderate the philosophical disputations in the public schools. This position is [*sine modo quantitativo*] as by an ensample, you can never bring heaven to a quantity. So I conclude that he is in the sacrament [*quantum, sine modo quantitativo.*] These words he amplified very largely, and so high he climbed into the heavens with Dun's ladder, and not with the scriptures, that it is to be marvelled how he could come down again without falling. To whom Mr. Cranmer said, "Then thus do I make my argument: In heaven his body had quantity, in earth it hath none by your saying; therefore, he hath two bodies, the one in heaven, the other on earth." Here some would have answered him, that he had quantity in both, and so put off the antecedent: but thus said Mr. Harpsfield: "I deny your argument. Though some would not have had him to say so;" and Cranmer affirmed, "The argument is good. It standeth upon contradictories, which is the most sure hold." This Harpsfield denied, and Cranmer replied, "I thus prove it: *Habere modum quantitativum et non habere, sunt contradictoria: Sed Christus in coelis, ut dicitis, habet modum quantitativum; in terra non habet: ergo, duo sunt corpora ejus in quae cadunt hac contradictoria; nam in idem cadere non possunt." But said Weston, "I deny the minor;" and Harpsfield added, "I answer that the major is not true. For habere quantum, et non habere, non sunt contradictoria, nisi sie consideretur, ejusdem ad idem, eodem modo et simpliciter." Then said Weston, "I confirm the same; for one body may have modum quantitativum, and not have; and the same body was passible and impassible; one body may have wounds, and not wounds." Cranmer then said, "This cannot be at one time:" but said Weston, "the ensample of the potter doth prove that which I say; who, of that which is clay now, maketh a pot or cup forthwith." But said Cranmer, "But I say again that it is so, but at divers times; as one piece of meat to be raw and sodden, cannot be at one time together. But you would have it otherwise, that Christ should be here and in heaven at one time, and should have modum quantitativum, and not have; which cannot be but by such argument as I have shewed you."

After this Weston asserted, "But I say Christ's body was passible and not passible at one instant;" and Seaton observed, "You may ask as well other questions, how he is in heaven? whether he sit or stand? and whether he be there as he lived here?" When Cranmer replied, "You yourself, by putting a natural presence, do force me to question, how he is here. Therefore, next I do ask this question, Whether good and evil men do eat the body in the sacrament?" Harpsfield then answered, "Yea, they do so, even as the sun doth shine upon kings' palaces and on dung-heaps;" when Cranmer said, "Then do I require, how long Christ tarrieth in the eater?" And Harpsfield answered, "These are curious questions, unmeet to be asked." But, retorted Cranmer, "I have taken them out of your schools and schoolmen, which you yourselves do most use; and there also do I learn to ask how far he goeth into the body." To this replied Harpsfield, "We know that the body of Christ is received to nourish the whole man, both body and soul. *Eo usque progressionem corpus quo usque species.*" Again Cranmer asked, "How long doth he abide in the body?" when Seaton replied, "St. Augustine said, our flesh goeth into his flesh. But, after he is once received into the stomach, it maketh no matter for us to know how far he doth pierce, or whither he is conveyed." Here Mr. Tresham and one Mr. London answered, "that Christ being given there under such form and quantity as pleased him, it was not to be inquired of his tarrying, or of his descending into the body." After this said Harpsfield, "You were wont to lay to our charge, that we added to the scripture, saying always that we should fetch the truth out of the scripture; and now you yourself bring questions out of the schoolmen, which you have disallowed in us." But to this Cranmer answered, "I say as I have said alway, that I am constrained to ask these questions, because of this carnal presence which you imagine; and yet I know right well that these questions be answered out of the scriptures. As to my last question, How long he abideth in the body, &c., the scripture answereth plainly, that Christ doth so long dwell in his people, as they are his members. Whereupon I make this argument: They which eat the flesh of Christ do dwell in him, and he in them:
But the wicked do not remain in him, nor he in them; therefore, the wicked do not eat his flesh, nor drink his blood.” Then said Harpsfield, “I will answer unto you as St. Augustine saith, not that howsoever a man do eat he eateth the body, but he that eateth after a certain manner;” to which Cranmer replied, “I cannot tell what manner ye appoint, but I am sure that evil men do not eat the flesh and drink the blood of Christ, as Christ speaketh in the sixth of John.” To this Harpsfield answered, “In the sixth of John some things are to be referred to the godly, and some to the ungodly:” but Cranmer said, “Whatsoever he doth intreat there of eating, doth pertain unto good men;” and Harpsfield rejoined, “If you do mean only of the word of eating, it is true; if concerning the thing, it is not so; and if your meaning be of that which is contained under the word of eating, it may be so taken, I grant.” Then said Cranmer, “Now to the argument: He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him. Doth not this prove sufficiently that evil men do not eat that the good do?” On which Tresham interposed; “You must add, He that eateth wisely.” Cranmer then observed, “I speak of the same manner of eating that Christ speaketh of;” when Weston interfered; “Augustinus ad frater,” Serm. 28, says, “There is a certain manner of eating.” Augustine speaketh of two manners of eating; the one of them that eateth the flesh, the other that eateth unworthily:” and Harpsfield added, “All things in the sixth of John are not to be referred to the sacrament, but to the receiving of Christ by faith. The fathers do agree, that there is not intreay made of the supper of the Lord before they come unto—The bread which I give is my flesh,” &c.; and Cranmer said, “There is intreating of manna both before and after.” Then said Harpsfield, “I will apply another answer. This argument hath a kind of a poison in it, which must be thus bitten away; that manna and this sacrament be not both one. Manna hath not his efficacy of himself, but of God;” when Cranmer observed, “But they that did take manna worthily had fruit thereby: and so by your assertion, he that doth eat the flesh of Christ worthily, hath his fruit by that. Therefore, the like doth follow of them both, and so there should be no difference between manna and this sacrament, by your reason.”

To this Harpsfield replied, “When it is said, that they which did eat manna are dead, it is to be understood that they did want the virtue of manna;” and Cranmer remarked, “They then which do eat either of them willingly, do live;” when Harpsfield said, “They do live which do eat manna worthily, not by manna, but by the power of God given by it. The other which do eat this sacrament, do live by the same.” Cranmer then observed, Christ did not intreat of the cause, but the effect which followed: he doth not speak of the cause whereof the effect proceedeth;” when Harpsfield replied, “I do say, the effects are diverse, life and death, which do follow the worthy and unworthy eating thereof.” Cranmer then said, “Since you will needs have an addition to it, we must use, both in manna and in the sacrament, indifferently, either worthy or unworthy. Christ spake absolutely of manna and of the supper, so that after that absolute speaking of the supper, wicked men can in no wise eat the flesh of Christ, and drink his blood. Further, Augustine upon John, Tractat. 26, upon these words, ‘He that eateth,’ &c. saith, ‘There are no such respects in common meats as in the Lord’s body. For who that eateth other meats hath still hunger, and needeth to be satisfied daily; but he that doth eat the flesh of Christ, and drinketh his blood, doth live for ever.’ But you know wicked men do not so; therefore, wicked men do not receive.” To this observed Harpsfield, “St. Augustine meaneth, that he who eateth Christ’s flesh, &c. after a certain manner, should live for ever. Wicked men do eat, but not after that manner.” Then Cranmer added, “Only they which participate Christ be of the mystical body: But the evil men are not of the mystical body; therefore, they do not participate Christ.”

Upon this Weston observed, “Your wonderful gentle behaviour and modesty, good Mr. Doctor Cranmer, is worthy much commendation; and, that I may not deprive you of your right and just deserving, I give you most hearty thanks in my own name, and in the name of all my brethren.” At which saying all the doctors gently put off their caps. Then Dr. Weston did oppose the respondent
on this wise: "Tertullian doth call the sacrament the sign and figure of the Lord. St. Augustine ad Dardenum saith, 'The Lord did not stick to say, This is my body, when he gave a sign of his body.' Besides this, he giveth rules how to understand the scriptures, saying, If the scriptures seem to command some heinous thing, then it is figurative; as, by example, 'To eat the flesh, and drink the blood, is a tropical speech.' To this added Harpsfield, "Tertullian did write in that place against Marcion, an heretic, who denied Christ to have a true body, and said he had only a fantastical body. He went about to shew, that we had Christ both in heaven and in earth; and though we have the true body in the sacrament, yet he would not go about so to confound him, as to say, That Christ was truly in the sacrament; for that heretic would have thereat rather marvelled than believed it. Therefore he shewed him, that it was the figure of Christ; and a figure cannot be but of a thing that is, or hath been extant. To the text of Augustine the church hath never taught the contrary. There is an outward thing in the sacrament, which sometimes hath sundry names. For it may be called a figure in this declaration, That body which is in the sacrament is a figure of Christ dwelling in heaven. To the third, That which is wrought by Augustine for example, about the understanding of the scriptures, is thus to be understood, as tending to a general manner of eating: so, to eat the flesh, and drink the blood, may be a figurative speech to exclude Anthropophagiam, that is, the eating of man's flesh. The which is, when we eat man's flesh cut in morsels, as we eat common meat; so as we neither have nor eat Christ in the sacrament." Weston then observed to Harpsfield, "I understand your short and learned answer, which doth sufficiently content me. But now to the second question, which is of transsubstantiation. The scripture calleth it bread; therefore, it is bread?" to which Harpsfield said, "In the name of bread all is signified which we do eat." Then said Weston, "Theodoret, an ancient writer, in his first dialogue, saith, 'That Christ changeth not the nature, but called it his body;' to which Harpsfield answered, "He doth there speak de sylmolo, which is the outward form of the sacrament. He meaneth, that that doth tarry in its own nature. Moreover, as it was reported, he brought for his answer, Augustinum in sententis Prosperit." Then again observed Weston, "Theodoret, also, in his second dialogue of those kinds of bread and wine, saith, 'They go not out of their own nature, but they tarry in their own substance;' when Harpsfield said, "They are understood to be of the same substance, wherein they are turned." On this replied Weston, "But what say you to this? They remain in their former substance;" when Harpsfield answered, "Symbola manent, that is, The outward signs do tarry."—"What is meant here by this word symbolum?" said Weston; and Harpsfield answered, "The outward form or shape only of the nature." But, said Weston, "Then you cannot call them a substance;" but he replied, "Yes, sir, every thing hath a certain substance in his kind;" and Weston added, "That is true, but accidents are not substances in their kind;" when Harpsfield answered, "Sunt quid in suo genere. Of this they contended much." It was then remarked by Weston, that "Chrysostom to Cæsarius the monk, saith, 'Like as before it is consecrated, it is bread; so after it is consecrated, it is delivered from the name of bread, and is endowed with the name of the Lord's body, whereas the nature doth remain." To this Harpsfield said, "Where read you this place, I pray you?" and Weston replied, "I find it in Peter Martyr; I have his book in my hand:" when Harpsfield answered, "The author shall be of more credit before that I make so much of him as to frame an answer unto it;" and Weston said, "Indeed I know not well where he findeth it. But Gelasius saith, 'That the nature of bread and wine do tarry.'" Then said Harpsfield, "Who is Gelasius?" and Weston said, "A bishop of Rome."—"He allowed the mass then," said Harpsfield; and Weston replied, "Yes, and oftentimes said it; and purgatory he also allowed, and so prayer for the dead, relics, and invocation to the saints;" and so indirectly admitted what he pretended, in opposition to Harpsfield, to contradict. On this remarked Harpsfield, "Belike then he meant nothing against transubstantiation;" when Weston replied, "It doth appear so indeed. But Origen saith, That the material bread doth tarry, and is conveyed into the privy,
and eaten of the worms;" when Harpsfield said, "Tush, tush, this place appertaineth unto holy bread." At this Weston affected some surprise, and Harpsfield repeated his observation. Then said Weston, "By what means can you shew how this miraculous work bringeth Christ into the sacrament?" to which Harpsfield said, "By the scriptures I prove that, which saith, This is my body."

This disputation was concluded by Weston's observing, "It doth rejoice us not a little, that you have so well maintained the sound doctrine of the sacrament of the altar, wherein you have faithfully cleaved to the Catholic Church, as an only stay of our religion: by which means you have proved yourself meet to be authorised further towards the practising of the scripture. And here I do openly witness, that I do thoroughly consent with you; and have, for disputation's sake only, brought these arguments against you, which you have right learnedly satisfied: and now all things being done, after our form and manner, we will end this disputation, saying, In oppositum est sacra theologa, In oppositum est, &c."

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CHAP. XVIII.

Bishop Ridley's Account of his Disputation, with his Letter to the Prolocutor; Archbishop Cranmer's Letter to the Council, and Ridley's to Cranmer.

In the preceding disputations concerning the holy supper of the Lord, have been plainly manifested the reasons and arguments of the doctors, with the resolutions and answers of the bishops, and the triumph of the prolocutor, triumphing before the victory with, The truth hath overcome; who rather, in my mind, should have exclaimed, Power hath overcome; as it happeneth always, where the greater part overcometh the better. For else, if power had not helped the prolocutor more than truth, there had been a small victory. But so it is where judgments be partial, there all things turn to victory, though it be never so mean and simple, as in this disputation doth well appear.

For first, of the opponent part, there was scarce any argument rightly framed in true mood and figure; neither could the answerers be permitted to speak for themselves; and if they answered any thing, it was condemned before they began to speak. Again, such disturbance and confusion (more like a conspiracy than any disputation, without all form and order) was in the schools during the time of their answering, that the answerers could not have place to utter their minds, neither would the opponents be satisfied with any reasons. Concerning which disturbance of that misruled disputation, you shall hear what Master Ridley himself reporteth by his own description, in the following narration.

The Report and Narration of Mr. Ridley, concerning the misordered Disputation had against him and his Fellow-Prisoners at Oxford.

"I never yet, since I was born, saw or heard any thing done or handled more vainly and tumultuously, than the disputation which was with me in the schools at Oxford. Yea, verily, I could never have thought that it had been possible to have found amongst men, recounted to be of knowledge and learning in this realm, any so brazenfaced and shameless, so disorderly and vainly to behave themselves, more like stage-players in interludes to set forth a pageant, than to grave divines in schools to dispute. The sorbonical clamours (which at Paris I have seen in times past, when popery most reigned) might be worthily thought (in comparison of his thrasonical ostentation) to have had much modesty. And no great marvel, seeing they which should have been moderators, and overseers of others, and which should have given good examples in words and gravity; they themselves, above all other, gave worst example, and did, as it were, blow the trump to the rest, to rave, roar, rage, and cry out. By reason whereof, good christian reader, manifestly it may appear, that they never sought for any truth or verity, but only for the glory of the world, and their own bragging victory. But lest, by the innumerable railings and reproachful taunts, wherewith I was baited on every side, our cause, yea rather God's cause and his church's, should be evil spoken of, and slandered to the world, through false reports and untrue examples given out of disputation, and so the verity might sustain some damage, I thought it no less than my duty to write mine answers; to the intent that whoso-
ever is desirous to know the truth thereof, may by this perceive as well those things which were chiefly objected, as summarily that which was answered of me unto every of them. Howbeit, good reader, I confess this to be most true, that it is impossible to set forth either all that was, God knoweth, tumultuously and confusedly objected of their parts, being so many, speaking many times all together so thick, that one could not well hear another, neither all that was answered on my behalf to them, so sundry and divers opponents.

"Moreover, a great part of the time appointed for the disputations was vainly consumed in opprobrious checks and reviling taunts, with hissing and clapping of hands, and that in the English tongue, to procure the people's favour withal. All which things, when I with great grief of heart did behold, protesting openly, that such excessive and outrageous disorder was unseemly for those schools, and men of learning and gravity, and that they which were the doers and stirrers of such things, did nothing else but betray the slenderness of their cause, and their own vanities: I was so far off by this my humble complaint, from doing any good at all, that I was enforced to hear such rebukes, checks, and taunts for my labour, as no person of any honesty, without blushing, could abide to hear the like spoken of a most vile varlet, against a most wretched ruffian.

"At the first beginning of the disputations, when I should have first confirmed mine answer to the first proposition, in few words, and that (after the manner and law of schools) afore I could make an end of my first probation, which was not very long, even the doctors themselves cried out, He speaketh blasphemies, he speaketh blasphemies. And when I on my knees besought them, and that heartily, that they would vouchsafe to hear me to the end (whereat the proctor being moved, cried out on high, Let him read it, let him read it.) Yet, when I began to read again, there followed immediately such shouting, such a noise and tumult, such a confusion of voices, crying, Blasphemies, blasphemies, as I to my remembrance never heard or read the like, except it be that one which was, in the acts of the apostles, stirred up of Demetrius the silversmith, and other of his occupation, crying out against Paul, Great is Diana of the Ephesians, Great is Diana of the Ephesians! and except it be a certain disputations, which the Arians had against the Orthodox, and such as were of godly judgment in Africa, where it is said, that such as the president and rulers of the disputations were, such was the end of the disputations. All were in a hurly-burly; and so great were the slanders which the Arians cast out, that nothing could quietly be heard. This writeth Victor, in the second book of his history.

"The which cries and tumults of them against me so prevailed, that, will I, nil I, I was enforced to leave off reading of my probation, although they were short. If any man doubt of the truth hereof, let the same ask any one that was there, and utterly perverted in popery, and I am assured he will say, I speak the least. But to complain of these things further, I will cease.

"And further, speaking of this disputations, he concluded with these words: and thus was ended this most glorious disputations of the most holy fathers, sacrificers, doctors, and masters, which fought most manfully, as ye may see, for their God and goods, for their faith and felicity, for their country and kitchen, for their beauty and belly, with triumphant applauses and favour of the whole university.

After the disputations of Mr. Latimer was ended, on the Friday following, April 20, the commissioners sat in St. Mary's church, as they did the Saturday before, and Dr. Weston used particular dissuasions with every one of them, and would not suffer them to answer in any wise, but directly and peremptorily, as his words were, to say, whether they would subscribe or no. And first, to Dr. Cranmer, he said, He was overcome, in disputations. To whom the bishop answered, That whereas Dr. Weston said, he hath answered and opposed, and could neither maintain his own errors, nor impugn the verity; all that he said was false: for he was not suffered to oppose as he would, nor could answer as he was required, unless he would have brawled with them, so thick their reasons came one after another, four or five frequently interrupting him, that he could not speak. Mr. Ridley and Mr. Latimer were asked, what they would do: they replied, that they would stand to that they had said. Then they were all called together,
and sentence read over them that they were no members of the church; and, therefore, they, their favourers and patrons, were condemned as heretics. And in reading of it they were asked, Whether they would turn or no? But they bade them read on in the name of God, for they were not minded to turn. So they were all three condemned.

After which sentence of condemnation being awarded against them, they answered again each in his turn in manner and effect of words as followeth, the Archbishop speaking first.

Dr. Cranmer. "From this your judgment and sentence, I appeal to the just judgment of God Almighty, trusting to be present with him in heaven, for whose presence in the altar I am thus condemned."

Dr. Ridley. "Although I be not of your company, doubt I not but my name is written in another place, whither this sentence will send us sooner than we should by the course of nature have come."

Mr. Latimer. "I thank God most heartily, that he hath prolonged my life to this end, that I may in this case glorify God by that kind of death."

Dr. Weston's answer unto Latimer. "If you go to heaven in this faith, then I will never come thither, as I am thus persuaded."

After sentence was pronounced, they were separated one from another, namely, the Archbishop was returned to Bocardo, Dr. Ridley to the sheriff’s house, Mr. Latimer to the bailiff's.

On Saturday following, they had a mass, with a general procession and great solemnity. Dr. Cranmer was caused to behold the procession out of Bocardo, Dr. Ridley out of the sheriff's house. Latimer also, being brought to see it from the bailiff's house, thought that he should have gone to burning, and spake to one Augustine Cooper, a catchpole, to make a quick fire. But, when he came to Carsox, and saw the matter, he ran as fast as his old bones would carry him, to one Spencer's shop, and would not look towards it. Last of all, Dr. Weston carried the sacrament, and four doctors carried the canopy over him.

Immediately after the sentence was given, Dr. Ridley writeth to the prolocutor as follows:

"Mr. Prolocutor, you remember, I am sure, how you promised me openly in the schools, after my protestation, that I should see how my answers were there taken and written of the notaries whom ye appointed (me fateror neminem recusare) to write what should be said, and to have had licence to have added unto them, or to have altered them, as upon mature deliberation should have seemed me best. Ye granted me, also, at the delivery of my answer unto your first proposition, a copy of the same. These promises are not performed. If your sudden departure be any part of the cause thereof, yet I pray you remember that they may be performed; for performance of promise is to be looked for at a righteous Judge's hands. Now I send you here my answers in writing to your second and third propositions, and do desire and require earnestly a copy of the same, and I shall by God's grace procure the pains of the writer to be paid for, and satisfied accordingly. Master Prolocutor, in the time of my answering in the schools, when I would have confirmed my sayings with authorities and reasons, ye said then openly, that I should have time and place to say and bring whatsoever I could, another time, and the same your saying was then and there confirmed of other of the commissioners: Yea, and (I dare say) the audience also thought then, that I should have another day, to have brought and said what I could for the declaration and confirmation of mine assertions. Now, that this was not done, but so suddenly sentence given before the cause was perfectly heard, I cannot but marvel, &c."

On Monday next ensuing, April 23, Dr. Weston took his journey up to London, with the letters certificatory from the university to the queen, by whom the Archbishop directed his letters suppliatory unto the council; which letters, after the prolocutor had received, and had carried them well near half-way to London, by the way he opened the same, and seeing the contents thereof, sent them back again, refusing to carry them. Likewise, Bishop Ridley, hearing of the prolocutor's going to London, writeth to him his letters, wherein he desireth him to carry his answers up to certain bishops in London; the form of which letters, first of Dr. Ridley, then of the Archbishop, and, lastly, another letter of Dr. Ridley to the Archbishop, here in order foloweth.
Bishop Ridley's Letter to the Prolocutor.

"Mr. Prolocutor, I desire you, and in God's name require you, that you truly bring forth and shew all mine answers, written and subscribed with mine own hand, unto the higher house of the convocation, and especially to my lord chancellor, my lords of Durham, Ely, Worcester, Norwich, and Chichester, and also to shew and exhibit this my writing unto them, which in these few lines here I write unto you: and that I did make this request unto you by this my writing, know ye, that I did take witness of them by whom I send you this writing, and also of those which were then with them present, viz. the two bailiffs of Oxford, and of Mr. Irish, alderman, then there called to be a witness.

By me, Nicholas Ridley.
April 23, 1554."


"In right humble wise sheweth unto your honourable lordships, Thomas Cranmer, late Archbishop of Canterbury, beseeching the same to be a means for me unto the queen's highness for her mercy and pardon. Some of you know by what means I was brought and trained unto the will of our late sovereign lord King Edward the Sixth, and what I spake against the same, wherein I refer me to the reports of your honours and worship. Furthermore, this is to signify unto your lordships, that upon Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday last past, were open disputations here in Oxford against me, Mr. Ridley, and Mr. Latimer, in three matters concerning the sacrament: First, of the real presence. Secondly, of transubstantiation. And, thirdly, of the sacrifice of the mass. Upon Monday against me; upon Tuesday against Dr. Ridley; and upon Wednesday against Mr. Latimer. How the other two were ordered, I know not, for we were separated, so that none of us kneweth what the other said, nor how they were ordered. But, as concerning myself, I can report: Dr. Chedsey was appointed to dispute against me; but the disputation was so confused, that I never knew the like, every man bringing forth what him liked, without order: and such haste was made, that no answer could be suffered to be taken fully to any argument, before another brought a new ar-
gument. And in such weighty matters the disputation must needs be ended in one day, which can scantily be ended in three months. And when we had answered them, they would not appoint us one day to bring forth our proofs, that they might answer us, being required by me thereunto, whereas I myself have more to say, than can be well discussed, as I suppose, in twenty days. The means to resolve the truth had been, to have suffered us to answer fully to all that they could say, and then they again to answer us fully to all that we can say. But why they would not answer us, what other cause can there be, but that either they feared their matter, that they were not able to answer us, or else for some consideration they made such haste, not to seek the truth, but to condemn us, that it must be done in post-haste before the matters could be thoroughly heard: for in haste we were all three condemned of heresy. Thus much I thought good to signify unto your lordships, that you may know the indifferent handling of matters, leaving the judgment thereof unto your wisdops. And I beseech your lordships to remember me, a poor prisoner, unto the queen's majesty, and I shall pray, as I do daily, unto God for the long preservation of your good lordships in all godliness and felicity. April 23."

Dr. Ridley to Dr. Cranmer.

"I wish ye might have seen these mine answers before I had delivered them, that ye might have corrected them. But, I trust, in the substance of the matter, we do agree fully, both led by one Spirit of truth, and both walking after one rule of God's word. It is reported, that Sergeant Morgan, the chief justice of the common pleas, is gone mad. It is said also, that Justice Hales hath recanted, perverted by Dr. Moreman. Item, That Master Rogers, Doctor Crome, and Master Bradford, shall be had to Cambridge, and there be disputed with, as we were here; and that the doctors of Oxford shall go likewise thither, as Cambridge men came hither. When ye have read mine answers, send them again to Austen, except ye will put any thing to them. I trust the day of our delivery out of all miseries, and of our entrance into perpetual rest, and unto perpetual joy and felicity, draweth
night: The Lord strengthen us with his mighty Spirit of grace. If you have not to write with, you must make your man your friend. And this bearer deserveth to be rewarded; so he may, and will do your pleasure. My man is trusty: but it grieveth both him and me, that, when I send him with any thing to you, your man will not let him come up to see you, as he may to Master Latimer, and yours to me. I have a promise to see how my answers were written in the schools: but as yet I cannot come by it. Pray for me; I pray for you; and so shall I for you. The Lord have mercy of his church, and lighten the eyes of the magistrates, that God’s extreme plagues light not on this realm of England.

"TURN, OR BURN."

CHAP. XIX.

Recapitulation of Persons committed to Prison on Account of Religion, after the Accession of Queen Mary to the Crown; with a Statement of her Coronation.

These disputations being thus discussed and ended, now let us return again to the prosecuting of our story, touching other things likewise that happened in other parts of the realm, in this tumultuous time of Queen Mary. And because so many things happened in that time, that it is hard to keep a perfect order in reciting them all; to the intent, therefore, to insert things left out before, or else to prosecute the same more at large, we have thought here a little to interrupt the order of time, returning again to the month of July, 1553, I showed before, how the duke of Northumberland was apprehended by the guard, and brought to London by the earl of Arundel, and other lords and gentlemen appointed for that purpose, on St. James’s day, being July 25, and so to the Tower, where he remained. These be the names of them which were committed to the tower with the duke.

The Earl of Warwick, the earl of Hunting- ton, lord Ambrose, and lord Henry Dudley, lord Hastings, who was delivered again the same night; Sir John Gates, Sir Henry Gates, Sir Andrew Dudley, Sir Thomas Palmer, and Dr. Sands, chancellor of Cambridge.

July 26. The lord marquis of Northampton, the bishop of London, lord Robert Dudley, and Sir Richard Corbet, were brought and committed to the Tower.

July 27. The lord chief justice of England, and the lord Mountacute, chief justice of the common pleas, were committed to the Tower.

July 28. The duke of Suffolk and Sir John Cheek were committed to the Tower.

July 30. The lord Russel was committed to the sherif of London’s custody.

July 31. The earl of Rutland was committed to the Fleet; and on the same day the duke of Suffolk was delivered out of the Tower again.

Upon Thursday, August 3, the queen entered into the city of London at Aldgate, and so to the Tower, where she remained seven days, and then removed to Richmond.

August 4. Dr. Day was delivered out of the Fleet; and the day after, the lord Ferris was committed to the Tower, and Dr. Bonner delivered out of the Marshalsea. The same day at night Dr. Cocks was committed to the Marshalsea, and one Mr. Edward Underhill to Newgate. Also the same day Dr. Tonstal and Stephen Gardiner were delivered out of the Tower, and Gardiner received into the queen’s privy council, and made lord chancellor.

On Sunday, August 6, Henry Dudley, captain of the guard at Guines, who before had been sent to the French king, by his cousin the duke of Northumberland, after the despatch of his ambassage with the French king, returned to Guines, and so was taken, and this day brought to the Tower.

On Monday, August 7, Dirige in Latin was sung within the Tower by all the king’s chapel, and the bishop of Winchester was chief minister, the queen being present, and most of the council.

On Tuesday, August 8, the king’s body was brought to Westminster, and there buried; where Dr. Day, bishop of Chichester, preached. The same day a mass of Requiem was sung within the Tower by the bishop of Winchester, who had on his mitre; and did all things as in times past was done; the queen being present.

Upon Thursday the duke of Norfolk came forth of the Tower, with whom the duchess of Somerset was also delivered.

On Sunday, August 11, Dr. Bourn preached at Paul’s Cross. See p. 143.
In the week following, commandment was given throughout the city, that no apprentices should come to the sermon, nor bear any knife or dagger.

On Wednesday, August 16, Mr. Bradford, Mr. Beacon, and Mr. Vernon, were committed to the Tower: with whom also Mr. Sampson should have been committed, and was sought for the same time at Mr. Elsing’s house in Fleet-street, where Mr. Bradford was taken; and because he was not found, the bishop of Winchester was greatly displeased with the messenger.

August 16. The duke of Northumberland, the marquis of Northampton, and the earl of Warwick, were arraigned at Westminster, and condemned the same day, the duke of Norfolk that day being the high judge.

August 19, Sir Andrew Dudley, Sir John Gates, Sir Henry Gates, and Sir Thomas Palmer, were arraigned at Westminster, and condemned the same day, the lord marquis of Winchester being high judge.

Upon which day a letter was sent unto Sir Henry Tirril, Anthony Brown, and Edmund Brown, Esquires, praying them to commit to ward all such as shall contemn the queen’s order of religion, or shall keep themselves from church, there to remain until they be conformable, and to signify their names to the council.

Upon Sunday, August 20, Dr. Watson, the bishop of Winchester’s chaplains, preached at Paul’s Cross, at whose sermon were present the marquis of Winchester, the earl of Bedford, the earl of Pembroke, the Lord Rich, and 200 of the guard with their halberds, lest the people should have made any stir against the preacher.

Upon Monday, August 21, the Duke of Northumberland, the marquis of Northampton, Sir Andrew Dudley, Sir John Gates, and Sir Thomas Palmer, heard a mass within the Tower, and after mass they all five received the sacrament in one kind only, as in the popish time was used. On which day also the queen Mary set forth a proclamation, signifying to the people, that she could not hide any longer the religion which she from her infancy had professed, &c. inhibiting in the said proclamation, printing, and preaching; the tenor whereof read before, page 141.

Upon Tuesday, August 22, the duke of Northumberland, Sir John Gates, and Sir Thomas Palmer, were beheaded at Tower-hill, as before is said, page 140. The same day certain noble personages heard mass within the Tower, and likewise after mass received the sacrament in one kind.

Upon Sunday, August 27, Dr. Chedsey preached at Paul’s Cross, and the same day the archbishop of Canterbury, Sir Thomas Smith, and the dean of Paul’s, were cited to appear the week following before the queen’s commissioners, in the bishop’s consistory within Paul’s.

In the mean time it was noised abroad by running rumours falsely and craftily devised, either to establish the credit of the mass, or else to bring Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury out of credit, that he, to curry favour with queen Mary, should promise to say Dirige mass after the old custom for king Edward, and that he had already said mass at Canterbury, &c. Wherefore, to stop the slanders of those rumours, the said Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, the 7th day of September, set forth a letter, which was also printed, in purgation of himself, the copy of which letter here followeth:

A Purgation of Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, against certain slanders falsely raised upon him.

As the devil, Christ’s ancient adversary, is a liar, and the father of lies, even so hath he stirred up his servants and members to persecute Christ and his true word and religion with lying; which he ceaseth not to do most earnestly at this present time. For whereas the prince of famous memory, king Henry the Eighth, seeing the great abuses of the Latin mass, reformed some things therein in his lifetime, and after our late sovereign lord king Edward the Sixth took the same wholly away, for its manifold and great errors and abuses, and restored in the place thereof Christ’s holy supper, according to Christ’s own institution, and as the apostles used the same in the primitive church, the devil goeth about now by lying to overthrow the Lord’s supper again, and to restore his Latin satisfactory mass, a thing of his own invention and device. And to bring the same more easily to pass, some have abused the name of me, Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, bruiting abroad, that I have set up the mass at Canterbury, and that I offered to say
mass at the burial of our late sovereign prince 
king Edward the sixth, and that I offered to 
say mass before the queen's highness, and at 
Paul's church, and I wot not where. And 
although I have been well exercised these 
twenty years to suffer and bear evil reports 
and lies, and have not been much grieved 
thereat, but have borne all things quietly; yet 
when untrue reports and lies turn out to the 
hinderance of God's truth, they are in nowise 
to be suffered. Wherefore these be to signify 
unto the world, that it was not I that set up 
the mass at Canterbury, but it was a false, 
flatting, lying, and dissembling monk, which 
caus'd mass to be set up there, without mine 
advice or counsel; Reddat illi Dominus in die 
illo. And as for offering myself to say mass 
before the queen's highness, or in any other place, 
I never did it, as her grace well knoweth. But 
if her grace will give me leave, I shall be ready 
to prove, against all that will say the contrary, 
that all that is contained in the holy commun-
ion, set out by the most innocent and godly 
prince, king Edward the sixth, in his high 
court of parliament, is conformable to that 
order which our Saviour Christ did both ob-
serv,e and command to be observed, and which 
his apostles and the primitive church used 
many years; whereas the mass, in many 
things, not only hath no foundation of Christ, 
his apostles, but is manifestly contrary to the 
same, and containeth many horrible abuses in 
it. And although many, either unlearned or 
maliceous, do report, that Mr. Peter Martyr is 
unlearned, yet if the queen's highness will grant 
thereunto, I, with the said Peter Martyr, and 
other four or five, which I shall choose, will, by 
God's grace, take upon us to defend, not only 
the common prayers of the church, the minis-
tration of the sacraments, and other rites and 
ceremonies, but also all the doctrine and relig-
ion set out by our sovereign lord, king Ed-
ward the sixth, to be more pure, and accord-
ing to God's word, than any other that hath 
been used in England these thousand years: 
so that God's word may be judge, and that the 
reasons of both parties may be set out in writ-
ting, to the intent, as well that all the world 
may examine and judge thereon, as that no 
man shall start back from his writing. And 
where they boast of the faith, that hath been 
in the church these fifteen hundred years, we 
will join with them in this point; and that the 
same doctrine and usage is to be followed, 
which was in the church fifteen hundred years 
past: and we shall prove, that the order of 
the church, set out at this present in this 
realm by act of parliament, is the same that 
was used in the church fifteen hundred years 
past, and so shall they be never able to prove 
theirs.

On Thursday, September 7, lord Mount-
cute, chief justice, and lord chief baron, were 
delivered out of the Tower.

September 13, the reverend father, Master 
Hugh Latimer, was committed to the Tower.

Sept. 14, the archbishop of Canterbury, was 
committed to the Tower.

Sept. 26. One Mr. Gray, of Cambridge, call-
ed before him one Mr. Garth, for that he would 
not suffer a boy of Peter-house to help him 
say mass in Pembroke-hall, which was before 
any law was established for that behalf.

On Thursday, Sept. 28, the queen came to 
the Tower of London, and upon the Saturday 
following she rode from the Tower through 
the city, where were many pageants to receive 
her, and so she was triumphantly brought to 
Whitehall.

Upon Sunday, October 1, the queen's high-
ness went from Whitehall to Westminster Ab-
 bey, accompanied with the most part of the 
nobility of this realm: namely these, the duke 
of Norfolk, the earl of Arundel, the earl of 
Shrewsbury, the marquis of Winchester, the 
earls of Derby, Bedford, Worcester, Cumber-
land, Westmoreland, Oxford, Sussex, Devon-
shire, Pembroke, the lord Dacres of the north, 
lord Ferris, lord Cobham, lord Abercavenny, 
lord Wentworth, lord Scroope, lord Rich, lord 
Vaus, lord Howard, lord Conias, lord Morley, 
lord Paget, and the lord Willoughby, with 
other nobles, and all the embassadors of 
divers countries, the mayor of London, with 
all the aldermen. Also out of the abbey, to 
receive her coming, came three silver crosses, 
and to the number of about fourscore sing-
ing-men, all in very rich and gorgeous copes. 
Amongst whom was the dean of Westminster, 
and divers of the queen's chaplains, which 
bare every one some ensign in their hands, and 
after them followed ten bishops, all mitred, 
and their croisier staves in their hands, and 
rich copes upon them every one. And in this 
order they returned from Westminster-hall be-
fore the queen to the abbey, where she was
crowned by Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and lord chancellor of England. At the time of the coronation, Dr. Day, bishop of Chichester, made a sermon to the queen's majesty, and to the rest of the nobility.

Also there was a general pardon proclaimed within the abbey at the time of her coronation, out of which proclamation all the prisoners of the Tower and of the Fleet were excepted, and sixty-two more; whereof Mr. Whitchurch and Mr. Grafton were two.

Oct. 3, the vice-chancellor of Cambridge did challenge one Mr. Pierson, for that he ministered still the communion in his own parish, and did receive strangers of other parishes to the same, and would not say mass. Whereupon, within two days after, he was clean discharged from further ministering in his cure.

Upon the Wednesday following, the archbishop of York was committed to the Tower.

Upon Tuesday, October 5, 1553, the queen rode to the parliament in her robes, and all the nobility with her; and when they were set in the parliament-house, the bishop of Winchester made to them a solemn oration, and sergeant Pollard was chosen speaker. The same day the bishops of Lincoln, Hereford, and West-chester, were discharged from the parliament and convocation.

Also, October 10, the earl of Huntingdon was delivered out of the Tower.

Upon Sunday after, October 15, Mr. Laurence Saunders preached at Alhallows in Bread-street in the morning: where he fully declared the abomination of the mass, with divers other matters; whereof more shall be heard by God's leave hereafter, when we come to his story. In which his doing, as he shewed himself to be God's faithful minister, so is he sure not to be defrauded of God's faithful promise, who saith, Matt. 10. “Whosoever shall confess me before men, him will I confess also before my Father which is in heaven.” But about noon of the same day, he was sent for by the bishop of London, and committed to the Marshalsea.

Upon the Sunday following, October 20, Dr. Weston preached at Paul's Cross. Who in the beginning of his sermon willed the people to pray for the souls departed, on this wise: “You shall pray for all them that be departed, that be neither in heaven, nor hell, but in a place not yet sufficiently purged to come to heaven, that they may be relieved by your devout prayers.” He named the Lord's table an oyster-board. He said, that the catechism in Latin, lately set out, was abominable heresy, and likened the setters out of the same catechism to Julian the apostate, and the book to a dialogue set out by the said Julian, wherein Christ and Pilate were the speakers, with many other things. Which sermon, with all the points thereof, Mr. Coverdale the same time learnedly confuted by writing, which remaineth yet in my hands to be seen.

In the week following the disputations began in the convocation house in St. Paul's church, whereof sufficient hath been before declared.

October 26, the vice-chancellor of Cambridge went to Clare-hall, and in the presence of Dr. Walker displaced Dr. Madew, and placed Mr. Swyborne in the mastership there, by virtue of the lord chancellor's letters, for that he was (as they termed it) Uxoratus, that is, married.

October 28, the papists in the king's college in Cambridge (not tarrying the making of any law, but of their blind zeal) had their whole service again in the Latin tongue contrary to the law then in force.

October 31, the vice-chancellor of Cambridge did sharply reprove and threaten one Mr. Thackold, for that he challenged the said vice-chancellor, who had suffered Mr. Bovell (contrary to the statutes then in force) to depart quietly without punishment, notwithstanding that he refused to swear to the supremacy of the queen, and the abrogation of the bishop of Rome.

November 3, the vice-chancellor sent for the curate of the round parish in Cambridge, commanding him not to minister any more in the English tongue, saying he would have one uniform order of service throughout the town, and that in Latin, with mass, which was established the twelfth day of this month.

November 6, Mr. Pollard preached at St. Michael's, and in the sermon approved purgatory.

November 28, the archdeacon's official visited in Hinton, where he gave in charge to present all such as did disturb the queen's proceedings, in hindering the Latin service, the setting up of their altars, and saying of
mass, or any part thereof: whereby it was easy to see how these good fellows meant to proceed having the law once on their side, that thus readily, against a manifest law, would attempt the punishment of any man.

December 15. There were two proclamations at London; the one for the repealing of certain acts made by king Edward, and for the setting up of the mass the 20th of December then next following. The other was, that no man should interrupt any of those that would say mass.

The parliament beginning about the 5th of October, continued till the 5th of December. In which parliament were dissolved as well all the statutes made of Premunire in the time of king Henry VIII., &c., as also other laws and statutes concerning religion and administration of sacraments, decreed under king Edward VI. In which parliament was appointed, that on December 20, then next ensuing the same year, 1553, the old form and manner of church service used in the last year of king Henry, should now again be restored.

On December 31, the lord marquis of Northampton was delivered out of the Tower.

About this time a priest of Canterbury said mass on one day, and the next day after, he came into the pulpit, and desired all the people to forgive him; for he said he had betrayed Christ, not as Judas did, but as Peter did, and there made a long sermon against the mass.

January 2, 1554, four ambassadors came into London from the emperor, and were honourably received. Their names were, Le Countie de Egmont, Le Countie de Lalen, Monsieur Corire, Le Chancellor Nigre.

About this time a great number of new bishops, deans, &c. were chosen, more than were made at one time since the conquest: namely, Dr. Holyman, bishop of Bristol; Dr. Coates, bishop of West Chester; Dr. Hopton, bishop of Norwich; Dr. Bourn, bishop of Bath; Dr. White, bishop of Lincoln; Dr. Mores, bishop of Rochester; Dr. Morgan, bishop of St. David's; Dr. Poole, bishop of St. Asaph; Dr. Brooks, bishop of Gloucester; Dr. Moreman, coadjutor to the bishop of Exeter, and after his decease bishop of Exeter; Dr. Glin, bishop of Bangor; Mr. Feeknam, dean of Paul's; Dr. Reynolds, dean of Bristol; with others.

Jan. 12, the vice-chancellor of Cambridge called a congregation general, wherein among other things he showed, that the queen would have there a mass of the Holy Ghost upon the 18th of February then next following, for that it was her birthday; which was fulfilled the day appointed, and that very solemnly.

On Saturday, Jan. 13, Dr. Crome was committed to the Fleet: also the Sunday following one Mr. Addington was committed to the Tower. The same Sunday likewise the bishop of Winchester declared openly in the court, that the marriage between the queen's majesty and the king of Spain was concluded; and the day following, Jan. 15, the mayor with the aldermen and certain commons were at the court, and there they were commanded by the lord chancellor to prepare the city ready to receive the said king of Spain; who declared unto them what a catholic, mighty, prudent, and wise prince the said king was, with many other commendations of him.

On Saturday, January 20, the court of the first fruits and tenths was dissolved.

On Thursday night following, Jan. 25, the lord marquis of Northampton was again committed to the Tower, and Sir Edward Warner with him; who were brought to the Tower by the mayor.

On Saturday following, Jan. 26, justice Hales was committed to the Marshalsea; and the same day Mr. Rogers was committed to Newgate. Upon this Saturday, Sunday and Monday following, the Londoners prepared a number of soldiers, by the queen's command, to go into Kent against the commons; whereof were chief captains the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Wormwood, Sir Henry Jerningham, Sir George Howard, and ten other captains; which soldiers, when they came to Rochester bridge, where they should have set upon their enemies, most of them (as it is said) left their own captains, and came wholly to the Kentish men; and so the aforesaid captains returned to the court both void of men and victory, leaving behind them six pieces of ordinance and treasure.

About the latter end of January, the duke of Suffolk with his brethren departed from his house at Shene, and went into Leicestershire; after whom the earl of Huntington was sent, to take him and bring him to London, who proclaimed the said duke traitor by the way as he rode.

And thus passing to the month of February,
here is to be noted, by way of story, that upon the 15th day of the said month, being Thursday, within the city of London, about nine of the clock in the forenoon, strange sights were seen. Two suns both shining at once, the one a good way distant from the other; at the same time was also seen a rainbow turned contrary, and a great deal higher than hath been accustomed. The common standing of the rainbow is thus ( ), but this stood thus ( ), with the head downward, and the feet as it were upward. Both these sights were seen as well at Westminster, in Cheapside, on the south side of Paul’s, as in many other places, and that by a great many honest men. Also certain aldermen went out of Guildhall to behold the sight.

As touching the rising of Mr. Wyat, with Sir William Cobham, and others in Kent, and their coming to London in the month of February: also of the queen’s coming to Guildhall, and her oration there made; and of the taking of the said Wyat and his company; likewise of the apprehension of the duke of Suffolk, with his brother lord John Gray; and the next day after of the beheading of the lord Guilford and lady Jane, which was February 12th; and how, the day before, which was the 11th of February, lord William Howard, and Sir Edward Hastings, were sent for the lady Elizabeth; and how, the same Sunday, Sir Henry Iseley, Mr. Culpepper, and Mr. Winter were committed to the Tower, the bishop of Winchester the same day, February 11th, preaching before the queen, and persuading her to use no mercy toward these Kentish men, but severe execution, all which was in the month of February; because most of these matters have been briefly touched before, or else may be found in other chronicles, I will cease to make any further story of them: having somewhat notwithstanding to declare touching the arraignment and death of the duke of Suffolk.

Upon Saturday, February 17th, the duke of Suffolk was arraigned at Westminster, and the same day condemned to die by the peers; the earl of Arundel was chief judge for this day.

Upon the Sunday following, which was the 18th day of the said month, sessions was kept in London, which hath not before been kept upon the Sunday.

Upon Monday, February 19th, the lord Cobham’s three sons, and four other men, were arraigned at Westminster: of which sons the youngest was condemned, whose name was Thomas, and the other two came not at the bar; and the other four men were condemned.

Upon Tuesday, February 20th, the lord John Gray was arraigned at Westminster, and there condemned the same day, and other three men, whereof one was named Nailer.

Upon Wednesday, February 21st, the lord Thomas Gray and Sir James Croft were brought through London to the Tower with a number of horsemen.

Upon Thursday, February 22nd, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton was committed to the Tower.

Upon Friday, February 23rd, 1554, the duke of Suffolk was beheaded at Tower-hill, the order of whose death here followeth.

CHAP. XX.

Duke of Suffolk’s Martyrdom.—Executions in Kent.—Mr. Mancell’s Apology.—Cranmer and others condemned.—Creed of Prisoners.—Lady Elizabeth imprisoned.

About nine of the clock in the morning of the 23d of February, the Lord Henry Gray, Duke of Suffolk, was brought from the Tower to the scaffold upon Tower-hill, with a great company, &c. Dr. Weston accompanied him as his ghostly father, contrary to the duke’s will, as appeared by the duke’s putting him down from the stairs of the scaffold; though Weston forced him down likewise. The duke a second time attempted to put him down; when Weston said, it was the queen’s pleasure that he should do so. On this, the duke threw out his hands, ascended the scaffold, and, after pausing some time, said, “Masters, I have offended the queen and her laws, and thereby am justly condemned to die, and am willing to die, desiring all men to be obedient; and I pray God, that this my death may be an example to all men, beseeching you all to bear me witness, that I die in the faith of Christ, trusting to be saved by his blood only, and by no other trumpery, the which died for me, and for all men that truly repent, and steadfastly trust in him. And I do repent, desiring you all to pray to God for me: and that, when you see the breath depart from me, you will pray to God, that he may receive my soul.” And
then he desired all men to forgive him, saying, that the queen had forgiven him.

Then Dr. Weston declared with a loud voice that the queen's majesty had forgiven him. With that, several of the standers-by said with good and audible voices, Such forgiveness God send thee, meaning Dr. Weston. Then the duke kneeled down upon his knees, and said the Psalm Misere re me De us unto the end, holding up his hands, and looking up to heaven. And, when he had ended the psalm, he said, “Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit,” &c. Then he arose and stood up, and delivered his cap and scarf unto the executioner. Then the said executioner kneeled down, and asked the duke forgiveness. And the duke said, “God forgive thee, and I do; and when thou dost thine office, I pray thee do it well, and bring me out of the world quickly, and God have mercy to thee.” Then stood there a man, and said, “My lord, how shall I do for the money you do owe me?” And the duke said, “Alas, good fellow, I pray thee trouble me not now, but go thy way to my officers.” Then he knit a kerchief about his face, and kneeled down, and said, Our Father, which art in heaven, &c., unto the end. And then he said, Christ have mercy upon me, and laid down his head on the block, and the executioner took the axe, and at the first chop struck off his head, and held it up to the people, &c.

We have to observe, that about two hundred and forty prisoners were on that day pardoned, after passing through the city to Westminster, with their halters about their necks. The next day, Sir William Sentlow, one of the gentlemen to the Lady Elizabeth, was committed to the custody of the master of the horse; and on Sunday the 25th, Sir John Rogers was committed to the Tower. During this week, the Bishop, by his own power, divorced all the married clergy from their livings, and commanded to bring their wives within a fortnight to be divorced from them. On Tuesday the 27th, the two Mantels, two Knevets, and Bret, were sent into Kent to be executed. Mr. Rudston and others had been condemned, but had their pardon. When the elder Mr. Mantel, being led to execution, was first cast under the gallows, the rope brake; on which, promising him the queen's pardon, they wished him to recant, and receive the sacrament of the altar; but he refused their serpentine counsel, and would not live to dishonour God. A false report had been propagated industriously, that he had swerved from his faith; to reprove such a sinister calumny, he wrote the following declaration.

The Apology of Mr. Mantel, senior

Perceiving that already certain false reports are raised of me concerning my answer in the behalf of my belief, while I was prisoner in the Tower of London, and considering how sore a matter it is to be an occasion of offence to any of those little ones that believe in Christ; I have thought it the duty of a Christian man, as near as I can (with the truth) to take away this offence. It pleased the queen's majesty to send unto me Mr. Doctor Bourn, unto whom at the first meeting I acknowledged my faith in all points to agree with the four creeds, that is, the common Creed, the Creed of Nicene, Quicunque Vult, and Te Deum Laudemus.

Further, as concerning confession and penance, I declare, that I could be content to shew unto any learned minister of Christ's church any thing that troubled my conscience; and of such a man I would most willingly hear absolution pronounced.

"Touching the sacrament of the altar, (as he termed it,) I said, that I believed Christ to be there present as the Holy Ghost meant, when these words were written, 'This is my body.'

"Further, when this would not satisfy, I desired him to consider, that I was a condemned man to die by a law, and that it was more meet for me to seek a readiness and preparation to death. And insomuch, as I dissented not from him in any article of the Christian faith necessary to salvation, I desired him, for God's sake, no more to trouble me with such matters, as which to believe, is neither salvation, nor, not to believe, damnation. He answered, that if I dissented but in the least matter from the catholic church, my soul was in great danger; therefore, much more in this great matter, alleging this text, 'He that offendeth in the least of these is guilty of them all.' Yea, quoth I, it is true of these commandments of God. To this I desired him to consider it was not my matter,
nor could I in these matters keep disputation, nor minded so to do; and therefore, to take these few words for a full answer, that I not only in the matter of the sacrament, but also in all other matters of religion, believe as the holy catholic church of Christ (grounded upon the prophets and apostles) believeth. But upon this word Church we agree not; for I took exception at the antichristian popish church.

"Then fell we in talk of the mass, wherein we agreed not; for I, both for the occasion of idolatry, and also the clear subversion of Christ's institution, thought it naught; and he, e contra, upon certain considerations, supposed it good. I found fault, that it was accounted a sacrifice propitiatory for sin, and at certain other applications of it. But he said, that it was not a propitiatory sacrifice for sin, (for the death of Christ only was the sacrifice,) and this but a commemoration of the same. Then, if ye think so, (certain blasphemous collects left out,) I could be content (were it not for offending my poor brethren that believe in Christ, which know not so much) to hear your mass. See, quoth he, how vainglory toucheth you. Not so, sir, quoth I; I am not now, I thank God, in case to be vainglorious.

"Then I found further fault with it, that it was not a communion. Yea, saith he, one priest saying mass here, and another there, and a third in another place, &c., is a communion. Thisagreeth scarcely with these words of Paul, said I, 'Ye come not after a better manner, but after a worse.' Yea, and it is a communion too, said he, when they come together. Now draweth on the time, quoth he, that I must depart from you to the court, to say mass before the queen, and must signify unto her in what case I find you, and methink I find you sore seduced. Then I said, I pray you report the best; for I trust you find me not obstinate. What shall I say, are ye content to hear mass, and to receive the sacrament of the mass? I beseech you, said I, signify unto her majesty, that I am neither obstinate nor stubborn; for time and persuasion may alter me, but, as yet, my conscience is such, that I can neither hear mass, nor receive the sacrament after that sort. Thus, after certain requests made to the queen's majesty concerning other matters, he departed.

"The next day he came to me again, and brought with him St. Cyprian's works; for so I had required him to do the day before, because I would see his sermon, De Mortalitate. He had in this book turned and interlined certain places, both concerning the church and the sacrament, which he willed me to read. I read much as much of my time would serve, and at his next coming I said, that I was wholly of Cyprian's mind in the matter of the sacrament. Dr. Weston and Dr. Mallet came after to me, whom I answered much after that sort as I did the other. Dr. Weston brought in the place of St. Cyprian, 'Panis iste non effigies, sed natura mutatur,' &c. I asked of him, how natura was taken in the convocation-house, in the disputation upon the place of Theodoret.

"To be short, Dr. Bourn came often unto me, and I always said unto him, that I was not minded nor able to dispute in matters of religion; but I believed as the holy catholic church of Christ, grounded upon the prophets and apostles, doth believe; and, namely, in the matter of the sacrament, as the holy fathers St. Cyprian and St. Augustine do write, and believed; and this answer, and none other, they had of me in effect, what words soever have been spread abroad of me, that I should be conformable to all things, &c. The truth is, I never heard mass, nor received the sacrament during the time of my imprisonment.

"One time he willed me to be confessed. I said, I am content. We kneeled to pray together in a window; I began without Benedictin, desiring him not to look at my hand for any superstitious particular enumeration of my sins. Therewith he was called away to the council, et ego liberatus. Thus much I bear only for my life, as God knoweth. If in this I have offended any Christian, from the bottom of my heart I ask forgiveness. I trust God hath forgiven me, who knoweth, that I durst never deny him before men, lest he should deny me before his heavenly Father.

"Thus I have left behind me, written with mine own hand, the effect of all the talk, especially of the worst that ever I granted unto, to the uttermost I can remember, as God knoweth. All the whole communication I have not written, for it were both too long and too foolish so to do. Now I beseech the living God, which hath received me to his mercy, and brought to pass, that I die steadfast and un-
defiled in his truth, at utter defiance and detestation of all papistical and antichristian doctrine; I beseech him, I say, to keep and defend all his chosen, for his name’s sake, from the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, that antichrist, and from the assault of all his satellites. God’s indignation is known: he will try and prove who be his. Amend your lives. Deny not Christ before men, lest he deny you before his heavenly Father. Fear not to lose your lives for him; for ye shall find them again. God hold his merciful hand over this realm, and avert the plagues imminent from the same. God save the queen, and send her knowledge in his truth. Amen. Pray, pray, pray, ye Christians, and comfort yourselves with the scriptures.

"Written, March 2, 1554, by me, Walter Mantel, prisoner, whom both God and the world hath forgiven his offences. Amen."

Had he consented to the queen, on Dr. Bourn’s visits, he would probably have been pardoned; but he continued inflexible. On Saturday, the 3d of March, Sir Gawen Carew and Mr. Sibbes were brought through London to the Tower, with a company of horsemen. On the 17th, every householder in London was summoned to appear before the alderman of their respective ward, and commanded that they, their wives, and servants, should prepare themselves to confession, and receive the sacrament at Easter, and not to leave the city till Easter was past. On Sunday, March 18, the Lady Elizabeth, the queen’s sister, was brought to the Tower. On the 24th, the Marquis of Northampton, Lord Cobham, and Sir William Cobham, were liberated from the Tower, being Easter-Eve. The next morning, at St. Pancras in Cheap, the crucifix with the pyx (the vessel in which the host was kept) were taken out of the sepulchre, before the priest rose to the resurrection: so that when, after his accustomed manner, he put his hand into the sepulchre, and said very devoutly, He is risen, He is not here; he found his words true, for he was not there, indeed. Whereupon, being half dismayed, they consulted among themselves whom they thought to be the likeliest to do this thing: in which consultation they remembered one Marsh, which a little before had been put from that parsonage, because he was married, to whose charge they laid it. But, when they could not prove it, being brought before the mayor, they then burdened him to have kept company with his wife, since that they were by commandment divorced. Whereof he answered, That he thought the queen had done him wrong, to take from him both his living and his wife; which words were then noted, and taken very grievously; and he and his wife were both committed to several Compters, notwithstanding that he had been very sick.

The 8th of April, there was a cat hanged upon a gallows at the cross in Cheapside, apparelled like a priest ready to say mass, with a shaven crown: Her two fore-feet were tied over her head, with a round paper, like a wafer-cake, put between them; whereon arose great evil will against the city of London. For the queen and the bishops were very angry; and the same afternoon there was a proclamation issued, that whosoever could bring forth the party that did hang up the cat, should have twenty nobles, which was afterward increased to twenty marks; but none could or would earn it.

As touching the first occasion of setting up this gallows in Cheapside, here is to be understood, that after the bishop of Winchester’s sermon, above mentioned, made before the queen for the speedy execution of Wyat’s soldiers, immediately upon the same, February 13, there were several gibbets set up in divers parts of the city; namely, two in Cheapside, one at Leaden-hall, one at Billingsgate, one at St. Magnus-church, one in Smithfield, one in Fleet-street, four in Southwark, one at Aldgate, one at Bishopsgate, one at Aldersgate, one at Newgate, one at Ludgate, one at St. James-park corner, one at Cripplegate: all which remained for the terror of others, from February the 13th to June the 4th; and then, at the coming in of King Philip, were taken down.

April the 11th, Sir Thomas Wyat was beheaded and quartered on Tower-hill, where he spoke these words concerning the Lady Elizabeth and the Earl of Devonshire: “Concerning (said he) what I have said of others in my examination, to charge any others as partaking of my doings, I accuse neither my Lady Elizabeth’s grace, nor my Lord of De-
yonshire. I cannot accuse them; neither am I able to say, that, to my knowledge, they knew any thing of my rising.” And, when Dr. Weston told him, that his confession was otherwise before the council, he answered, “That which I said then, I said; but that which I say now, is true.”

Upon Tuesday, April the 17th, Sir James Croft and Mr. Winter were brought to Guildhall; with whom also was brought Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, and there arraigned of treason, for that he was suspected to be of the conspiracy with the Duke of Suffolk and the rest, against the queen; where he so learnedly and wisely behaved himself, (as well in clearing his own case, as also in opening such laws of the realm as were then alleged against him,) that the quest, which was charged with this matter, could not in conscience but find him not guilty; for which, the said twelve persons of the quest, being substantial men of the city, were each bound in the sum of five hundred pounds, to appear before the queen’s council at a day appointed, there to answer such things as should be laid against them. Which quest appeared accordingly before the council in the Star-chamber, upon Wednesday, April the 25th. From whence, after certain questioning, Emanuel Lucas and Mr. Whetstone were committed to the Tower, and the other ten to the Fleet.

The condemnation of Dr. Cranmer, Dr. Ridley, and Mr. Latimer, on the 20th of this month of April, and also of their disputations, we need not repeat.

The Friday after their condemnation, April the 27th, the Lord Thomas Gray, brother to the late Duke of Suffolk, was beheaded at Tower-hill.

On Saturday, April the 28th, Sir James Croft and Mr. Winter were again brought to Guildhall, where Sir James Croft was arraigned and condemned; and because the day was far spent, Mr. Winter was not arraigned.

Upon Thursday, May the 17th, William Thomas was arraigned at Guildhall, and the same day condemned, who the next day after was hanged, drawn, and quartered. His accusation was, for conspiring the queen’s death; which how true it was, I have not to say. This is certain, that he made a right godly end, and wrote many fruitful exhortations, letters, and sonnets, in the prison, before his death.

In the month of May, it was given out, that a solemn disputation should be held at Cambridge, (as ye heard before in Dr. Ridley’s letter,) between Mr. Bradford, Mr. Saunders, Mr. Rogers, and others of that side, and the doctors of both the universities on the other side, like as had been before in Oxford. Whereupon the godly preachers who were in prison, having notice thereof, albeit they were destitute of their books, and were not ignorant of the purpose of their adversaries, and how the cause was prejudiced before, also how the disputations were confusedly handled at Oxford; nevertheless they thought not to refuse the offer of disputation, so that they might be quietly and indifferently heard; and, therefore, wisely pondering the matter with themselves, by a public consent, directed out of prison a declaration of their mind by writing, the 8th of May. Wherein, first, as touching the disputation, although they knew that they should do no good, because all things were pre-determined before; yet, nevertheless, they would not deny to dispute, if the disputation might be either before the queen, or before the council, or before the parliament, or if they might dispute by writing: for else, if the matter were brought to the doctors’ handling in their own schools, they have sufficient proof, they said, by the experience of Oxford, that little good will be done at Cambridge.

A Copy of the Declaration drawn up by Mr. Bradford, Mr. Saunders, and several others.

“Because we hear, that it is determined of the magistrates, and such as be in authority, especially of the clergy, to send us speedily out of the prisons of the King’s-bench, the Fleet, the Marshalsea, and Newgate, where at this present we are, and of long time some of us have been, not as rebels, traitors, seditious persons, thieves, or transgressors of any laws of this realm, inhibitions, proclamations, or commandments of the queen’s highness, or of any of the councils, (God’s name be praised, therefore,) but alone for the conscience we have to God, and his most holy word and truth, upon most certain knowledge; because, we say, we hear that it is determined we shall be sent to one of the universities of Cambridge or Oxford, there to dispute with such as are appointed in
that behalf: in that we purpose not to dispute otherwise than by writing, except it may be before the queen's highness and her council, or before the parliament-houses; and, therefore, perchance it will be bruited abroad, that we are not able to maintain by the truth of God's word, and the consent of the true and catholic church of Christ, the doctrine we have generally and severally taught, and some of us have written and set forth, wherethrough the godly and simple may be offended, and somewhat weakened: we have thought it our bounden duty now, whilst we may, by writing to publish and notify the causes, why we will not dispute otherwise than is above said, to prevent the offences which might come thereby.

1. Because it is evidently known unto the whole world, that the determinations of both the universities in matters of religion, especially wherein we should dispute, are directly against God's word, yea, against their own determination in the time of our late sovereign lord and most godly prince, King Edward: and further, it is known they be our open enemies, and have already condemned our causes, before any disputation had of the same.

2. Because the prelates and clergy do not seek either us or the verity, but our destruction and their glory. For if they had sought us, (as charity requireth,) then would they have called us forth hereabouts before their laws were so made, that, frankly and without peril, we might have spoken our consciences. Again, if they had sought for the verity, they would not have concluded of controversies before they had been disputed: so that it easily appeareth, that they seek their own glory and our destruction, and not us and the verity: and, therefore, we have good cause to refuse disputation, as a thing which shall not further prevail than to the setting forth of their glory and suppression of the verity.

3. Because the censors and judges (as we hear who they be) are manifest enemies to the truth, and that which worse is, obstinate enemies, before whom pearls are not to be cast, by the commandment of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and by his own example. That they be such, their doings of late at Oxford, and in the convocation-house, in October last past, do most evidently make appear.

4. Because some of us have been in prison these eight or nine months, where we have had no books, no paper, no pen, no ink, or convenient place for study, we think we should do evil, thus suddenly to descend into disputation with them, which may allege, as they list, the fathers and their testimonies, because our memories have not that which we have read so readily, as to reprove, when they shall report and wrest the authors to their purpose, or to bring forth that we may have there for our advantage.

"5. Because in disputation we shall not be permitted to prosecute our arguments, but be stopt when we should speak; one saying this, another that, the third his mind, &c. as was done to the godly learned fathers, especially Dr. Ridley at Oxford, who could not be permitted to declare his mind and meaning of the propositions, and had oftentimes half a dozen at once speaking against him, always hindering him to prosecute his argument, and to answer accordingly: we will not speak of the hissing, scoffing, and taunting, which wonderfully then was used. If on this sort, and much worse, they handled these fathers, much more will they be shamelessly bold with us, if we should enter into disputation with them.

6. Because the notaries that shall receive and write the disquisitions shall be of their appointment, and such as either do not or dare not favour the truth, and, therefore, must write either to please them, or else they themselves, (the censors and judges we mean,) at their pleasure, will put to, and take from, that which is written by the notaries; who cannot, or must not, have in their custody that which they write, longer than the disputation endureth, as their doings at Oxford declareth. No copy nor scroll could any man have by their good will. For the censors and judges will have all delivered into their hands. Yea, if any man was seen there to write, as the report is, the same man was sent for, and his writings taken from him: so must the disputation serve only for the glory, not of God, but of the enemies of his truth.

"For these causes we all think it so necessary not to dispute with them; as, if we did dispute, we should do that which they desire and purposely seek, to promote the kingdom of Antichrist, and to suppress (as much as may be) the truth. We will not speak of the offence that might come to the godly, when they shall hear, by the report of our enemies,
of faith and doctrine set forth in the symbol of the apostles, which we commonly call the Creed, and in the symbols of the council of Nice, kept in the year 321; of Constantinople, in the year 381; of Ephesus, in the year 432; of Chalcedon, in the year 451; of Toletum, the first and fourth. Also in the symbols of Athanasius, Ireneus, Tertullian, and of Damascus, which was about the year of our Lord 376: we confess and believe (we say) the doctrine of the symbols generally and particularly: so that whosoever doth otherwise, we hold the same to err from the truth.

“4. We believe and confess concerning justification, that as it cometh only from God’s mercy through Christ, so it is perceived and had of none, which be of years of discretion, otherwise than by faith only: which faith is not an opinion, but a certain persuasion wrought by the Holy Ghost in the mind and heart of man, wherethrough as the mind is illuminated, so the heart is supplied to submit itself to the will of God unfeignedly, and so sheweth forth an inherent righteousness, which is to be discerned in the article of justification, from the righteousness which God endued us withal, justifying us, although inseparably they go together. And this we do not for curiosity or contention sake, but for conscience sake; that it might be quiet, which it can never be, if we confound without distinction forgiveness of sins, and Christ’s justice imputed to us, with regeneration and inherent righteousness. By this, we disallow papistical doctrine of free-will, of works of supererogation, of merits, of the necessity of auricular confession and satisfaction to God-wards.

“5. We confess and believe concerning the exterior service of God, that it ought to be according to the word of God; and, therefore, in the congregation all things public ought to be done in such a tongue as may be most to edify, and not in Latin, where the people understand not the same.

“6. We confess and believe, that God only, by Christ Jesus, is to be prayed unto and called upon; and, therefore, we disallow invocation or prayer to saints departed this life.

“7. We confess and believe, that as a man departeth this life, so that he be judged the last day generally; and, in the mean season, is either entered into the state of the blessed for ever, or damned for ever; and, therefore,
is either past all help, or else needs no help of any in this life. By reason whereof, we affirm purgatory, masses of Scala celii, tretants, and such suffrages as the popish church doth obtrude as necessary, to be the doctrine of Antichrist.

"3. We confess and believe the sacraments of Christ, which be baptism and the Lord's supper, that they ought to be ministered according to the institution of Christ, concerning the substantial parts of them: and that they be no longer sacraments, than they be had in use, and used to the end for which they were instituted.

"And here we plainly confess, that the mutilation of the Lord's supper, and the subtraction of the one kind from the lay-people, as anti-christian. And so is the doctrine of transubstantiation of the sacramental bread and wine after the words of consecration, as they be called.

"Item, The adoration of the sacrament with honour due unto God; the reservation and carrying about of the same.

"Item, The mass to be a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and dead, or a work that pleaseth God.

"All these we believe and confess to be Antichrist's doctrine; as is the inhibition of marriage as unlawful to any state. And we doubt not, by God's grace, but we shall be able to prove all our confessions here to be most true by the verity of God's word, and consent of the catholic church, which followeth and hath followed the governance of God's Spirit, and the judgment of his word.

"And, through the Lord's help, we will do, either in disputacion by word before the queen's highness and her council, either before the parliament-houses, of whom we doubt not but to be indifferently heard, or else with our pens, whosoeuer we shall be thereto, by them that have authority, required and commanded.

"In the mean season, as obedient subjects, we shall behave ourselves towards all that be in authority, and not cease to pray to God for them, that he would govern them all, generally and particularly, with the Spirit of wisdom and grace. And so we heartily desire and humbly pray all men to do, in no point consenting to any kind of rebellion or sedition against our sovereign lady the queen's highness: but where they cannot obey, but they must disobey God, there to submit themselves with all patience and humility to suffer as the will and pleasure of the high powers shall judge, as we are ready, through the goodness of the Lord, to suffer whatsoever they shall adjudge us unto, rather than we will consent to any doctrine contrary to this which we here confess, unless we shall be justly convinced thereof, either by writing or by word, before such judges as the queen's highness and her council, or the parliament-houses, shall appoint. For the universities and clergy have condemned our causes already, by the bigger, but not by the better, part, without all disputacion of the same; and, therefore, most justly we may and do appeal from them to be our judges in this behalf, except it may be in writing, that to all men the matter may appear. The Lord of mercy endue us all with the Spirit of his truth, and grace of perseverance therein unto the end. Amen.

ROBERT MENAVEN, alias ROBERT FARRAR,
ROWLAND TAYLOR,
JOHN PHILPOT,
JOHN BRADFORD,
JOHN WIGORNE,
GLOUC. EPISCOPUS, alias JOHN HOOPER,
EDWARD CROME,
JOHN ROGERS,
LAURENCE SAUNDERS,
EDMUNDE LAURENCE,
J. P.
T. M.

May 8th, 1554.

To these things aforesaid, do I, MILES COVERDALE, late of Exon, consent and agree, with these mine afflicted brethren being prisoners. Mine own hand."

And thus much concerning this present declaration, subscribed by these preachers, which was on the 8th day of May.

Furthermore, the 19th of the said month, the Lady Elizabeth, the queen's sister, was committed to the custody of Sir John Williams, afterward Lord Williams of Tame, by
whom her highness was gently and caurteously entreated; who afterward was had to Woodstock, and there committed to the keeping of Sir Henry Benefield, Knight, of Oxborough in Norfolk; who, on the other side, both forgetting her estate and his own duty, as it is reported, shewed himself more hard and strait unto her, than either cause was given of her part, or reason of his own part, would have led him, if either grace or wisdom in him might have seen before what danger might have ensued thereof afterward.
BOOK III.

THE HISTORY OF QUEEN MARY CONTINUED TO THE END OF THE SECOND YEAR OF HER REIGN

CHAP. I.

PHILIP OF SPAIN'S ARRIVAL IN ENGLAND, AND MARRIAGE WITH QUEEN MARY AT WINCHESTER.

It was not until the 20th of July, just after the queen had entered upon the second year of her reign, that "King Philip arrived at Southampton. The prince himself was the first that landed; who, immediately as he set foot upon the land, drew out his sword, and carried it naked in his hand. A little without the town, the mayor of Southampton, with certain commoners, met him, and delivered the keys of the town unto the prince, who removed his sword, naked as it was, out of his right hand into his left, and so received the keys of the mayor without any word speaking, or countenance of thankfulness; and, after a while, delivered the keys to the mayor again. At the town-gate, the Earl of Arundel and the Lord Williams met him, and so he was brought to his lodging.

Upon Wednesday following, July the 25th, being St. James's day, Philip prince of Spain, and Mary queen of England, were solemnly married in the cathedral church at Winchester, by the Bishop of Winchester, in the presence of a great number of noblemen of both the realms. At the time of this marriage, the emperor's ambassador being present, openly pronounced, that, in consideration of that marriage, the emperor had granted and given unto his son the kingdom of Naples, &c.

Whereupon, the first of August following, there was a proclamation, that from that time forth the style of all manner of writings should be altered, and this following used:

'Philip and Mary, by the grace of God, King and Queen of England, France, Naples, Jerusalem, and Ireland, Defenders of the Faith, Princes of Spain and Sicily, Archdukes of Austrich, Dukes of Milan, Burgundy, and Brabant, Counties of Haspurge, Flanders, and Tyrol.'

Of this marriage, as the papists chiefly seemed to be very glad, so several of them, after divers studies to shew forth their inward affections, made interludes and pageants; some drew forth genealogies, deriving his pedigree from Edward III. and John of Gaunt. Amongst others, Mr. White, then Bishop of Lincoln, (his poetical vein being drunk with joy of the marriage,) made certain verses; a translation whereof we have here inserted.

The Genealogy of Philip and Mary, whereby both Princes are shown to have descended from John of Gaunt, Son of Edward III. King of England and France.—The Author, Mr. White, Bishop of Lincoln.

John of Gaunt, father of princes, did beget
John the puissant Earl of Somerset:
From him John Duke of Somerset did spring,
Whose daughter Marg'ret brought forth England's king,
Henry the Seventh, who, of life bereft,
The throne unto his son prince Henry left:
His daughter Mary, England's sceptre bears,
And may she bear it long exempt from cares.

Verses of Mr. White, Bishop of Lincoln, concerning the Marriage of Philip and Mary.

The devil, that old enemy of mankind,
Strives to prevent, though to it God's inclin'd,
That Mary, England's queen, should join her hands
To English Philip in hymeneal bands.
Against the match, with the dark prince of night,
The helpless Scots and timorous French unite;
With these hell's prelates join, Caiaphas' race,  
Eight married fathers, void of heavily grace,  
John Dudley, Wyatt, and rebellious Kent,  
With Gray, conspire, the marriage to prevent,  
But that the nuptials should performed be,  
Cæsar and Flanders would, and Italy,  
Catholic bishops, and with these comply  
Five holy fathers, for their sanctity  
In fetters bound, the senate of the nation,  
And all true catholics in every station.  
Lords, commons, learned, ignorant, and we,  
'Cause God himself doth thereunto agree.  
When Philip to Queen Mary shall be join'd,  
Their blood its wanton course shall run refin'd.

Answer to White, Bishop of Lincoln, by the reverend Bishop of Norwich.

That Mary should to Spanish Philip wed,  
And England's glory be extirpated,  
The devil wills; jointly with him agree,  
All Flanders, Italy, and Germany;  
Caiaphas' race, the mitred company  
Of popish bishops, five for impiety  
In prison cast: but God's extended arm  
Kindly supports us, and averts the harm:  
He nills the match, gives England liberty;  
With him the warlike Scots and French agree,  
Eight married in the Lord: and Dudley you,  
Foreboding dismal things, the marriage view,  
The senate nills; brave Wyatt doth espouse  
With pious zeal his country's injur'd cause;  
With him Gray and the Kentish folk comply,  
Either to gain their liberty, or die.  
Then say, what profits will the Spanish king,  
Having wedded Mary, to the English bring?

Another Answer by the same Author.

Satan, your all-confounding sire, it's plain,  
Would have queen Mary wed the prince of Spain;  
That so he may Britannia's noble race  
Eradicate, and suddenly deface.  
But God, the Father of the English still,  
Resents the rancour of his wicked will.  
Nor do the warlike French and Scots agree,  
Tho' Flanders, Italy, and Germany,  
Conspire, and jointly strive that this may be.  
The mitred prelates all the match proclaim;  
Our holy Fathers all decry the same.  
The eight, who sacred nuptial ties revere,  
Courageous, and unmov'd by slavish fear,  
Will not, altho' the factious five agree,  
That were imprison'd for impiety.

Dudley, the brave Northumbrian hero, stands  
Prompt to oppose the matrimonial bands;  
And so will all prepar'd and ready be,  
That love their country, laws, and liberty.  
Wyatt the brave this generous mind doth shew,  
The nobles, commons, and the clergy too.  
Ye will the match, who are by nature prone  
To banish truth, and piety dethrone:  
But Gray and all the Kentish folk declare  
Their just resentment to the married pair.  
What glory then from such a marriage springs?  
What splendour does it add unto the ancient kings?

Other Verses, answering to Bishop White, made by J. C.

Though Philip to the English line pretend,  
And Mary from the Spanish did descend;  
Yet for an English queen of mongrel breed,  
To wed a Spanish prince, (as 'tis decreed,)  
Is to her sire and nation a disgrace indeed.  
Th' admirers of Old England's valour see,  
With truth and justice this can ne'er agree;  
But God the same does for our sins permit,  
And, therefore, patiently they suffer it.  
The people, if they are not strangely bent  
Against our welfare, never will consent  
To this unhappy match, foreboding ill:  
What's it to us, if th' adverse nation will?  
All pious men against the match contend;  
For they are mad indeed, who it defend.  
The Eight, who sacred wedlock do revere,  
Than the imprison'd Five more wise appear;  
For this pernicious marriage they oppose,  
To save the nation from insulting foes.  
The hero of Northumberland withstands  
These inauspicious and illegal bands.  
O dire infernal counsellors, who will  
Promote this fatal match, presaging ill!  
Wyatt, in war unhappily engag'd,  
Was at the marriage generously enrag'd;  
None for it was: but all the same withstood,  
Except th' unthinking Popish multitude.  
Gray, and the Britons all, will not agree,  
That this unhappy match should ever be;  
We, 'cause th' Almighty wills it so, submit,  
And patiently endure and suffer it:  
But worse things we shall bear, if Mary be  
In sacred wedlock, Philip, join'd to thee.

Other Verses answering likewise.

Say, White, whom can you find, that will agree,  
That Mary should to Philip married be?
It matters not what the vain multitude
Do will or nill (they're ignorant and rude):
To will and nill is God's chief property:
The question then is, What he wills to be?
'Cause God hath willed the match, (you say)
the same
Ye will, and loudly every where proclaim:
You ought, indeed, to know that God doth will,
Because, dull fool, thou'rt ignorant of it still.
This he hath will'd, that in his augury
White should a lying Pseudo-prophet be.
A king, tho' not the king, she weds indeed,
Herself an English queen, tho' not of English
breed.
She's pregnant, and not pregnant, yet pretends
Her teeming womb a joyful offspring sends:
This ye with hearts exulting wish to see;
But lo! no offspring comes: This God would have
to be.
He for a season weds, and then forsakes her;
One day a bride, the next a widow makes her:
This God would have; (whose vengeance
over takes her;)
So vain the prayers of wicked men are made,
Who for their country's ruin have destruction
laid.

Sit nomen Domini benedictum.

After the consummation of the marriage,
the king and queen removed from Winchester
to several other places, and by easy journeys
came to Windsor-castle, where he was in-
stalled in the order of the Garter, upon Sun-
day, August the 12th, at which time an her-
ald took down the arms of England at Wind-
sor, and in the place of them would have set
up the arms of Spain; but he was command-
ed to set them up again by certain lords.
From thence they both removed to Richmond,
and from thence by water to London, and
landed at the Bishop of Winchester's house,
through which they passed both into South-
walk-park, and so to Southwark-house, called
Suffolk-place, where they lay that night, be-
ing the 16th of August

Notice must here be taken of a rood newly
set up in Paul's church, to welcome King Phi-
lip into it; which was thus performed. "An-
no 2 Mariae, Bonner in his royalty, and all
his prebendaries about him in Paul's choir,
the rood laid along upon the pavements, and
also the doors of Paul's being shut, the bishop
with others said and sung divers prayers by
the rood: that being done, they anointed the
rood with oil in divers places, and, after the
anointing, crept unto it, and kissed it. After
that, they took the said rood, and weighed
him up, and set him in his old accustomed
place; and all the while they were doing
thereof the whole choir sang Te Deum; and
when that was ended, they rang the bells, not
only for joy, but also for the notable and
great feat they had done therein." But it
could not escape ridicule; for a merry fellow
soon after came thither, and espied the rood
with Mary and John newly erected, many peo-
ple being present, when he made a low cour-
tesy, and said, "Sir, your mastership is wel-
come to town. I had thought to have talked
further with your mastership, but that ye be
here clothed with the queen's colours. I hope
that ye be but a summer's bird, in that ye be
dressed in white and green."

Whilst the prince was in the church, Dr.
Harpstfleld addressed him in a Latin oration;
after which he advanced through Fleet-street
to Whitehall, and there remained with the
queen four days, removing afterward to Rich-
mond. The lords were then dismissed into
their countries, but with an injunction to
bring all their harness and artillery speedily
into the Tower; so that the Bishop of Win-
chester was the only English lord at the court.
They soon removed to Hampton-court, where
the hall-door within was continually shut, and
no person could enter without first announc-
ing his errand. Englishmen had not been ac-
customed to this. Soon after, on the 8th of
September, Bishop Bonner commenced his
visitation, and exhibited thirty-seven articles
of inquiry to be strictly answered upon oath
of six men in every parish; and all offenders,
at any time before or after, were to be pre-
sented before him on the day after St. Mat-
thew. On the 17th, a proclamation was is-
sued in London, for all vagabonds, and men
without masters, both strangers and English-
men, to leave the city within five days; in
which, after their expiration, all innholders,
victualers, taverners, and alehouse-keepers,
and all who sold victuals, were forbidden, on
pain of the law, to sell any meat, drink, or
any victuals, to any serving man whatsoever,
without producing a testimonial from his mas-
ter, to declare whose servant he was, and
was in continual household with his said mas
ter. On the following Sunday, the Bishop of Winchester, lord-chancellor of England, preached at Paul's Cross. All the council about the court were present; as, the Marquis of Winchester, the Earl of Arundel, Lords North and Fitzwater, Sir Anthony Brown, Mr. Rochester, Mr. Walgrave, Mr. Englefield, and secretary Peter. The bishops of London, Durham, and Ely, sat under the bishop's arms. He took his text from Matt. xxii. 37 to 40; and, in his sermon, speaking very much of peace and charity, at last, from an expression of St. James, diverged to enlarge upon true and false teachers. He then said, "That all the preachers almost in King Edward's time preached nothing but voluptuousness, and filthy and blasphemous lies, affirming their doctrine to be that false doctrine whereof St. James speaketh in this third chapter, saying, that it was full of perverse zeal, earthly, full of discord and dissension, that the preachers afore named would report nothing truly, and that they taught that it was lawful for a man to put away his wife for adultery, and marry another; and that, if a man vowed to-day, he might break it to-morrow at his pleasure, with many other things which I omit. And when he spake of the sacrament, he said, that all the church from the beginning have confessed Christ's natural body to be in heaven, and here to be in the sacrament, and so concluded that matter: and then willed all men to say with Joseph's brethren, 'We have all sinned against our brother;' and so, said he, have I too. Then he declared what a noble king and queen we have, saying, that if he should go about to shew that the king came hither for no necessity or need, and what he had brought with him, it should be superfluous, seeing it is evidently known, that he hath ten times as much as we are in hope and possession of, affir-

mimg him to be as wise, sober, gentle, and temperate a prince as ever was in England; and, if it were not so proved, then to take him for a false liar for his so saying: exhorting all men to make much of him, and to win him whilst we had him, and so should we also win all such as he hath brought with him; and so made an end."

When the procession on Corpus Christi day was made in Smithfield, and the priest, with his box, as usual, went under the canopy, a simple joiner of Coleman-street, named John Street, having some haste in his business, and all passage being closed by the crowd, went under the canopy near the priest. In his fear, from such a supposed presumption, his pyx fell down. The poor man was immediately seized, and sent to the Compter; and the priest accused him to the council of having a design to murder him. From the Compter he was removed to Newgate, and there chained to a post in the dungeon, and most cruelly treated; which drove from him the little sense he had before, and he was at length sent to Bedlam. But the brief chronicle of London falsely stated, that he only feigned himself mad; which was not the truth.

On the 2d of October, being Tuesday, twenty carts came from Westminster guarded through the city to the Tower, said to be laden with gold and silver; where it was received by a Spaniard, who was the king's treasurer, and had the custody of it. In every cart were six bundles, each about two feet long, and almost half a foot thick, matted and nailed; but their contents were unknown. Three days afterward, many householders, as well as servants and apprentices, were apprehended and committed to divers prisons, for having and selling books sent from Germany and other countries by the English preachers, who had fled thither. Nearly threescore were imprisoned within a fortnight; of which number were Mr. Brown, a goldsmith; Mr. Spark, a draper; Randal Tyrer, a stationer; and Mr. Beston, a merchant. On Sunday the 14th, the old Bishop of Durham preached in the shrouds; and on the 16th, being St. Luke's day, the king came to Paul's church along the streets from Westminster, accompanied with many noblemen. He was there received under a canopy at the west door, and so came into the chancel, and heard mass, which was sung by a Spanish bishop and his own chaplain. He returned to Westminster to dinner.

The 26th, being Friday, eight men of Mr. Throgmorten's party, the other four having been liberated, on making their submission through fear, were called before the council in the Star-chamber. The chief of these were Mr. Emanuel Lucas and Mr. Whetstone. All of them affirmed, that they had done all things in that matter according to their knowledge, and with good conscience, even as they should
answer before God at the day of judgment. When Mr. Lucas said openly before all the lords, that they had done in the matter like honest men, and true and faithful subjects, and, therefore, they humbly besought the lord-chancellor and the other lords, to be means to the king and queen's majesties, that they might be discharged and set at liberty, and said, that they were all contented humbly to submit themselves to their majesties, saving and reserving their truth, consciences, and honesty. Some of the lords said, that they were worthy to pay £1000 apiece, and others said, that Mr. Lucas and Mr. Whetstone were worthy to pay 1000 marks apiece, and the rest £500 apiece. In conclusion, sentence was given by the lord-chancellor, that they should pay 1000 marks apiece, and be sent to prison again, there to remain till further order were taken for their punishment. On the Tuesday following, October the 30th, Lord J. Gray was liberated from the Tower. On the 4th of November, being Sunday, five priests did penance at Paul's-cross, being content to put away their wives, to resume their ministry; each having a taper in his hand, and a rod, wherewith the preacher did dispel them. The seventh of November, Lord Paget and Sir Edward Hastings, master of the horse, were sent ambassadors, supposed to be to Cardinal Pole at Brussels, who had been nominated Archbishop of Canterbury. On the 9th, Mr. Barlow, late bishop of Bath, and Mr. Cardmaker, were brought before the Star-chamber, but soon commanded to the Fleet.

Commandment was given on the 10th to the sheriffs of London to take an inventory of all the goods of the persons of Mr. Throgmorton's party, and to seal up their doors, which was done on the same day. Mr. Lucas, Mr. Whetstone, and Mr. Kytely, were then judged to pay £1000 apiece, and the rest 1000 marks each, within a fortnight; but Mr. Loc, Mr. Poynter, Mr. Beswike, and Mr. Carter, who had made their submission, were exempted.

Bishop Bonner's thirty-seven articles of inquiry, Mr. Fox considered as too infectious for his book, and refers to Bale, in one of his treatises, as having sufficiently painted them out in their colours. In his visitation in Essex, he was attended with divers worshipful of the shire, as they were commanded, and arrived at Sterford, (now Storford,) where he rested certain days, solacing himself after that painful peregrination with no small feasting and banqueting with his attendants aforesaid, at the house of one Parsons, his nephew, whose wife he commonly called his fair niece (and fair she was indeed;) he took there great pleasure to hear her play upon the virginals, wherein she excelled, insomuch that every dinner, (sitting by his sweet side,) she arose and played three several times at his request of his good and spiritual devotion towards her. After some days were passed in this fashion, he proceeded in his popish visitation toward Hadham, his own house and parish, not past two miles from Sterford, being there most solemnly rung out, as in all other places where he passed. At length, drawing near unto Hadham, when he heard no stirring there in honour of his holiness, he grew into some choler, and the nearer he approached the hotter was his fit; and the quieter the bells were, the unquieter was his mood. Thus rode he on, chafing and fuming with himself: "What meaneth (saith he) that knave the clerk, that he ringeth not?" and the parson, that he mecteth me not? with other passionate expressions. There this patient prelate, coming to the town, alighted, calling for the key of the church, which was then all unready; for that, as they then pretended, he had prevented his time by two hours: whereupon he grew from choler to plain melancholy, so as no man willingly would deal with him to qualify the raging humour so far incorporated in his breast. At last, the church-door being opened, the bishop entered, and finding no sacrament hanged up, no rood-loft decked after the popish precept, (which had commanded about the same time a well-favoured rood, and of tall stature, universally in all churches to be set up,) curtailed his small devotions, and fell from all choler and melancholy to flat madness in the greatest degree, swearing and raging with an hunting oath or two, (and by no small oaths,) that in his own church, where he hoped to have seen best order, he found most disorder, to his honour's most heavy discomfort, as he said, calling the parson, (whose name was Dr. Bricket,) knave and heretic. Who there humbled himself, and yielded, as it were, to his fault, saying, He was sorry his lordship was come before that he
and his parish looked for him, and therefore could not do their duties to receive him accordingly: and as for those things which were lacking, he trusted in short time hereafter he should compass that which hitherto he could not bring about. Therefore, if it pleased his lordship to come to his poor house, where his dinner was prepared, he would satisfy him in those things which his lordship thought amiss. Yet this reasonable answer neither could satisfy nor assuage his unreasonable passion. For the catholic prelate utterly defied him and his cheer, commanding him out of his sight, saying, as his by-word was, ‘Before God, thou art a knave; avaut, heretic;’ and therewithal, whether thrusting or striking at him, so it was, that with his hand he gave Sir Thomas Josselin, Knight, (who was then amongst the rest, and stood next the bishop,) a good blow upon the upper part of the neck, even under his ear, as some say which stood by; but, as he himself said, he hit him full upon the ear; whereas he was somewhat astonished at the suddenness of the quarrel for that time. At last he spake, and said, ‘What meaneth your lordship? have you been trained in Will Sommer’s school, to strike him that standeth next you?’ The bishop, still in rage, either heard not, or would not hear.

Then Mr. Fecknam, Dean of Paul’s, seeing the bishop still in this bitter rage, said, “O Mr. Josselin, you must bear with my lord, for truly his long imprisonment in the Marshalsea, and the misusing of him there, hath altered him, that in those passions he is not ruler of himself, nor it booteth any man to give him counsel, until his heat be past, and then assure yourself, Mr. Josselin, my lord will be sorry for those abuses, that now he cannot see in himself.” Whereunto he merrily replied, “So it seems, Mr. Fecknam, for now that he is come forth of the Marshalsea, he is ready to go to Bedlam.” At which merry conceit some laughed, and more smiled, because the nail was so truly hit upon the head. The bishop, nothing abashed at his own folly, gave a deaf ear; and it was no marvel, that he was not ashamed to strike a stranger, who spared not the burning of so many good men.

After this worthy combat thus finished, this martial prelate presently taketh him to his horse again, notwithstanding he at first intended to tarry at Hadham three or four days, and had made provision in his own house accordingly; but, leaving his dinner, he rode that night with a small company of his household to Ware, to the great wonder of all the country, who looked not for his coming till three days after.

At this hasty posting away of the bishop, his whole train of attendants there left him; also his doctors and chaplains, a few excepted, tarried behind, and dined at Dr. Bricket’s, as merrily as the bishop rode toward Ware chargeably; which dinner was prepared for the bishop himself. Now whether the bishop were offended at those solemnities which he wanted, and was accustomed to be saluted withal in other places where he journeyed, adding to that, that his great god was not exalted above ground over the altar, nor his block almighty set seemly in the rood-loft to entertain strangers, and thereupon took occasion to quarrel with Dr. Bricket, (whose religion perchance he somewhat suspected,) I have not perfectly to say, but so it was supposed of several the cause thereof to rise, which drove the bishop so hastily from such a dinner. Testified by such as there and then were present.

In this visitation of Bishop Bonner above mentioned, ye see how the bishop took on for not setting up the rood, and ringing the bells at Hadham. Ye heard also of the precept, which commanded in every parish a rood to be erected, both well favoured and of a tall stature. By occasion whereof it cometh in mind, and not out of place, what happened in a certain town in Lancashire, near to Lancaster, called Cockram, where the parishioners and church-wardens, having at the same time a like charge for the erecting of a rood in their parish-church, had made their bargain, and were at a price with one that could cunningly carve and paint such idols, for the framing of their rood; who, according to his promise, made them one, and set it up in their church. This done, he demanded his money: but they, misliking his workmanship, refused to pay him, whereupon he arrested them, and the matter was brought before the mayor of Lancaster, who was a very fit man for such a purpose, and an old favourer of the gospel, which is rare in that country. Then the carver began to declare how they covenanted with him for the making of a rood with the appurtenances, ready carved and set up in
their church, which he, according to his promise, had done; and now, demanding his money, they refused to pay him. Is this true? quoth the mayor to the wardens. Yea, sir, said they. And why do you not pay the poor man his due? quoth he. And it please you, master mayor, quoth they, because the rood we had before was a well-favoured man, and he promised to make us such another; but this that he hath set us up now, is the worst favoured thing that ever you set your eyes on, gaping and grinning in such sort, that none of our children dare once look him in the face, or come near him. The mayor thinking that it was good enough for that purpose, if it had been worse, My masters, quoth he, howsoever the rood like you, the poor man's labour hath been never the less, and it is a pity, that he should have any hinderance or loss thereby. Therefore, I will tell you what you should do: pay him the money ye promised him, and go your ways home and look on it; and, if it will not serve for a god, make no more ado, but clap a pair of horns on his head, and so he will make an excellent devil. This the parishioners took well in worth: the poor man had his money, and divers laughed well thereat; but so did not the Babylonish priests.

This mayor above mentioned continued a protestant almost fifty years, and was the only reliever of one Mr. March the martyr with meat, drink, and lodging, while he lay in Lancaster-castle, the space of three quarters of a year, before he was had to Chester to be burned, &c.

### CHAP. II.

**Bishop Bonner's Mandate for abolishing Scriptures on Church-Walls; the Council's Letter to Bishop Bonner; Cardinal Pole's Introduction to the Court, and his Oration.**

The Bishop of London was not an inactive prelate, as we shall find in this history. His exertions for the honour of Popery were no less distinguished than his pride was mortified in any resistance to his will, or tardiness in executing it. The following copy of his precept for removing all scripture passages from the walls of churches, demonstrates the wicki-
by no means they be either read or seen, and therein to proceed moreover as they shall see good and laudable in this behalf. And if, after the said monition, the said church-wardens and parishioners shall be found remiss and negligent or culpable, then you jointly and severally shall see the aforesaid scriptures to be razed, abolished, and extinguished forthwith: citing all and singular those church-wardens and parishioners, (whom we also for the same do cite here by the tenor hereof) that all and singular the church-wardens and parishioners being slack and negligent, culpable therein, shall appear before us, our vicar-general and principal official, or our commissary special in our cathedral church of St. Paul at London, in the consistory there, at the hour appointed for the same, the sixth day next after their citation, if it be a court-day, or else at the next court-day after ensuing, whereas either we or our official or commissary shall sit; there to say and allege for themselves some reasonable cause, if they have or can tell of any, why they ought not to be excommunicated, or otherwise punished for their such negligence, slackness, and fault, to say and to allege, and further to do and receive, as law and reason requireth. And what you have done in the premises, do you certify us, or our vicar, principal official, and such our commissary, diligently and duly in all things, and through all things, or let him among you thus certify us, which hath taken upon him to execute this mandate: In witness whereof we have set our seals to these presents. Dated in the bishop's palace at London the 25th day of the month of October, in the year of our Lord 1554, and of our translation the 16th."

About this time the lord-chancellor sent Mr. Christopherson unto the university of Cambridge, with these three articles, which he enjoined them to observe:

The first, That every scholar should wear his apparel according to his degree in the schools.

The second was, touching the pronunciation of the Greek tongue.

The third, That every preacher there should declare the whole style of the king and queen in their sermons.

These proceedings occasioned many wise and learned men to retire from both universities; some by voluntary choice, others by being driven from their fellowships, and in other respects many were miserably treated. In St. John's College at Cambridge, twenty-four vacancies were thus made, and filled up by persons very inferior both in virtue and religion. In Oxford, too, no regard was had "to the forwardness of good wits, and the maintenance of good letters, beginning then more and more to flourish in that university;" but only to the promotion of papistical proceedings. Dr. Tresham supplied the place of the sub-dean in Christ-church there, and, in his zeal, having assembled the students of the college, addressed them to this effect. He began, "with great eloquence and art, to commend the dignity of the mass unto them, declaring, that there was stuff enough in the scripture to prove the mass good. Then, to allure them to the catholic service of the church, he used these reasons, declaring, that there were a goodly company of copes, that were appointed to Windsor, but he had found the queen so gracious unto him, that they should come to Christ's-church. Now, if they, like honest men, would come to church, they should wear them on holy-days. And, besides all this, he would get them the lady bells of Bampton, and that should make the sweetest ring in all England. And as for holy water to sprinkle, he had already the fairest that was within the realm. Wherefore he thought that no man would be so mad to forego these commodities, &c."

"Which things I rehearse, that it may appear what want of discretion is in the fathers of popery, and into what idle follies such men do fall, whom I beseech the Lord, if it be his pleasure, to reduce to a better truth, and to open their eyes to see their own blindness."

On the 12th of November, being Monday, the parliament met at Westminster; when both the king and queen rode in their parliament robes, having two swords borne before them; the first by the Earl of Pembroke, and the queen's by the Earl of Westmoreland. Two caps of maintenance also were borne before them by the Earls of Arundel and Shrewsbury. On the 21st of November, Cardinal Pole landed at Dover; on which day an act passed in parliament for his restitution in blood, repealing, as most slanderous, the
A Letter from the Council to Edmund Bonner, Bishop of London, concerning Queen Mary's conceiving with Child.

"After our hearty commendations unto your good lordship: Whereas it hath pleased Almighty God, among other his infinite benefits of late most graciously poured upon us and this whole realm, to extend his benediction upon the queen's majesty in such sort, as she is conceived and quick of child: whereby her majesty (being our natural liege lady queen, and undoubted inheritor of this imperial crown) good hope of certain succession in the crown is given unto us, and consequently the great calamities (which, for want of such succession, might otherwise have fallen upon us and our posterity) shall by God's grace be well avoided, if we thankfully acknowledge this benefit of Almighty God, endeavouring ourselves with earnest repentance to thank, honour, and serve him, as we be most bounden: these be not only to advertise you of this good news, to be by you published in all places within your diocese, but also to pray and require you, that both yourself do give God thanks with us for this his special grace, and also give order that thanks may be openly given by singing of Te Deum in all the churches within your said diocese: and that likewise all priests and other ecclesiastical ministers, in their masses, and other divine services, may continually pray to Almighty God so to extend his holy hand over her majesty, the king's highness, and the whole realm, as that this thing being by his omnipotent power graciously thus begun, may by the same be well continued and brought to good effect, to the glory of his name. Whereunto, albeit we doubt not, ye would of yourself have had a special regard without these our letters, yet, for the earnest desire we have to have this thing done out of hand, and diligently continued, we have also written these our letters to put you in remembrance; and so bid your lordship most heartily well to fare. From Westminster, November 27, 1554. Your assured loving friends.

S. WINTON, Cancel.  JOHN BATHON,
ARUNDEL.  R. RICH,
F. SHREWSBURY,  THOMAS WATTHOM,
EDWARD DARBY,  JOHN HUDDILSTONE,
HENRY SUSSEX,  R. SOUTHWELL.

Also, the same day in the afternoon, Cardinal Pole came to the Parliament-house, which at that time was kept in the great chamber of the court at Whitehall, because the queen was then sick, and could not go abroad: where the king and queen's majesty sitting under the cloth of state, and the cardinal sitting on the right hand, with all the other estates of the parliament being present, the bishop of Winchester, being lord-chancellor, began in this manner:

"My lords of the upper house, and you, my masters of the nether house, here is present the Right Reverend Father in God, my Lord Cardinal Pole, come from the apostolic See of Rome, as ambassador to the king and queen's majesties, upon one of the weightiest causes that ever happened in this realm, and which pertaineth to the glory of God, and your universal benefit. The which ambassage their majesties' pleasure is to be signified unto you all by his own mouth, trusting that you will receive and accept it in as benevolent and thankful wise as their highnesses have done, and that you will give an intent and inclinable ear unto him."

The lord-chancellor having ended, the cardinal began his oration, wherein he declared the causes of his coming, and what were his desires and requests. In the mean time the court gate was kept shut till he had made an end.

"My lords all, and you that are the commons of this present parliament assembled, which in effect is nothing else but the state and body of the whole realm. As the cause of my repair hither hath been most wisely and gravely declared by my lord-chancellor, so, before that I enter into the particularities of my commission, I have somewhat touching myself, and to give most humble and hearty thanks to the
king and queen’s majesties, and, after them, to you all, which, of a man exiled and banished from the commonwealth, have restored me to be a member of the same; and of a man having no place neither here or elsewhere within this realm, having admitted me in a place, where to speak and to be heard. This I protest unto you all, that though I was exiled my native country without just cause, as God knoweth, yet the ingratitude could not pull from me the affection and desire that I had to profit and do you good. If the offer of my service might have been received, it was never to seek, and where that could not be taken, you never failed of my prayer, nor ever shall.

“But leaving the rehearsal thereof, and coming more near to the matter of my commission, I signify unto you all, That my principal travail is for the restitution of this noble realm to the ancient nobility, and to declare unto you, that the see apostolic, from whence I come, hath a special respect to this realm above all other, and not without cause, seeing that God himself, as it were by providence, hath given this realm prerogative of nobility above other: which to make more plain to you, it is to be considered, that this island first of all islands received the light of Christ’s religion. For, as stories testify, it was prima provinciarum quae amplexa est fidem Christi.

“For the Britons being first inhabitants of this realm, (notwithstanding the subjection of the emperors and heathen princes,) did receive Christ’s faith from the apostolic see universally, and not in parts, as other countries; nor by one and one, as clocks increase their hours by distinction of times; but altogether at once, as it were in a moment. But, after that their ill merits or forgetfulness of God had deserved expulsion, and that strangers, being infidels, had possessed this land, yet God of his goodness, not leaving where he once loved, so illuminated the hearts of the Saxons, being heathen men, that they forsook the darkness of heathen errors, and embraced the light of Christ’s religion; so that, within a small space, idolatry and heathen superstition was utterly abandoned in this island.

“This was a great prerogative of nobility, the benefit whereof, though it be to be ascribed to God, yet the mean occasion of the same came from the church of Rome. In the faith of which church we have ever since continued and consented with the rest of the world in unity of religion. And to shew further the fervent devotion of the inhabitants of this island towards the church of Rome, we read that divers princes in the Saxons’ time, with great travail and expenses, went personally to Rome, as Offa and Adolphus, which thought it not enough to shew themselves obedient to the said see, unless that in their own persons they had gone to the same place from whence they had received so great a grace and benefit.

“In the time of Carolus Magnus, who first founded the university of Paris, he sent into England for Alcuinus, a great learned man, which first brought learning to that university; whereby it seemeth, that the greatest part of the world fetched the light of religion from England.

“Adrian the Fourth, being an Englishman, converted Norway from infidelity: which Adrian afterward, upon the great affection and love that he bare to this realm, being his native country, gave to Henry the Second, King of England, the right and seignory of the dominion of Ireland, which pertained to the see of Rome.

“I will not rehearse the manifold benefit that this realm hath received from the apostolic see, nor how ready the same hath been to relieve us all in our necessities. Nor will I rehearse the manifold miseries and calamities that this realm hath suffered by swerving from that unity. And even as in this realm, so also in all other countries, which, refusing the unity of the catholic faith, have followed fantastical doctrine, the like plagues have happened. Let Asia and the empire of Greece be a spectacle unto the world, who, by swerving from the unity of the church of Rome, are brought into captivity and subjection to the Turk. All stories be full of like examples: And, to come unto the latter time, look upon our neighbours in Germany, who, by swerving from this unity, are miserably afflicted with diversities of sects, and divided into factions.

“What shall I rehearse unto you the tumults and effusion of blood that hath happened there of late days? or trouble you with the rehearsal of those plagues that have happened since this innovation of religion, where-
of you have felt the bitterness, and I have heard the report of all which matters I can say no more, but such was the misery of the time. And see how far forth this fury went. For those that live under the Turk may freely live after their conscience, and so it was not lawful here.

"If men examine well upon what grounds these innovations began, they will find that the root of many other mischiefs was avarice; and that the lust and carnal affection of one man confounded all laws, both divine and human. And notwithstanding all these devices and policies practised within this realm against the church of Rome, they needed not to have lost you, but that they thought rather as friends to reconcile you, than as enemies to infest you. For they wanted not great offers of the most mighty potentates in all Europe to have aided the church in that quarrel. Then mark the sequel: there seemed, by these changes, to rise a great face of riches and gain, which, in proof, came to great misery and lack. See how God then can confound the wisdom of the wise, and turn unjust policy to mere folly; and that thing which seemed to be done for relief, was cause of plain ruin and decay. Yet see that goodness of God, which at no time failed us, but most benignly offered his grace, when it was of our parts least sought and worse deserved.

"And when all light of true religion seemed utterly extinct, the churches defaced, the altars overthrown, the ministers corrupted, even like as in a lamp the light being covered, yet it is not quenched; even so in a few remained the confession of Christ's faith, namely, in the breast of the queen's excellency, of whom, to speak without adulation, the saying of the prophet may be verified, "Ecce quasi derelictæ."" And see how miraculously God of his goodness preserved her highness, contrary to the expectation of man; that when numbers conspired against her, and policies were devised to disinherit her, and armed power prepared to destroy her; yet she, being a virgin helpless, naked, and unarmed, prevailed and had the victory of tyrants; which is not to be ascribed to any policy of man, but to the almighty great goodness and providence of God. to whom the honour is to be given. And therefore, it may be said, Give glory to God.

For, in man's judgment, on her grace's part was nothing in appearance but despair.

"And yet, for all these practices and devices of ill men, here you see her grace established in her estate, being your lawful queen and governness, born among you, whom God hath appointed to reign over you, for the restitution of true religion, and extirpation of all errors and sects. And, to confirm her grace the more strongly in this enterprise, lo! how the providence of God hath joined her in marriage with a prince of like religion; who being a king of great might, armour, and force, yet useth towards you neither armour nor force, but seeketh you by the way of love and unity: in which respect, great cause you have to give thanks to Almighty God, that hath sent you such a catholic governness. It shall be, therefore, your part again to love, obey, and serve them.

"And as it was a singular favour of God to conjoin them in marriage, so it is not to be doubted but that he shall send them issue, for the comfort and surety of this commonwealth.

"Of all princes in Europe, the emperor hath travailed most in the cause of religion, as it appeareth by his acts in Germany; yet happily, by some secret judgment of God, he hath not achieved the end. With whom, in my journey hitherwards, I had conference touching my legation; whereof, when he had understanding, he showed a great appearance of most earnest joy and gladness, saying, That it rejoiced him no less of the reconciliation of this realm unto Christian unity, than that his son was placed by marriage in the kingdom; and most glad he was of all, that the occasion thereof should come by me, being an Englishman born, which is (as it were) to call home ourselves. I can well compare him to David, which, though he were a man elect of God, yet, for that he was contaminate with blood and war, he could not build the temple of Jerusalem, but left the finishing thereof to Solomon, which was rex pacificus. So may it be thought, that the appeasing of controversies of religion in Christianity is not appointed to this emperor, but rather to his son, who shall perform the building that his father had begun. Which church cannot be perfectly built, unless universally in all realms we adhere to one head, and do acknowledge him to be the vicar of God, and to have power.
from above. For all power is of God, according to the saying, "Non est potestas, nisi a Deo." And, therefore, I consider that all power being in God, yet, for the conservation of quiet and godly life in the world, he hath derived that power from above into the parts here in earth; which is, into the imperial and ecclesiastical. And these two powers, as they be several and distinct, so have they two several effects and operations. For secular princes, to whom the temporal sword is committed, be ministers of God to execute vengeance upon transgressors and evil livers, and to preserve the well doors and innocents from injury and violence. Which power is represented in these two most excellent persons, the king and queen's majesty here present, who have this power committed unto them immediately from God, without any superior in that behalf.

"The other power is of ministration, which is the power of the keys, and order in the ecclesiastical state, which is, by the authority of God's word, examples of the apostles, and of all old holy fathers from Christ hitherto, attributed and given to the apostolic see of Rome, by special prerogative. From which see I am here deputed legate and ambassador, having full and ample commission from thence, and have the keys committed to my hands: I confess to you that I have the keys, not as mine own keys, but as the keys of him that sent me, and yet cannot open; not for want of power in me to give, but for certain impediments in you to receive, which must be taken away before my commission can take effect. This I protest before you, my commission is not of prejudice to any person. I come not to destroy, but to build; I come to reconcile, not to condemn; I am not come to compel, but to call again; I am not come to call in question any thing already done; but my commission is of grace and clemency to such as will receive it. For, as touching all matters that be past, they shall be as things cast into the sea of forgetfulness.

"But the means, whereby you shall receive this benefit, is, to revoke and repeal those laws and statutes, which be impediments, blocks, and bars, to the execution of my commission. For, like as I myself had neither place nor voice to speak here among you, but was in all respects a banished man, till such time as ye had repealed those laws that lay in my way, even so cannot you receive the benefits and grace offered from the apostolic see, until the abrogation of such laws, whereby you have disjoined and dissoevered yourselves from the unity of Christ's church.

"It remaineth, therefore, that you, like true Christians and provident men, for the weal of your souls and bodies, ponder what is to be done in this so weighty a cause; and so to frame your acts and proceedings, as they may first tend to the glory of God, and next to the conservation of your commonwealth, surety, and quietness."

CHAP. III.

The Parliament's Supplication to be reconciled to Rome; Cardinal Pole's Absolution; Bishop of Winchester's Sermon, and other Occurrences.

No time was lost in proceeding with the great work for which the cardinal was sent into England, as legate from the Pope, and his restoration to the rights of a citizen. Accordingly, on the next day, the three estates again assembled in the great chamber of the court at Westminster. The king, queen, and cardinal, were present. Here they exhibited a supplication, on their knees, to their highnesses, to the following purport.

The Supplication and Submission exhibited to the King and Queen's Majesties, by the Lords and Commons of the Parliament.

"We, the Lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons of this present parliament assembled, representing the whole body of the realm of England and dominions of the same, in our own names particularly, and also of the said body universally, in this supplication directed to your majesties with most humble suit, that it may, by your gracious intercession and means, be exhibited to the most reverend father in God, the lord cardinal Pole, legate, sent specially hither from our most holy father Pope Julius III. and the see apostolic of Rome, do declare ourselves very sorry and repentant for the schism and disobedience committed in this realm and dominions of the same, against the said see apostolic, either by making, agreeing, or executing, any laws, ordinances, or commandments, against the supremacy of the
said see, or otherwise doing or speaking that might impugn the same; offering ourselves, and promising by this our supplication, that, for a token and knowledge of our said repentance, we be, and shall be alway, ready, under and with the authority of your majesties, to the uttermost of our power, to do that which shall be in us for the abrogation and repealing of the said laws and ordinances in this present parliament; as well for ourselves, as for the whole body whom we represent.

"Whereupon we most humbly beseech your majesties, as persons undefiled in the offence of this body towards the said see, which nevertheless God by his providence hath made subject unto your majesties, so to set forth this our most humble suit, that we may obtain from the see apostolic, by the said most reverend father, as well particularly as universally, absolution, release, and discharge, from all dangers of such censures and sentences as by the laws of the church we be fallen in; and that we may, as children repentant, be received into the bosom and unity of Christ’s church; so as this noble realm, with all the members thereof, may, in unity and perfect obedience to the see apostolic, and pope for the time being, serve God and your majesties, to the furtherance and advancement of his honour and glory. Amen."

The supplication being read, the king and queen delivered the same unto the cardinal, who (perceiving the effects thereof to answer his expectation) did receive the same most gladly from their majesties; and, after he had in few words given thanks to God, and declared what great cause he had to rejoice above all others, that his coming from Rome into England had taken such happy success, he, by the pope’s authority, did give them this absolution following:

“Our Lord Jesus Christ, which with his most precious blood hath redeemed and washed us from all our sins and iniquities, that he might purchase unto himself a glorious spouse without spot or wrinkle, and whom the Father hath appointed head over all his church, he by his mercy absolve you. And we by apostolic authority given unto us (by the most holy lord Pope Julius III. his vicegerent in earth) do absolve and deliver you and every of you, with the whole realm and dominions thereof, from all heresy and schism, and from all and every judgment, censures, and pains, for that cause incurred; and also we do restore you again unto the unity of our mother the holy church, as in our letters more plainly it shall appear: in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.”

When all this was done, they went into the chapel, and there, singing Te Deum with great solemnity, declared the joy and gladness that for this reconciliation was pretended.

The report of this was with great speed sent unto Rome, as well by the king and cardinal’s letters. Whereupon the pope caused three processions to be made at Rome, and thanks to be given to God with great joy for the conversion of England to his church; and, therefore, praising the cardinal’s diligence, and the devotion of the king and queen, on Christmas-Eve, by his bulls, he set forth a general pardon to all such as did truly rejoice for the same.

Matters being accomplished so much to the satisfaction of the king and queen, and their adherents, on the Sunday following, being the 2d of December, the Bishop of Winchester, lord-chancellor of England, again preached at Paul’s-cross. At this sermon the king and Cardinal Pole were present. His text was from Romans, xiii. 11; and from notes, as appeared by sundry copies, he shewed, first, how St. Paul’s saying was verified upon the Gentiles, who had long slept in dark ignorance, not knowing God, who willed to rouse them from their dulness, and awake out of sleep. He then compared our times with theirs, and stated the difference between the Jewish and Christian sacraments in these words, "Even as the sacrament of the Jews did declare Christ to come, so do our sacraments declare Christ to be already come: But Christ to come, and Christ to be come, is not all one. For now that he is come, the Jews’ sacraments be done away, and ours only remain, which declare that he is already come, and is nearer us than he was to the fathers of the old law: for they had him but in signs, but we have him in the sacrament of the altar, even his very body. Wherefore now, also, it is time that we awake out of our sleep, who
have slept, or rather dreamed, these twenty years past, as shall more easily appear by declaring at large some of the properties and effects of sleep or a dream. And, first, As men, intending to sleep, do separate themselves from company, and desire to be alone; even so have we separated ourselves from the see apostolic of Rome; and have been alone, no realm in Christendom like us.

"Secondly, As in sleep men dream sometime of killing, sometime of maiming, sometime of drowning, or burning, or such beastliness as I dare not name, but will spare your ears; so we have in this our sleep not only dreamed of beastliness, but we have done it indeed. For in this our sleep, hath not one brother destroyed another? hath not half our money been wiped away at one time? And again, those that would defend their conscience, were slain, and others also otherwise troubled; besides infinite other things, which you all well know as well as I, whereof I report me to your consciences. Further, in a man's sleep all his senses are stopped, so that he can neither see, smell, nor hear: even so, whereas the ceremonies of the church were instituted to move and stir up our senses, they being taken away, were not our senses (as ye would say) stopped, and we fast asleep? Moreover, when a man would gladly sleep, he will put out the candle, lest peradventure it may let his sleep, and awake him: so, of late, all such writers as did hold any thing with the apostolic see, were condemned and forbidden to be read; and images, which were laymen's books, were cast down and broken.

"The sleep hath continued with us these twenty years, and we all that while without a head. For when King Henry did first take upon him to be head of the church, it was then no church at all. After whose death, King Edward (having over him governors and protectors, which ruled as them listed) could not be heard of the church, but was only a shadow or sign of a head, and at length it came to pass, that we had no head at all; no, not so much as our two archbishops. For, on the one side, the queen, being a woman, could not be head of the church; and, on the other side, they both were convicted of one crime, and so deposed. Thus, while we desired to have a supreme head among us, it came to pass that we had no head at all. When the tumult was in the North, in the time of King Henry VIII., (I am sure,) the king was determined to have given over the supremacy again to the Pope; but the hour was not then come, and, therefore, it went not forward, lest some would have said, that he did it for fear.

"After this, Mr. Knevet and I were sent ambassadors unto the emperor, to desire him that he would be a mean between the pope's holiness and the king, to bring the king to the obedience of the see of Rome; but the time was not yet come. For it might have been said, that it had been done for a civil policy. Again, in the beginning of King Edward's reign, the matter was moved, but the time was not yet; for it would have been said, that the king (being but a child) had been bought and sold. Neither in the beginning of the queen's reign was the hour come; for it would have been said, that it was done in a time of weakness. Likewise, when the king first came, if it had been done, they might have said it had been by force and violence. But now, even now, the hour is come, when nothing can be objected, but that it is the mere mercy and providence of God. Now hath the pope's holiness, Pope Julius III., sent unto us this most reverend father, Cardinal Pole, an ambassador from his side. What to do? not to revenge the injuries done by us against his holiness, but to give his benediction to those that defamed and persecuted him.

"And, that we may be the more meet to receive the said benediction, I shall desire you, that we may always acknowledge ourselves offenders against his holiness; I do not exclude myself from the number; I will 'weep with them that weep, and rejoice with them that rejoice.' And I shall desire you, that we may not defer the matter any longer, for now the hour is come. The king and queen's majesties have already restored our holy father the pope to his supremacy; and the three estates assembled in the parliament, representing the whole body of the realm, have also submitted themselves to his holiness, and his successors for ever; wherefore let us not any longer stay. And even as St. Paul said to the Corinthians, that he was their father, so may the pope say, that he is our father; for we received our doctrine first from Rome; therefore, he may challenge us as his own. We have all cause to rejoice, for his holiness
hath sent hither and prevented us before we sought him; such care hath he for us. Therefore, let us say, 'This is the day which the Lord hath made, we will rejoice and be glad in it.' Rejoice in this day, which is of the Lord's working, that such a noble birth is come, yea, such a holy father, (I mean my lord cardinal Pole,) which can speak unto us as unto brethren, and not as unto strangers, who hath a long time been absent. And let us now awake, which so long have slept, and in our sleep have done so much naughtiness against the sacraments of Christ, denying the blessed sacrament of the altar, and pulled down the altar, which thing Luther himself would not do, but rather reproved them that did, examining them of their belief in Christ.

This was the sum of his sermon before his prayers, wherein he prayed first for Pope Julius the Third, with all his college of cardinals, the bishop of London, with the rest of that order; then for the king and queen, and the nobility of this realm; and, lastly, for the commons of the same, with the souls departed, lying in the pains of purgatory. This ended, the time being late, they began in Paul's to ring to their evening song, whereby the preacher could not well be heard, which caused him to make an end of his sermon.

Still there was much to be done about restoring what had been alienated. A messenger was sent to the pope from the whole parliament, for confirming the sale of abbey and chantry lands; without which the lords and parliament would grant nothing in the pope's behalf. On the Thursday following, being the 6th, the whole convocation, both bishops and others, were sent for to the cardinal at Lambeth, to receive absolution for their perjuries, schisms, and heresies. They departed, after the cardinal had made his exhortation and gratulation for their conversion to the catholic church. On the Wednesday following five of the eight men of Mr. Throgmorton's quest were discharged on paying their fines of £220 each; the other three stated in a petition, that their goods were not worth so much, and they were liberated on paying £40 each, on the 21st of December. The next day it was commanded, that none of the parliament should leave London this Christmas, nor until the parliament should be terminated. Many of the lords and commons had before sent for their horses. On Friday, the 28th, the Prince of Piedmont came to the court at Westminster.

On the evening of New-year's day, about thirty honest men and women of the city, with Mr. Rose, a minister, were apprehended in a house in Bow-church yard, at the communion, and the same night committed to prison. On the 3d of January, Mr. Rose was brought before the bishop of Winchester, who was lord-chancellor, and after some conversation, committed to the Tower. On this day, the act of supremacy passed in parliament; and, at night, there was a great tumult in Westminster, between some Spaniards and Englishmen, when a Spanish friar got into the church, and rang the alarum, from which much mischief was apprehended. This was occasioned by two whores in the cloister with a sort of Spaniards, who guarded the entrance with dags in harness, whilst others played the knave with them; when the Spaniards, on some of the dean's men coming into the cloisters, discharged their dags, and hurt some of them. It was soon noised in the streets, and caused much alarm, which produced great consternation, but passed off without any farther injury.

It has been already noticed, that a letter was sent from the council to bishop Bonner, to announce that Queen Mary was quick with child. This was on the 28th of November. It occasioned much discourse, more especially among those who carried "Spanish hearts in English bodies." Sir Richard Southwell signalized himself on this subject. Whilst the house was busy in some other business, he suddenly started up, and, in his fulness of joy, exclaimed, "Tush, my masters, what talk ye of these matters? I would have you take some order for our master that is now coming into the world apace, lest he find us unprovided," &c. This proves, at least what the general opinion then was, that Queen Mary was actually with child; and, as a farther corroborator, an act passed on the subject, as follows:

The Words of the Act.

"Albeit we, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in this present parliament assembled, have firm hope and confidence in the goodness of Almighty God, that like as he hath hitherto miraculously preserv-
ed the queen's majesty from many great imminent perils and dangers, even so he will of his infinite goodness give her highness strength, the rather by our continual prayers, to pass well the danger of deliverance of child, wherewith it hath pleased him (to all our great comforts) to bless her; yet forasmuch as all things of this world be uncertain, and having before our eyes the dolorous experience of this inconstant government, during the reign of the late King Edward the Sixth, do plainly see the manifold inconveniences, great dangers, and perils, that may ensue in this whole realm, if foresight be not used to prevent all evil chances, if they should happen: For the eschewing hereof, we, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in this present parliament assembled, for and in consideration of a most special trust and confidence that we have and repose in the king's majesty, for and concerning the politic government, order, and administration, of this realm in the time of the young years of the issue or issues of her majesty's body to be born, if it should please God to call the queen's highness out of this present life during the tender years of such issue or issues, (which God forbid) according to such order and manner, as hereafter in this present act his highness's most gracious pleasure is, should be declared and set forth, have made our humble suit, by the assent of the queen's highness, that his majesty would vouchsafe to accept and take upon him the rule, order, education, and government of the said issue or issues to be born, as is aforesaid. Upon which our suit, being of his said majesty accepted, it hath pleased his highness not only to declare, that like as for the most part his majesty verily trusteth that Almighty God (who hath hitherto preserved the queen's majesty, to give this realm so good a hope of certain succession in the blood royal of the realm,) will assist her highness with his grace and benedictions, to see the fruit of her body well brought forth, live, and able to govern (whereof neither all this realm, nay, all the world besides, should or could receive more comfort than his majesty should and would:) yet, if such chance should happen, his majesty, at our humble desires, is pleased and contented, not only to accept and take upon him the care and charge of the education, rule, order, and government of such issues as of this most happy marriage shall be born between the queen's highness and him; but also, during the time of such government, would by all ways and means, study, travail, and employ himself to advance the weal, both public and private, of this realm and dominion thereunto belonging, according to the said trust in his majesty reposed, with no less good will and affection, than if his highness had been naturally born among us. In consideration whereof, be it enacted by the king and the queen's most excellent majesties, by the assent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same," &c.

Providentially for this nation, however, both the council and parliament were in this instance deceived, if they did not suffer their zeal to supersede common sense and such means of information as might have been obtained, without any violation of delicacy. Had this succeeded, such "a window might have been opened to the Spaniards, to have entered and replenished this land, that peradventure Englishmen should have enjoyed no great quiet in their own country: The Lord, therefore, make us perpetually mindful of his benefits. Amen."

All this preparation vanished into smoke, for any thing that ever was heard of; the laity were deluded; and the prayers of the papists for the happy deliverance of the young master to come, completed the ridiculous farce.

**CHAP. IV.**

_Prayers for the Queen's Deliverance; Bishop Hooper's Letter to the Prisoners apprehended on New-year's day, &c. &c._

That the account, with which we closed the last chapter, was the prevalent opinion at that time, must be manifest from the following

_Prayers made by Dr. Weston, Dean of Westminster, daily to be said for the Queen's Deliverance._

"O most righteous Lord God, which, for the offence of the first woman, hath threatened unto all women a common, sharp, and inevitable malediction, and hath enjoined them, that they should conceive in sin, and, being
conceived, should be subject to many and grievous torments; and, finally, be delivered with the danger and jeopardy of their lives: we beseech thee, for thine exceeding great goodness and bottomless mercy, to mitigate the strictness of that law. Assuage thine anger for a while, and cherish in the bosom of thy favour and mercy our gracious Queen Mary, being now at the point to be delivered. So help her, that without danger of her life she may overcome the sorrow, and in due season bring forth a child, in body beautiful and comely, in mind noble and valiant. So that afterward she, forgetting the trouble, may with joy laud and praise the bountifulness of thy mercy, and, together with us, praise and bless both thee and thy holy name, world without end. This, O Lord, we desire thee, we beseech thee, and most heartily crave of thee. Hear us, O Lord, and grant us our petition: let not the enemies of thy faith, and of thy church, say, Where is their God?"

A solemn Prayer made for King Philip and Queen Mary's Child, that it may be a Male-Child, well-favoured and witty, &c.

"O most mighty Lord God, which regardest the prayer of the humble, and despisest not their request, bow down from thine high habitation of the heavens, the eyes of thy mercy unto us wretched sinners, bowing the knees of our hearts, and with many and deep sighs bewailing our sins and offences, humbly, with eyes intent and hands displayed, praying and beseeching thee, with the shield of thy protection, to defend Mary thy servant, and our queen, who hath none other helper but thee, and whom, through thy grace, thou hast willed to be conceived with child: and, at the time of her travail, graciously with the help of thy right hand deliver her, and from all danger, with the child in her conceived, mercifully preserve.

"It hath seemed good in thy sight, merciful Father, by thy servant Mary, to work these wonders; that is to say, in her hands to vanquish and overthrow the stout enemy, and to deliver us, thy people, out of the hands of heretics, infidels, enemies to thee, and to the cross of thy beloved Son, Jesus Christ, that of thy servant thou mightest speak in far countries. Therefore, for these wonderful works, which thou doest to thy servants, thou art magnified, Lord God, for ever; and we, thy people, bless thee, the God of heaven, which hath brought upon us this great mercy, and hath excluded from us the heretic, the enemy of truth, the persecutor of thy church. We know, we know, that we have grievously, Lord, sinned, that we have been deceived by vanity; and that we have forsaken thee, our God. Our iniquities be multiplied on our head, and our sins be increased up to heaven: and we ourselves having offended, and our princes and our priests, for these our sins have deserved a hypocrite to our prince; our sins have deserved a tyrant to our governor, that should bring our life to bitterness. We be not worthy to have so gentle and merciful a queen, so godly a ruler, and, finally, so virtuous a prince; at the very beginning of whose reign, a new light, as it were, of God's religion, seemed to us for to spring and rise. The Jews did bless the widow Judith with one voice, saying, 'Thou art the glory of Jerusalem, thou art the joy of Israel, thou art the honour of our people, for that thou hast loved chastity, and thou shalt be blessed for ever.'

"And we, the English people, with one agreeable consent, do cry, Thou, Mary, art the glory of England, our joy, the honour of thy people, for that thou hast embraced chastity; thine heart is strengthened, for the hand of our Lord hath comforted thee, and therefore thou shalt be blessed for ever. But bow down, O most merciful Father, thine ear, and open thine eyes, and behold our affliction, and our humble confession. Thou knowest, Lord, that against Philip, not by human, but by thy ordinance, our king, and against thy servant Mary, by thy providence our queen, the restorers and maintainers of thy Testament of the faith, and most constant defenders of thy church: thou knowest, I say, that against these our two governors, the enemies of thy holy Testament, and of the church thy spouse, be most rank rebels and spiteful murmurers, walking after their lusts, whose mouth speaketh words of pride, to the end they may set up the kingdom of heretics and schismatics. By the power of their hands they would change thy promises, and destroy thine inheritance, and stop and shut up the mouths of them that praise thee, and extinguish the glory of thy catholic church and altar.
“It is manifest and plain, how many contentions, how many conspiracies and seditions, how great wars, what tumults, how many and how great troublesome vexations, how many heresies and schisms, (for these be the most ready devices, and evident tokens of heretics) for our sins do hang over us, if thy servant be taken from this life: for we acknowledge that our Lord is omnipotent, who hath pitched his dwelling-place in the midst of his people, to the intent to deliver us out of the hands of our enemies. Turn therefore thy countenance unto us, show unto us, O Lord, thy face. Punish us for our sins according to thy will and pleasure, only now deliver us. We, bowing the knees of our heart, beseech thee, that thou wilt not reserve unto us punishment for ever, and we shall praise thee all the days of our life. Hear our cry, and the prayer of thy people, and open to them the treasure of thy mercy, thy gracious favour, the spring of lively water. Thou that hast begun, make in the hand of thy servant a perfect work. Suffer not, we pray thee, the faithless rebels to say of thy servant and her counsellors, that they have devised matters which they cannot perform. And grant unto thy servant an happy and easy travail. For it is not impossible to thy power, nor indecent to thy justice, nor unwonted to thy mercy.

“It is well known unto us, how marvellously thou didst work in Sarah of the age of ninety years, and in Elizabeth the barren, and also far stricken in age: for thy counsel is not in the power of men. Thou, Lord, that art the searcher of hearts and thoughts, thou knowest that thy servant never lusted after man, never gave herself to wanton company, nor made herself partaker with them that walk in lightness: but she consented to take an husband with thy fear, and not with her lust. Thou knowest that thy servant took an husband not for carnal pleasure, but only for the desire and love of posterity, wherein thy name might be blessed for ever and ever. Give therefore unto thy servants, Philip our king, and Mary our queen, a male issue, which may sit in the seat of thy kingdom. Give unto our queen thy servant a little infant, in fashion and body comely and beautiful, in pregnant wit notable and excellent.

“Grant the same to be in obedience like Abraham, in hospitality like Lot, in chastity and brotherly love like Joseph, in meekness and mildness like Moses, in strength and valour like Sampson. Let him be found faithful as David after thy heart. Let him be wise among kings as the most wise Solomon. Let him be like Job, a simple and an upright man, fearing God, and eschewing evil. Let him finally be garnished with the comeliness of all virtuous conditions, and in the same let him wax old and live, that he may see his children’s children to the third and fourth generations. And give unto our sovereign lord and lady, king Philip and queen Mary, thy blessings and long life upon earth; and grant that of them may come kings and queens, which may steadfastly continue in faith, love, and holiness. And blessed be their seed of our God, that all nations may know, thou art only God in all the earth, which art blessed for ever and ever. Amen.”

On Wednesday, January the 26th, the parliament was dissolved. In this parliament, the Bishop of Rome was established, and all such laws as were made against him since the twentieth year of King Henry VIII. were repealed, and also Cardinal Pole, Bishop Pates, Lilly, and others, were restored to their blood. Also, there was an act made for speaking of words; that whoever should speak any thing against the king or queen, or that might move any sedition or rebellion, at the first time to have one of his ears cut off, or to forfeit one hundred marks; and, at the second time, to have both his ears cut off, or else to forfeit a hundred pounds; and whosoever should write, cipher, or print, any of the premises, to have their right hand cut off.

Also, in this parliament, three statutes were revived for trial of heresy: one made in the fifth year of Richard II., another in the second year of Henry IV., and the third in the second year of Henry V. Also the doing of Mr. Rose, and the others that were with him, was commended of in this parliament; and, upon that occasion, an act was made, That certain evil prayers should be treason against the queen’s highness. The prayers of these men were thus: “God, turn the heart of Queen Mary from idolatry, or else shorten her days.”

At the taking of Mr. Rose and his fellows, word was brought thereof to Mr. Hooper, being then in the Fleet; whereupon the said Mr.
Hooper sendeth answer again, with a letter also of consolation to the said prisoners; the copy whereof, says Mr. Fox, I thought here not to overpass.

The Answer of Mr. Hooper to a Letter sent unto him, concerning certain Prisoners taken in Bow-Church Yard.

"The grace of God be with you. Amen. I perceive by your letter, how that upon New-year's day at night, there were taken a goodly number of Christians, whilst they were praying. I do rejoice in that men can be so well occupied in this perilous time, and flee unto God for remedy by prayer, as well for their own lacks and necessities, as also charitably to pray for them that persecute them. So doth the word of God command all men to pray charitably for them that hate them, and not to revile any magistrate with words, or to mean him evil by force or violence. They also may rejoice, that in well doing they were taken to the prison. Wherefore I have thought it good to send them this little writing of consolation; praying God to send them patience, charity, and constancy in the truth of his most holy word. Thus fare you well, and pray God to send his true word into this realm again among us, which the ungodly bishops have now banished. Jan. 4, 1555."

Mr. Hooper's Letter of Consolation to the aforesaid Prisoners.

"The grace, favour, consolation, and aid of the Holy Ghost be with you now and ever. So be it.

"Dearly beloved in the Lord, ever since your imprisonment, I have been marvellously moved with great afflictions and passions, as well of mirth and gladness, as of heaviness and sorrow. Of gladness in this, that I perceived how ye be bent and given to prayer and invocation of God's help in these dark and wicked proceedings of men against God's glory. I have been sorry to perceive the malice and wickedness of men to be so cruel, devilish, and tyrannical, to persevere the people of God for serving of God, saying and hearing of the holy psalms, and the word of eternal life. These cruel doings do declare that the papists' church is more bloody and tyrannical, than ever was the sword of the Ethmics and Gentiles.

"When I heard of your taking, and what ye were doing, wherefore, and by whom ye were taken, I remembered how the Christians in the primitive church were used by the cruelty of unchristened heathens, in the time of Trajan the emperor, about seventy-seven years after Christ's ascension into heaven; and how the Christians were persecuted very sore, as though they had been traitors and movers of sedition. Whereupon the gentle emperor Trajan required to know the true cause of Christian men's trouble. A great learned man, called Pliny, wrote unto him, and said, it was because the Christians said certain psalms before day unto one called Christ, whom they worshipped for God. When Trajan the emperor understood it was for nothing but for conscience and religion, he caused by his commandments every where, that no man should be persecuted for serving of God. But the pope and his church hath cast you in prison, being taken even doing the work of God, and one of the excellentest works that is required of Christian men; that is to wit, whilst ye were in prayer, and not in such wicked and superstitious prayers as the papists use, but in the same prayer that Christ hath taught you to pray. And, in his name only, ye gave God thanks for that ye have received, and for his sake ye asked for such things as ye want. O, glad may ye be that ever ye were born, to be apprehended whilst ye were so virtuously occupied. Blessed be they that suffer for righteousness' sake. For if God had suffered them that took your bodies then to have taken your lives also, now had you been following the Lamb in perpetual joys, away from the company and assembly of wicked men. But the Lord would not have you suddenly so to depart, but reserveth you gloriously to speak and maintain his truth to the world.

"Be ye not careful what ye shall say, for God will go out and in with you, and will be present in your hearts, and in your mouths to speak his wisdom, although it seemeth foolishness to the world. He that hath begun this good work in you, continue you in the same unto the end; and pray unto him, that ye may fear him only, that hath power to kill both body and soul, and to cast them into hell-fire. Be of good comfort. All the hairs of your head are numbered, and there is not one of them can perish, except your heavenly Father suffer.
it to perish. Now be ye in the field, and placed in the forefront of Christ's battle. Doubtless, it is a singular favour of God, and a special love of him towards you, to give you this forward and pre-eminence, a sign that he trusteth you before others of his people. Wherefore, dear brethren and sisters, continually fight this fight of the Lord. Your cause is most just and godly; ye stand for the true Christ, (who is, after the flesh, in heaven,) and for his true religion and honour, which is amply, fully, sufficiently, and abundantly, contained in the Holy Testament, sealed with Christ's own blood. How much be ye bound to God, who puts you in trust with so holy and just a cause? "Remember, what lookers-on you have to see and behold you in your fight, God and all his angels, who be ready always to take you up into heaven, if ye be slain in his fight. Also, you have standing at your backs all the multitude of the faithful, who shall take courage, strength, and desire, to follow such noble and valiant Christians as you be. Be not afraid of your adversaries; for he that is in you is stronger than he that is in them. Shrink not, although it be pain to you; your pains be not now so great, as hereafter your joys shall be. Read the comfortable chapters to the Romans, viii., x., xv. Hebrews xi., xii. And upon your knees thank God that ever ye were accounted worthy to suffer any thing for his name's sake. Read the second chapter of St. Luke's gospel, and there you shall see how the shepherds that watched upon their sheep all night, as soon as they heard that Christ was born in Bethlehem, by and by went to see him. They did not reason nor debate with themselves, who should keep the wolf from the sheep in the mean time, but did as they were commanded, and committed their sheep unto him, whose pleasure they obeyed. So let us do, now we be called, commit all other things to him that calleth us. He will take heed that all things shall be well. He will help the husband; he will comfort the wife; he will guide the servants; he will keep the house; he will preserve the goods: yea, rather than it should be undone, he will wash the dishes, and rock the cradle. Cast, therefore, all your care upon God, for he careth for you. "Besides this, you may perceive by your imprisonment, that your adversaries' weapons against you be nothing but flesh, blood, and tyranny. For, if they were able, they would maintain their wicked religion by God's word; but, for lack of that, they would violently compel us, as they cannot by holy Scripture persuade, because the holy word of God, and all Christ's doings be contrary unto them. I pray you, pray for me; and I will pray for you. And, although we be asunder after the world, yet in Christ (I trust) for ever joining in the Spirit; and so shall meet in the palace of the heavenly joys, after this short and transitory life is ended. God's peace be with you. Amen. Jan. 14th, 1555."

"On the 18th of the same month, the whole council went to the Tower, and liberated most of the prisoners there. Amongst these, with many others, were the three sons of the late Duke of Northumberland, Andrew Dudley, John Rogers, James Crofts, Nicholas Throgmorton, Nicholas Arnal, George Harper, Edward Warner, William Sentlow, and Gawen Carew, Knights; Mr. Gibbes, Cuthbert Vaughan, &c.; and on the 22d, all the preachers imprisoned were brought before the Bishop of Winchester, lord-chancellor, and others, at the bishop's house, at St. Mary Overy's. Being questioned, if they would convert and enjoy the queen's pardon, or remain inflexible in what they had taught; and all declaring for the latter, they were committed to closer duration than before, and no persons were suffered to speak with them. James George, one of them, died in prison, being then in bands for religion and righteousness' sake, and was denied burial in the churchyard, being buried in the fields.

The next day, viz. the 23d, all the bishops, with the rest of the convocation-house, attended the cardinal at Lambeth. He then requested them to repair to their respective houses, and exhorted them to reclaim the people rather by gentleness than violence, and so dismissed them. A solemn procession through London was exhibited on the 25th, to give thanks to God for their conversion to the catholic church; containing four score and ten crosses, with one hundred and sixty priests and clerks, singing very lustily, dressed in copes: they were followed by eight bishops, Bishop Bonner in the rear, carrying the popish pyx under a canopy. The lord-mayor, aldermen,
and livery of London were also present; and
the king and the cardinal also came to St.
Paul’s church, returning, after the mass, to
Westminster. At the steps going up to the
choir, as the king entered the church, all the
gentlemen liberated from the Tower on the
18th, kneeled before him, and offered him their
services. At night bonfires were made, the
cause of which was variously stated; for some
said, it was that the queen might have a safe
delivery, others that it was for joy, which is
most probable, that the realm was again joined
to the see of Rome.

Three days after, the 28th of January, the
Bishop of Winchester, with the other bishops,
by virtue of a commission from the cardinal,
and with certain of the council, sat in St. Mary
Overy’s church upon such preachers and he-
retics, as they termed them, which were in pri-
son; when Mr. Hooper, Mr. Rogers, and Mr.
Cardmaker, were brought thither by the sher-
riffs, and, after some communication, committed
to prison until the following day. But
Cardmaker this day submitted. The next day,
Hooper and Rogers were again brought be-
fore them, when sentence of excommunication
and judgment ecclesiastical was pronounced
upon them by the Bishop of Winchester, who
presided as judge in Caiphas’s seat, who
drove them out of the church according to
their law and order. Dr. Taylor and Mr.
Bradford were brought up also, but commit-
ted again till the next day, when they, with Mr.
Saunders, were produced, and sentence of ex-
communication pronounced, and so they were
committed to the sheriffs. Dr. Crome ob-
tained two months respite; and Dr. Farrar, some
time bishop of St. David’s, was remanded to
a future time. All these were men of learn-
ing; but neither learning, reason, nor truth,
avail anything against a tyrannical will.

Commissions and inquisitions were plenti-
fully issued to all parts of the realm; and many
godly Christians were apprehended, brought
to London, and cast into prison, especially
from Kent, Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk. Of
these, says Mr. Fox, many were “afterward
either consumed cruelly by fire, or else, through
evil handling, died in prisons, and were buried
on dunghills abroad in the fields, or in some
backside of the prison. Of all which mat-
ters, concerning the tragical handling of the
blessed martyrs and witnesses of Jesus Christ,
of all the bloody persecution of this time, now
followeth (the Lord so granting) severally and
more particularly” will hereafter be declared.
Then follows “a general supplication, given
up in the name of the preachers aforesaid ly-
ing in prison, unto the king and queen during
the time of the parliament, as followeth.”

Unto the King and Queen’s most excellent Majesties, and to
their most Honourable High Court of Parliament.

“In most humble and lamentable wise com-
plain unto your majesties, and to your high
court of parliament, your poor desolate and
obedient subjects, H. F. T. B. P. R. S., &c.
That whereas your said subjects, living under
the laws of God, and of this realm, in the days
of the late most noble King Edward the Sixth,
did in all things show themselves true, faithful,
and diligent subjects, according to their voca-
tion, as well in the sincere ministering of God’s
most holy word, as in due obedience to the
higher powers, and in the daily practice of
such virtues and good demeanour as the laws
of God at all times, and the statutes of the
realm did then allow: your said subjects ne-
evertheless, contrary to all laws of justice, equi-
ty, and right, are in very extreme manner not
only cast into prison, (where they have remain-
ed now these fifteen or sixteen months,) but
their livings also, their houses, and possessions,
their goods and books, taken from them, and
they slandered to be most heinous heretics,
their enemies themselves being both witnesses,
accusers, and judges, belying, slandering, and
misreporting your said subjects at their plea-
sure; whereas your said subjects, being straitly
kept in prison, cannot yet be suffered to come
forth, and make answer accordingly.

“In consideration whereof, it may please
your most excellent majesties, and this your
high court of parliament, graciously to tender
the present calamity of your said poor sub-
jects, and to call them before your presence,
granting them liberty, either by mouth or writ-
ing in the plain English tongue, to answer be-
fore you, or before indifferent arbiters to be
appointed by your majesties, unto such articles
of controversy in religion as their said adver-
saries have already condemned them of, as of
heinous heresies: provided, that all things
may be done with such moderation and quiet
behaviour, as becometh subjects and children
of peace, and that your said subjects may have
the free use of all their own books, and conference together among themselves.

"Which thing being granted, your said subjects doubt not but it shall plainly appear, that your said subjects are true and faithful Christians, and neither heretics, neither teachers of heresy, nor cut off from the true catholic universal church of Christ; yea, that rather their adversaries themselves be unto your majesties as were the charmers of Egypt to Pharaoh, Zedechias and his adherents unto the king of Israel, and Barjesus to the proconsul Sergius Paulus. And if your said subjects be not able, by the testimony of Christ, his prophets, apostles, and godly fathers of his church, to prove, that the doctrine of the church, homilies, and service, taught and set forth in the time of our late most godly prince and king, Edward the Sixth, is the true doctrine of Christ's catholic church, and most agreeable to the articles of the Christian faith; your said subjects offer themselves then to the most heavy punishment, that it shall please your majesties to appoint.

"Wherefore, for the tender mercy of God in Christ, (which you look for at the day of judgment,) your said poor subjects in bonds most humbly beseech your most excellent majesties, and this your high court of parliament, benignly and graciously to hear and grant this their petition, tending so greatly to the glory of God, to the edifying of his church, to the honour of your majesties, to the commendation and maintenance of justice, right, and equity, both before God and man. And your said subjects, according to their bounden duty, shall not cease to pray unto Almighty God for the gracious preservation of your most excellent majesties long to endure."

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CHAP. V.

The Life and Examinations of Mr. John Rogers, Vicar of St. Sepulchre's, and Reader of St. Paul's, London.

John Rogers was educated at Cambridge, and was afterward many years chaplain to the merchants adventurers at Antwerp in Brabant. Here he met with the celebrated martyr William Tindal, and Miles Coverdale, both voluntary exiles from their country for their aversion to popish superstition and idolatry. They were the instruments of his conversion; and he united with them in that translation of the Bible into English, entitled "The Translation of Thomas Matthew." From the Scriptures he knew that unlawful vows may be lawfully broken; hence he married, and removed to Wittenberg in Saxony, for the improvement of learning; and he there learned the Dutch language, and received the charge of a congregation, which he faithfully executed for many years. On King Edward's accession, he left Saxony, to promote the work of reformation in England; and, after some time, Nicholas Ridley, then bishop of London, gave him a prebend in St. Paul's Cathedral, and the dean and chapter appointed him reader of the divinity lesson there. Here he continued until Queen Mary's succession to the throne, when the gospel and true religion were banished, and the Antichrist of Rome, with his superstition and idolatry, introduced.

The circumstance of Mr. Rogers having preached at Paul's cross, after Queen Mary arrived at the Tower, has been already stated. He confirmed in his sermon the true doctrine taught in King Edward's time, and exhorted the people to beware of the pestilence of popery, idolatry, and superstition. For this he was called to account, but so ably defended himself, that, for that time, he was dismissed. The proclamation of the queen, however, to prohibit true preaching, gave his enemies a new handle against him. Hence he was again summoned before the council, and commanded to keep his house. He did so, though he might have escaped; and though he perceived the state of the true religion to be desperate. "He knew he could not want a living in Germany; and he could not forget a wife and ten children, and to seek means to succour them." But all these things were insufficient to induce him to depart; and, when once called to answer in Christ's cause, he stoutly defended it, and hazarded his life for that purpose.

After long imprisonment in his own house, the restless Bonner, Bishop of London, caused him to be committed to Newgate, there to be lodged among thieves and murderers. The substance of the following examinations, left behind him in his own writing, we feel it our duty to lay before our readers. The first of these was as follows:
He was first accosted by the Lord-chancellor, on his knowledge of the present state of the realm, which he disavowed, on account of his imprisonment, excepting a few “general things,” occasionally stated to him. The chancellor tauntingly replied to this expression, and then particularly alluded to the arrival of the cardinal, his benediction of parliament, and that only one individual spoke against it, which he considered as miraculous. It was then demanded, “Are you content to unite and knit yourself to the faith of the catholic faith with us, in the state in which it now is in England? will ye do that?” To this Rogers replied, “The catholic church I never did nor will dissent from.” Then said the chancellor, “I speak of the state of the catholic church in which we now stand in England, having received the pope to be supreme head?” when Rogers answered, “I know none other head but Christ of his catholic church, neither will I acknowledge the bishop of Rome to have any more authority than any other bishop hath by the word of God, and by the doctrine of the old and pure catholic church four hundred years after Christ.” To this the chancellor demanded, “Why didst thou then acknowledge King Henry the Eighth to be supreme head of the church, if Christ be the only head?” And Rogers replied, “I never granted him to have any supremacy in spiritual things, as are the forgiveness of sins, giving of the Holy Ghost, authority to be a judge above the word of God.”

Then said the chancellor, “Tonstal, bishop of Durham, and N. bishop of Worcester, (but it is uncertain whether this alludes to Ghinuci, the predecessor of Latimer, or to one of his successors, as Le Neve states no one to whom the initial applies;) if thou hadst said so in his days, (and they nodded the head at me with a laughter) thou hadst not been alive now.” But Rogers denied it, and said, “I would have told how he was said and meant to be supreme head. But they looked and laughed one upon another, and made such a business, that I was constrained to let it pass. There lieth also no great weight thereupon; for all the world knoweth what the meaning was. The Lord-chancellor also said to the Lord William Haward, that there was no in-

convenience therein, to have Christ to be supreme head and the Bishop of Rome also; and when I was ready to have answered, that there could not be two heads of one church, and have more plainly declared the vanity of that his reason, the lord-chancellor said, What sayest thou? make us a direct answer, whether thou wilt be one of this catholic church or not, with us in that state in which we are now.” And Rogers again replied, “My lord, without fail I cannot believe that ye yourselves do think in your hearts that he is supreme head in forgiveness of sins, &c. (as is afore said,) seeing you and all the bishops of the realm have now twenty years long preached, and some of you also written, to the contrary, and the parliament hath so long gone condescended unto it. And there he interrupted me thus, saying, “Tush, that parliament was with most great cruelty constrained to abolish and put away the primacy of the Bishop of Rome.” Rogers then exclaimed, “With cruelty? why, then I perceive that you take a wrong way with cruelty to persuade men’s consciences. For it should appear by your doings now, that the cruelty then used hath not persuaded your consciences. How would you then have our consciences persuaded with cruelty?” But the chancellor replied, “I talk to thee of no cruelty; but that they were so often and so cruelly called upon in that parliament to let the act go forward; yea, and even with force driven thereunto, whereas in this parliament it was so uniformly received, as is afore said.” Here my Lord Paget told Mr. Rogers what my lord-chancellor meant; on which he answered, “My lord, what will ye conclude thereby; that the first parliament was of less authority, because but few condescended unto it? and this last parliament was of great authority, because more condescended unto it? it goeth not, my lord, by more or lesser part, but by the wiser, truer, and more godly part.”

It is then added, that Mr. Rogers “would have said more, but the lord-chancellor interrupted him with his question,” adding, that they had others to speak with also; for there were ten others from Newgate, besides two which were left there. One of these was a citizen of London, who submitted to them; the others remained firm, and were sent back to prison, refusing “the cardinal’s blessing, and the authority of his holy father’s church.”
But one of the nine was asked the question only in this manner, "Whether he would be an honest man, as his father was before him;" and, on replying, "Yea," he was so discharged by the friendship of my Lord William Hayward, as I have understood. On asking Mr. Rogers what he "would do—whether he would enter into the one church with the whole realm as it is now, or not?" "No," said Mr. Rogers, "I will first see it proved by the Scriptures. Let me have pen, ink, and books, &c., and I shall take upon me plainly to set out the matter, so that the contrary should be proved to be true; and let any man that will confer with me by writing." To this the chancellor said, "Nay, that shall not be permitted thee; thou shalt never have so much proffered thee as thou hast now, if thou refuse it, and will not now condescend and agree to the catholic church. Here are two things, mercy and justice; if thou refuse the queen's mercy now, then shalt thou have justice ministered unto thee." Then answered Mr. Rogers, "I never offended nor was disobedient unto her grace, and yet I will not refuse her mercy. But if this shall be denied me, to confer by writing, and to try out the truth, then it is not well, but too far out of the way. Ye yourselves (all the bishops of the realm) brought me to the knowledge of the pretended primacy of the bishop of Rome, when I was a young man twenty years past; and will ye now without collation have me to say and do to the contrary? I cannot be so persuaded." Then the chancellor said, "If thou wilt not receive the bishop of Rome to be supreme head of the catholic church, then thou shalt never have her mercy, thou mayest be sure. And as touching conferring and trial, I am forbidden by the Scriptures to use any conferring and trial with thee. For St. Paul teacheth me, that I should shun and eschew an heretic after one or two monitions, knowing that such an one is overthrown, and is faulty, insomuch as he is condemned by his own judgment." But Rogers replied, "My lord, I deny that I am an heretic: prove ye that first, and then allege the aforesaid text." But still the lord-chancellor played on one string, saying, "If thou wilt enter into one church with us, &c. tell us that, or else thou shalt never have so much proffered thee again as thou hast now;" when Rogers replied, "I will find it first in the Scripture, and see it tried thereby, before I receive him to be supreme head."

Upon this the bishop of Worcester exclaimed, "Why, do ye not know what is in your creed?—I believe the holy catholic church;" but Rogers answered, "I find not the bishop of Rome there. For catholic signifieth not the Romish church: it signifieth the consent of all true teaching Churches of all times, and all ages. But how should the bishop of Rome's church be one of them, which teacheth so many doctrines that are plain and directly against the word of God? Can that bishop be the true head of the Catholic church that doth so? That is not possible." Then said the chancellor, "Show me one of them, one, let me hear one;" when Rogers said, "The bishop of Rome and his church say, read, and sing, all that they do in their congregations, in Latin, which is directly and plainly against the first to the Corinthians, the fourteenth chapter." The chancellor then said, "I deny that; I deny, that it is against the word of God. Let me see you prove that; how prove you that?" And Rogers observes, "Thus I began to say the chapter, 'Qui loquitur lingua,' &c. To speak with tongue, said I, is to speak with a strange tongue, as Latin or Greek, &c. and so to speak, is not to speak unto men, but to God. But ye speak in Latin, which is a strange tongue, wherefore, ye speak not unto men, but unto God (meaning God only at the most.) This he granted, that they speak not unto men, but unto God." Then said the chancellor, "Well, then it is in vain unto men;" when Rogers replied, "No, not in vain. For one man speaketh in one tongue, and another in another tongue, and all well." But the chancellor said, "Nay, I will prove then, that he speaketh neither to God nor to man, but to the wind;" and Rogers replied, "I was willing to have declared how and after what sort these two texts do agree, (for they must agree; they be both the sayings of the Holy Ghost, spoken by the Apostle Paul,) as to wit, to speak not to men, but unto God, and to speak unto the wind: and so to have gone forward with the proof of my matter begun; but here arose a noise and a confusion." Then said the lord-chancellor, "To speak unto God and not unto God, were impossible;" But, said Rogers, "I will prove them possible." "No," said my lord Hayward to
my lord-chancellor, "now will I bear you witness that he is out of the way; for he granted first, that they which speak in a strange speech speak unto God; and now he saith the contrary, that they speak neither to God nor to man." "No," said Rogers, "I have not granted nor said, (turning to my Lord Haward) as you report. I have alleged the one text, and now I am come to the other. They must agree, and I can make them to agree. But, as for you, you understand not the matter." But Lord Haward said, "I understand so much that that is not possible." "This is a point of sophistry," quoth Secretary Bourne.

Then the lord-chancellor began to tell the Lord Haward, that "when he was in High Dutchland, they at Hale, which had before prayed and used their service all in Dutch, began then to turn part into Latin, and part into Dutch;" and the bishop of Worcester added, "Yea, and at Wittenberg too."

Then continues Mr. Rogers, "Yea, (but I could not be heard for the noise,) in a university where men for the most part understand the Latin, and yet not all in Latin. And I would have told the order, and have gone forward both to have answered my lord, and to have proved the thing that I had taken in hand; but, perceiving their talk and noise to be too noisome, I was fain to think this in my heart, suffering them in the meanwhile to talk one of them one thing, and another another. Alas! neither will these men hear me if I speak, neither yet will they suffer me to write. There is no remedy, but let them alone, and commit the matter to God. Yet I began to go forward, saying, that I would make the texts agree, and prove my purpose well enough. But the chancellor said, "No, no, thou canst prove nothing by the Scripture. The Scripture is dead: it must have a lively expositor." Then said Rogers, "No, the Scripture is alive. But let me go forward with my purpose." The bishop of Worcester then said, "all heretics have alleged the Scriptures for them, and therefore we must have a lively expositor for them." And Rogers added, "Yea, all heretics have alleged the Scriptures for them; but they were confuted by the Scriptures, and by none other expositor." Then said Worcester, "But they would not confess that they were overthrown by the Scriptures, I am sure of that." And Rogers said, "I believe that; and yet were they overcome by them, and in all councils they were disputed with and overthrown by the Scriptures. And here I would have declared how they ought to proceed in these days, and so have come again to my purpose, but it was impossible: for one asked one thing, another said another, so that I was fain to hold my peace, and let them talk. And even when I would have taken hold on my proof, the lord-chancellor bade to prison with me again; and away, away, said he, we have more to talk withal: if I would not be reformed, (so he termed it,) away, away. Then up I stood, for I had kneeled all the while."

And now Sir Richard Southwell, who stood by in a window, said to me, "Thou wilt not burn in this gear when it cometh to the purpose, I know well that." And Rogers replied, "Sir, I cannot tell, but I trust in my Lord God, yes, lifting up mine eyes to heaven.

Then my Lord of Ely told me much of the queen's majesty's pleasure and meaning, and set out with large words, saying, that she took them that would not receive the pope's supremacy, to be unworthy to have her mercy, &c." Then said Rogers, "I said I would not refuse her mercy, and yet I never offended her in all my life; and that I besought her grace, and all their honours, to be good to me, reserving my conscience.

Divers spake at once. No? (quo the then, a great many of them, and especially Secretary Bourne,) a married priest, and have not offended the law!" And Rogers said, "I had not broken the queen's-law, nor yet any point of the law of the realm therein; for I married where it was lawful.

Divers at once. Where was that? said they, thinking that to be unlawful in all places;" and he answered, "In Dutchland. And if ye had not here in England made an open law, that priests might have had wives, I would never have come home again; for I brought a wife and eight children with me: which thing ye might be sure that I would not have done, if the laws of the realm had not permitted it.

Then there was a great noise, some saying that I was come too soon with such a sort; I should find a sour coming of it; and some one thing, and some another. And one said, (I could not well perceive who,) that there was
never a catholic man or country, that ever granted that a priest might have a wife." But Rogers observed, "I said, the catholic church never denied marriage to priests, nor yet to any other man; and therewith was I going out of the chamber, the sergeant which brought me thither having me by the arm.

Then the bishop of Worcester turned his face towards me, and said, that I knew not where the church was or is." To this said Rogers, "Yea, I can tell where it is; but therewith the sergeant went with me out of the door."

This narrative being so far finished, on the fifth day after, Mr. Rogers was informed, that, on the following day, he should be called to answer farther. But we cannot here omit his conclusion thereto, wherein he desires "the hearty and unfeigned help of the prayers of all Christ's true members, the offspring of the true unfeigned catholic church, that the Lord God of all consolation will now be my comfort, aid, strength, buckler, and shield; as also of all my brethren who are in the same case and distress, that I and they all may despise all manner of threats and cruelty, and even the bitter burning fire, and the dreadful dart of death, and stick, like true soldiers, to our dear and loving Captain, Christ, our only Redeemer and Saviour, and also the only true head of the church, that doth all in us all, which is the very property of a head, (and is a thing that all the bishops of Rome cannot do,) and that we do not traitorously run out of his tents, or out of the plain field from him, in the most jeopardy of the battle, but that we may persevere in the fight (if he will not otherwise deliver us) till we be most cruelly slain of his enemies. For this I most heartily, and, at this present, with weeping tears, most instantly and earnestly desire and beseech you all to pray: and, also, if I die, to be good to my poor and most honest wife, being a poor stranger, and all my little souls, hers and my children. Whom, with all the whole faithful and true catholic congregation of Christ, the Lord of life and death, save, keep, and defend, in all the troubles and assaults of this vain world, and bring at the last to everlasting salvation, the true and sure inheritance of all crossed Christians. Amen, Amen.

January 27, at night."

The second Examination of Mr. John Rogers, January 28, 29, 1555.

"First, being asked again by the lord-chancellor whether I would come into one church with the bishops and the whole realm, as now was concluded by parliament, (in which all the realm was converted to the catholic church of Rome,) and so receive the mercy before proffered me, arising again with the whole realm out of the schism and error in which we had long been, with recantation of my errors; I answered, that before I could not tell what his mercy meant, but now I understand that it was a mercy of the antichristian church of Rome, which I utterly refused; and that the rising which he spake of, was a very fall into error and false doctrine. Also that I had and would be able, by God's grace, to prove that all the doctrine which I had ever taught was true and catholic, and that by the Scriptures and the authority of the fathers that lived four hundred years after Christ's death. He answered, that should not, might not, nor ought not to be granted me; for I was but a private man, and might not be heard against the determination of the whole realm. Should, quoth he, when a parliament had concluded a thing, one, or any private person, have authority to discuss whether they had done right or wrong? No, that may not be. I answered shortly, That all the laws of men might not, neither could rule the word of God, but that they all must be discussed and judged thereby, and obey thereto: and neither my conscience, nor any Christian man's, could be satisfied with such laws as disagreed from that word: and so was willing to have said much more. But the lord-chancellor began a long tale to very little purpose, concerning mine answer, to have defaced me; that there was nothing in me wherefore I should be heard, but arrogancy, pride, and vainglory. I also granted mine ignorance to be greater than I could express, or than he took it; but yet that I feared not, by God's assistance and strength, to be able, by writing, to perform my word; neither was I (I thanked God) so utterly ignorant as he would make me; but all was of God, to whom be thanks rendered therefore. Proud man was I never, nor yet vainglorious. All the world knew well, where and on which side pride, arrogancy, and vainglory was. It was
a poor pride that was or is in us. God it know-eth. Then said he, that I, at the first dash, condemned the queen and the whole realm to be of the church of Antichrist, and burdened me highly therewithal. I answered, That the queen's majesty (God save her grace) would have done well enough, if it had not been for his council. He said, the queen went before him, and it was her own motion. I said, without fail I neither could, nor would I ever believe it.

Then said Dr. Aldrich, the Bishop of Carlisle, that they, the bishops, would bear him witness. Yea, quoth I, that I believe well; and with that the people laughed; for that day there were many; but on the morrow they kept the doors shut, and would let none in, but the bishops' adherents and servants in a manner, yea, and the first day the thousand man came not in. Then Mr. Comptroller and Secretary Bourne would have stood up also to bear witness, and did. I said it was no great matter: and, to say the truth, I thought they were good helpers thereunto themselves: but I ceased to say any more therein, knowing that they were too strong and mighty of power, and that they should be believed before me, yea, and before our Saviour Christ, and all his prophets and apostles too, in these days.

Then, after many words, he asked me what I thought concerning the blessed sacrament, and stood up, and put off his cap, and all his fellow-bishops, (of which there were a great number, new men, of whom I knew few,) whether I believed in the sacrament to be the very body and blood of our Saviour Christ, that was born of the Virgin Mary, and hanged on the cross, really and substantially. I answered, I had often told him that it was a matter in which I was no meddler, and therefore suspected of my brethren to be of a contrary opinion. Notwithstanding, even as the most part of your doctrine in other points is false, and the defence thereof only by force and cruelty; so in this matter I think it to be as false as the rest. For I cannot understand [really and substantially] to signify otherwise than corporally: but corporally Christ is only in heaven, and so cannot Christ be corporally also in your sacrament. And here I somewhat set out his charity after this sort: My lord, quoth I, ye have dealt with me most cruelly; for ye have put me in prison without law, and kept me there now almost a year and a half. For I was almost half a year in my house, where I was obedient to you, God knoweth, and spake with no man. And now have I been a full year in Newgate at great costs and charges, having a wife and ten children to find, and I had never a penny of my livings; which was against the law. He answered, that Dr. Ridley, which had given them me, was a usurper; and therefore I was the unjust possessor of them. Was the king then a usurper, quoth I, which gave Dr. Ridley the bishoprick? Yea, quoth he, and began to set out the wrongs that the king had done to the Bishop of London, and to himself also. But yet I do misuse my terms, quoth he, to call the king usurper. But the word was gone out of the abundance of the heart before: and I think that he was not very sorry for it in heart. I might have said more concerning that matter, but I did not. I asked him wherefore he put me in prison. He said, because I preached against the queen. I answered that it was not true: and I would be bound to prove it, and to stand to the trial of the law, that no man should be able to disprove it, and thereupon would set my life. I preached (quoth I) a sermon at the cross, after the queen came to the Tower; but therein was nothing said against the queen, I take witness of all the audience, which was not small. I alleged, also, that he had, after examination, let me go at liberty after the preaching of that sermon. Yea, but thou didst read thy lectures after, quoth he, against the commandment of the council. That I did not, quoth I; let that be proved, and let me die for it. Thus have you now, against the law of God and man, handled me, and never sent for me, never conferred with me, never spoke of any learning, till now that ye have gotten a whip to whip me with, and a sword to cut off my neck, if I will not condescend to your mind. This charity doth all the world understand.

I might and would have added, if I could have been suffered to speak, that it had been time enough to take away men's livings, and thereto have imprisoned them, after that they had offended laws: for they be good citizens that break not laws, and worthy of praise, and not of punishment. But their purpose is, to keep men in prison, until they may catch them in their laws, and so kill them. I could and
would have added the example of Daniel, which by a crafty-devised law was cast into the lion’s den. Item, I might have declared, that I most humbly desired to be set at liberty, sending my wife to him with a supplication, being great with child, and with her eight honest women, or thereabouts, to Richmond, at Christmas was a twelvemonth, while I was yet in my house. Item, I wrote two supplications to him out of Newgate, and sent my wife many times to him. Mr. Gosnold, also, that worthy man, who is now departed in the Lord, laboured for me, and so did divers other worthy men also take pains in the matter. These things declare my lord-chancellor’s antichristian charity, which is, that he hath and doth seek my blood, and the destruction of my poor wife and my ten children.

This is a short sum of the words which were spoken on the 28th of January in the afternoon, after that Mr. Hooper had been the first, and Mr. Cardmaker the second, in examination before me. The Lord grant us grace to stand together, fighting lawfully in his cause, till we be smitten down together, if the Lord’s will be so to permit it. For there shall not a hair of our heads perish against his will, but with his will. Whereunto the same Lord grant us to be obedient unto the end, and in the end. Amen: sweet, mighty, and merciful Lord Jesus, the Son of David and of God: Amen, Amen, let every true Christian say and pray.

Then the clock being, as I guessed, about four, the lord-chancellor said, that he and the church must yet use charity with me, (what manner of charity it is, all true Christians do well understand, as to wit, the same that the fox doth with the chickens, and the wolf with the lambs,) and gave me respite till to-morrow, to see whether I would remember myself well to-morrow, and whether I would return to the catholic church (for so he called his antichristian false church) again, and repent, and they would receive me to mercy. I said, that I was never out of the true catholic church, nor would be; but into his church would I, by God’s grace, never come. Well, quoth he, then is our church false and antichristian? Yea, quoth I. And what is the doctrine of the sacrament? False, quoth I; and cast my hands abroad. Then said one, that I was a player. To whom I answered not; for I passed not upon his mock. Come again, quoth the lord-chancellor, to-morrow, between nine and ten. I am ready to come again, whenssoever ye call, quoth I.

And thus was I brought by the sheriffs to the Compter in Southwark, Mr. Hooper going before me, and a great multitude of people being present, so that we had much to do to go in the streets. Thus much was done January 26th.

The second day, which was January the 29th, we were sent for in the morning, about nine of the clock, and by the sheriffs fetched from the Compter in Southwark to the church again, as to wit, to St. Mary Overy’s, where we were the day before in the afternoon, as is said. And when Mr. Hooper was condemned, as I understood afterward, then sent they for me. Then my lord-chancellor said unto me, Rogers, quoth he, here thou wast yesterday, and we gave thee liberty to remember thyself this night, whether thou wouldst come to the holy catholic church of Christ again, or not. Tell us now what thou hast determined, whether thou wilt be repentant and sorry, and wilt return again, and take mercy. My lord, quoth I, I have remembered myself right well what you yesterday said to me, and desire you to give me leave to declare my mind, what I have to say thereunto; and that done, I shall answer you to your demanded question.

When I yesterday desired that I might be suffered by the scripture and authority of the first, best, and purest, church to defend my doctrine by writing, (meaning not only of the primacy; but also of all the doctrine that ever I had preached,) ye answered me, that it might not, nor ought not to be granted me, for I was a private person; and that the parliament was above the authority of all private persons; and, therefore, the sentence thereof might not be found faulty and valueless by me, being but a private person. And yet, my lord, quoth I, I am able to show examples, that one man hath come into a general council, and, after the whole had determined and agreed upon an act or article, some one man coming in afterward, hath by the word of God declared so pithily that the council had erred in decreeing the said article, that he caused the whole council to change and alter their act or article before determined. And of
these examples, said I, I am able to show two. I can also show the authority of St. Augustine; that, when he disputed with a heretic, he would neither himself, nor yet have the heretic to lean unto the determination of two former councils, of which the one made for him, and the other for the heretic that disputed against him; but said, that he would have the scriptures to be their judge, which were common and indifferent for them both, and not proper to either of them.

Item, I could show, said I, the authority of a learned lawyer, Panormitanus, which saith, That unto a simple layman that bringeth the word of God with him, there ought more credit to be given, than to a whole council gathered together. By these things will I prove, that I ought not to be denied to say my mind, and to be heard against a whole parliament, bringing the word of God for me, and the authority of the old church four hundred years after Christ, albeit that every man in the parliament had willingly, and without respect of fear and favour, agreed thereunto, which thing I doubt not a little of; specially seeing the like had been permitted in the old church, even in general councils, yea, and that in one of the chiefest councils that ever was, unto which neither any acts of this parliament, nor yet any of the late general councils of the bishops of Rome ought to be compared. For, said I, if Henry VIII. were alive, and should call a parliament, and begin to determine a thing, (and here I would have alleged the example of the act of making the queen a bastard, and of making himself the superior head; but I could not, being interrupted by one whom God forgive;) then will ye, (pointing to my lord-chancellor,) and ye, and ye, and so ye all, (pointing to the rest of the bishops,) say Amen: yea, and it like your grace, it is meet that it be so enacted.

Here my lord-chancellor would suffer me to speak no more; but bade me sit down mockingly, saying, That I was sent for to be instructed of them, and I would take upon me to be their instructor. My lord, quoth I, I stand, and sit not: shall I not be suffered to speak for my life? Shall we suffer thee to tell a tale, and to prate? quoth he. And with that he stood up, and began to face me, after his old arrogant proud fashion, for he perceived, that I was in a way to have touched them somewhat, which he thought to hinder by dashing me out of my tale, and so he did; for I could never be suffered to come to my tale again, no, not to one word of it: but he had much like communication with me as he had the day before, and, as his manner is, taunt upon taunt, and check upon check. For in that case, being God’s cause, I told him he should not make me afraid to speak.

After this the lord-chancellor said to those about him, “See what a spirit this fellow hath, finding fault” at Mr. Rogers’s “accustomed earnestness, and hearty manner of speaking.” Then answered Mr. Rogers, “I have a true spirit, agreeing and obeying the word of God, and would further have said, that I was never the worse, but the better, to be earnest in a true cause, and in my master Christ’s matters; but I could not be heard. And at length he proceeded towards his excommunication and condemnation, after that I had told him, that his church of Rome was the church of Antichrist, meaning the false doctrine and tyrannical laws, with the maintenance thereof by cruel persecutions used by the bishops of the said church (of which the bishop of Winchester, and the rest of his fellow-bishops that are now in England, are the chief members;) of laws I mean, quoth I, and not all men and women, which are in the pope’s church. Likewise, when I was said to have denied their sacrament, whereof he made his wonted reverent mention, more to maintain his kingdom thereby, than for the true reverence of Christ’s institution; more fit for his own and his papish generation’s sake, than for religion or God’s sake: I told him after what order I did speak of it, (for the manner of his speaking was not agreeing to my words, which are before recited in the communication that we had January 28th,) wherewith he was not contented, but he asked the audience, whether I had not simply denied the sacrament. They would have said, and did what he desired, for most of them were of his own servants at that day, the 29th of January I mean. At last I said, I will never deny that I said, that is, that your doctrine of the sacrament is false: but yet I tell you after what order I said it. To be short, he read my condemnation before me, particularly mentioning therein but two articles: first, that I affirmed the Romish catholic church to be the church of Antichrist;
and that I denied the reality of their sacrament. He caused me to be degraded and condemned, and put into the hands of the laity, and so he gave me over into the sheriff's hands, which were much better than his.” And thus ended my second examination.

CHAP. VI.

Sentence of Condemnation of Mr. Rogers.—Occurrences subsequent to his Condemnation.—His Execution in Smithfield.

The following copy of Mr. Rogers's sentence has been preserved by Mr. Fox in English, to the intent, as he observes, “that the same, being once expressed,” may be applied to all other sentences throughout the whole history.

The Sentence condemnatory against Mr. Rogers.

“In the name of God, Amen. We, Stephen, by the permission of God, Bishop of Winchester, lawfully and rightly proceeding with all godly favour by authority and virtue of our office, against thee, John Rogers, priest, otherwise called Matthew, before us personally here present, being accused and detected, and notoriously slandered, of heresy, having heard, seen, and understood, and with all diligent deliberation weighed, discussed, and considered, the merits of the cause, all things being observed, which by us in this behalf in order of law ought to be observed, sitting in our judgment-seat, the name of Christ being first called upon, and having only God before our eyes, because by the acts enacted, pronounced, and exhibited in this matter, and by thine own confession judicially made before us, we do find that thou hast taught, holden, and affirmed, and obstinately defended divers errors, heresies, and damnable opinions, contrary to the doctrine and determination of the holy church, as namely these: ‘That the catholic church of Rome is the church of Antichrist. Item, That in the sacrament of the altar there is not substantially nor really the natural body and blood of Christ.’ The which aforesaid heresies and damnable opinions, being contrary to the law of God and determination of the universal and apostolical church, thou hast arrogantly, stubbornly, and wittingly, maintained, held, and affirmed, and also defended before us, as well in this judgment, as also otherwise; and with the like obstinacy, stubbornness, malice, and blindness of heart, both wittingly and willingly hast affirmed, that thou wilt believe, maintain, and hold, affirm and declare, the same: We, therefore, S. Winchester, bishop, ordinary, and diocesan aforesaid, by the consent and assent as well of our reverend brethren the lords bishops, here present and assisting, as also by the counsel and judgment of divers worshipful lawyers and professors of divinity, with whom we have communicated in this behalf, do declare and pronounce thee, the said John Rogers, otherwise called Matthew, through thy demerits, transgressions, obstinacies, and wilfulness, (which through manifold ways thou hast incurred by thine own wicked and stubborn obstinacy,) to have been and to be guilty of the detestable, horrible, and wicked offences of heretical pravity and execrable doctrine; and that thou hast before us sundry times spoken, maintained, and wittingly and stubbornly defended, the said cursed and execrable doctrine in the sundry confessions, assertions, and recognitions, here judicially before us oftentimes repeated, and yet still dost maintain, affirm, and believe the same; and that thou hast been and art lawfully and ordinarily convicted in this behalf. We, therefore, I say, albeit following the example of Christ, ‘which would not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should convert and live;’ we have gone about oftentimes to correct thee, and by all lawful means that we could, and all wholesome admonitions that we did know, to reduce thee again unto the true faith and unity of the universal catholic church, notwithstanding have found thee obstinate and stiff-necked, willingly continuing in thy damnable opinions and heresies, and refusing to return again unto the true faith and unity of the holy mother-church; and, as the child of wickedness and darkness, so to have hardened thy heart, that thou wilt not understand the voice of thy Shepherd, which with a fatherly affection doth seek after thee, nor wilt be allured with his fatherly and godly admonitions: We, therefore, Stephen, the bishop aforesaid, not willing that thou which art wicked shouldest now become more wicked, and infect the Lord’s flock with thine heresy, (which we are
greatly afraid of;) with sorrow of mind and bitterness of heart do judge thee, and definitely condemn thee, the said John Rogers, otherwise called Matthew, thy demerits and faults being aggravated through thy damnable obstinacy, as guilty of most detestable heresies, and as an obstinate and impertinent sinner, refusing penitently to return to the lap and unity of the holy mother-church; and that thou hast been, and art by law, excommunicated, and do pronounce and declare thee to be an excommunicate person. Also, we pronounce and declare thee, being a heretic, to be cast out from the church, and left unto the judgment of the secular power, and now presently so do leave thee as an obstinate heretic, and a person wrapped in the sentence of the great curse, to be degraded worthy for thy demerits (requiring them notwithstanding, in the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ, that this execution and punishment worthy to be done upon thee, may so be moderated, that the rigour thereof be not too extreme, nor yet the gentleness too much mitigated, that it may be to the salvation of thy soul, to the extirpation, terror, and conversion, of the heretics, to the unity of the catholic faith;) by this our sentence definitive, which we here lay upon and lay against thee, and do with sorrow of heart promulgate in this form afore said.”

After this sentence, the bishop declared Mr. Rogers to be under the great curse, with the danger of eating and drinking any thing with persons accursed, or even giving them any thing, because all such persons would be partakers of the same great curse. To which Mr. Rogers replied, “Well, my lord, here I stand before God and you, and all this honourable audience, and take him to witness, that I never wittingly or willingly taught any false doctrine; and therefore, have I a good conscience before God and all good men; I am sure, that you and I shall come before a judge that is righteous, before whom I shall be as good a man as you; and I nothing doubt but that I shall be found there a true member of the true catholic church of Christ, and everlastingly saved. And, as for your false church, ye need not excommunicate me forth of it; I have not been in it these twenty years, the Lord be thanked therefore. But now ye have done what ye can, my lord, I pray you yet grant me one thing.” On asking what that was, he answered, “that my poor wife, being a stranger, may come and speak with me so long as I live; for she hath ten children that are hers and mine, and somewhat I would counsel her what were best for her to do.” The bishop denying her to be his wife, was answered, “Yes, and hath been these eighteen years.” Then the bishop questioned, “Should I grant her to be thy wife?” and he replied, “Choose you whether you will or not; she shall be so nevertheless.” Then said the bishop, “She shall not come at thee;” and Mr. Rogers answered, “Then I have tried out all your charity. You make yourself highly displeased with the matrimony of priests, but you maintain open whore-dom; as in Wales, where every priest hath his whore openly dwelling with, and lying by, him: even as your holy father suffereth all the priests in Dutchland and in France to do the like.” But to this he made no reply, only looking asquint at it; and on this Mr. Rogers departed. After this, Mr. Hooper and Mr. Rogers were sent to the Clink until night. After dark, Mr. Hooper was first conducted by one sheriff, and Mr. Rogers followed with the other, through the bishop’s house and St. Mary Overy’s church-yard, over the bridge, and through the city to Newgate. Bills and weapons enough attended them.

Besides what Mr. Rogers observed to the bishop, not being permitted to answer any more, he wrote in prison as follows:

“Hitherto, dearly beloved, ye have heard what was said: now hear what I purposed the night before to have said, if I could have been permitted. Two things I purposed to have touched. The one, how it was lawful for a private man to reason and write against a wicked act of parliament, or ungodly council, which the lord-chancellor the day before denied me. The other was, to prove, that prosperity was not always a token of God’s love. And this I purposed to speak of, because the lord-chancellor boasted of himself, that he was delivered forth of prison, as it were by miracle, and preserved of God to restore true religion, and to punish me and such others whom he termed heretics. Concerning these two points, in this matter I purposed to have proceeded. It is not unknown to you, that King
Henry VIII. in his time made his daughter, the queen that now is, a bastard: he abolished the authority of the bishop of Rome: he pulled down abbeys; and all this he did by the consent of parliament.

King Edward VI. in his time made lawful the marriage of priests, turned the service into English, abolished the idolatrous mass, with all like superstitious trumpery, set up the holy communion, and all by consent of parliament.

The queen that now is, hath repealed the act that made her a bastard, hath brought in the Bishop of Rome, and set him in his old authority, beginneth to set up abbeys again, hath made the marriage of priests unlawful, hath turned the English service into Latin again, hath set up the mass again, with like baggage, and pulled down the holy communion: and all this is done by consent of parliament.

If the acts of parliament, made in King Henry's time, and in King Edward's, had their foundation upon God's word, wherein all positive law ought to be grounded; then these which are established in the queen's time, being clean contrary to the others, as they are not warranted by God's word, so are they wicked, and therefore to be both spoken and written against of all men, as well of private as of public persons.

If your acts, my lord-chancellor, which you have lately coined, (I call them yours, because ye only bear the sway, devise, and decree what ye list, all other men are forced to follow,) be good, and according to God's word, then the former acts were naught, which thing ye seem to say, in utterly taking of them away, and setting up of the contrary: if the former were naught, why then did ye consent unto them, and confirm them to be good by your voluntary and advised writing? as it appears, and will do to the world's end, in your book, De Vera Obedientia, where you prove the queen a bastard, and the bishop of Rome to be a usurper, and to have no authority in the realm of England.

Ye must needs confess, that the most part of your acts of parliament in these latter days have been according to the fantasies of a few. King Henry, in his time, established by parliament in a manner what he listed, and many things that might well have been amended.

In King Edward's days the Dukes of Somerset and Northumberland bare a great stroke in things, and did not all things sincerely. Even so, since the queen that now is came to the government of the realm, all things are ordered by your device and head, and the whole parliament-house is led as you list; by reason whereof they are compelled to condescend to things both contrary to God's manifest word, and also to their own consciences; so great is your cruelty.

For to bring your wicked purposes to pass, and to establish your antichristian kingdom, (which I trust, the Lord, with the breath of his mouth, will speedily blow over,) ye have called three parliaments in one year and a half, that what you could not compass by subtle persuasion, ye might bring to pass by tyrannical threatening: for, if ye had not used cruel force in your doings, ye had never brought to pass such things as this day ye have, to the utter defacing and abolishing of God's true religion, and to the casting away and destruction of your natural country, so much as in you liest.

And as it is most true, that acts of parliament have in these latter days been ruled by the fantasies of a few; and the whole parliament-house, contrary to their minds, was compelled to such things as a few have conceived: so it must needs be granted, that the papists, at all times, were most ready to apply themselves to the present world, and, like menpleasers, to follow the fantasies of such as were in authority, and turn with the state, which way soever it turned. Yea, if the state should change ten times in one year, they would ever be ready at hand to change with it, and so follow the cry, and rather utterly forsake God, and be of no religion, than that they should forego lust or living, for God or for religion.

King Henry, by parliament, according to God's word, put down the pope: the clergy consented, and all men openly, by oath, refused his usurped supremacy, knowing by God's word, Christ to be the head of the church, and every king in his realm to have, under and next unto Christ, the chief sovereignty.

King Edward, also, by parliament, according to God's word, set the marriage of priests at liberty, abolished the popish and idolatrous mass, changed the Latin service, and set up
the holy communion; the whole clergy consented hereunto; many of them set it forth by their preaching; and they all, by practising, confirmed the same.

Notwithstanding, now, when the state is altered, and the laws changed, the papistical clergy, with other like worldlings, as men neither fearing God, neither flying worldly shame, neither yet regarding their consciences, oaths, or honesty, like wavering weather cocks turn round about, and putting on harlots' foreheads, sing a new song, and cry with an impudent mouth, 'Come again, come again, to the catholic church,' meaning the antichristian church of Rome, which is the synagogue of Satan, and the very sink of all superstition, heresy, and idolatry.

Of what force, I pray you, may a man think these parliaments to be, which scarcely stand a year in strength? Or what credit is to be given to these law-makers, who are not ashamed to establish contrary laws, and to condemn that for evil, which before (the thing itself and the circumstances remaining all one) they affirmed and decreed to be good! Truly ye are so ready, contrary to all right, to change and turn for the pleasure of man, that at length, I fear, God will use you like changelings, and both turn you forth of his kingdom, and out of your own country.

Ye charge the gospel preachers with the undoing of this realm; nay, it is the turning papists, which have not only set to sale their country, like traitors, but also troubled the simple people, so that they cannot tell what they may believe. For that which they affirmed, and preached to be true doctrine in King Edward's days, now they cry against it, as it were most abominable heresy. This fault, I trust, ye shall never find at our hands.

Therefore, to conclude that which I purpose, forsooth as the acts of parliament of these latter times are one contrary to another, and those which ye now have established in your time are contrary to God's most manifest word, as is the usurped supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, the idolatrous mass, the Latin service, the prohibiting of lawful marriage, (which St. Paul calleth the doctrine of devils,) with many such other: I say, it is not only lawful for any private man, which bringeth God's word for him, and the authority of the primitive and best church, to speak and write against such unlawful laws; but it is his duty, and he is bound in very conscience to do it. Which thing I have proved by divers examples before, and now will add but one other, which is written in the fifth of the Acts, where it appeareth that the highpriests, the elders, scribes, and Pharisees, decreed in their council, and gave the same commandments to the apostles, that they should not preach in the name of Christ, as ye have also forbidden us; notwithstanding, when they were charged therewithal, they answered, 'We ought more to obey God than man.' Even so we may, and do, answer you; God is more to be obeyed than man; and your wicked laws cannot so tongue-tie us, but we will speak the truth.

The apostles were beaten for their boldness, and they rejoiced that they suffered for Christ's cause. Ye have also provided rods for us, and bloody whips: yet, when ye have done that which God's hand and council hath determined that ye shall do, be it life or death, I trust that God will so assist us by his holy Spirit and grace, that we shall patiently suffer it and praise God for it; and whatsoever become of me and others, which now suffer for speaking and professing of the truth, yet be ye sure that God's word will prevail, and have the upper hand, when your bloody laws and wicked decrees, for want of a sure foundation, shall fall in the dust: and that which I have spoken of your acts of parliament, the same may be said of the general councils of these latter days, which have been within these five hundred years, where the Antichrist of Rome, by reason of his usurped authority, ruled the roast, and decreed such things as made for his gain, not regarding God's glory: and therefore are they to be spoken, written, and cried out, against, of all such as fear God and love his truth.

And thus much I purposed to have said concerning the first point.

Now touching the second point. That whereas my lord-chancellor, had the day before said his pleasure of them that ruled the realm while he was in prison, and also rejoiced as though God had made this alteration, even for his sake and his catholic church, as he called it, and to declare as it were by miracle, that we were before in a schism and heresy, and the realm was now brought unto a unity, and to a truth, and I cannot tell whereto; to
which I was fully purposed to have spoken. Secondly, my lord, whereas ye yesterday so much dispraised the government of them that ruled in innocent King Edward’s days, it may please your lordship to understand, that we poor preachers, whom ye so evil entreat, did most boldly and plainly rebuke their evil government in many things, especially their covetousness, and neglect and small regard to live after the gospel, as also their negligence to occasion others to live thereafter, with more things than I can now rehearse. This all London can testify with us. I would also have told him, what I myself, for my part, did once at Paul’s Cross, concerning the misuse of abbeys, and other church-goods: and I am right well assured, that never a papist of them all did ever so much therein as I did, I thank the Lord therefore: I was also, as is well known, fain to answer therefore before all the council, and many of my brethren did the like, so that we, for the not rebuking of their faults, shall not answer before God, nor be blameworthy before men. Therefore, let the gentlemen and courtiers themselves, and all the citizens of London, testify what we did.

But, my lord, you could not abide them, for that which they did unto you, and for that they were of a contrary religion unto you. Wherefore, in that you seem so inveterate against them, it is neither any just or public cause, but it is your own private hate that maketh you to report so evil of their governance. And ye may now say what ye list of them, when they be partly dead and gone, and partly by you put out of office.

But what shall be said of you when your fall shall follow, ye shall then hear. And I must say my conscience to you: I fear me, ye have and will, with your governance, bring England out of God’s blessing into a warm sun. I pray God you do not.

I am an Englishman born, and, God knoweth, do naturally wish well to my country. And, my lord, I have often proved that the things, which I have much feared aforehand should come to pass, have indeed followed. I pray God I may fail of my guessing in this behalf: but truly, that will not be with expelling the true word of God out of the realm, and with the shedding of innocent blood.

And, as touching your rejoicing, as though God had set you aloft to punish us by miracle, (for so you report and brag openly of yourself,) and to minister justice, if we will not receive your holy father’s mercy, and thereby do declare your church to be true, and ours false; to that I answer thus: God’s works be wonderful, and are not to be comprehended and perceived by man’s wisdom, nor by the wit of the most wise and prudent. Yea, they are soonest deceived, and do most easily judge amiss of God’s wonderful works, that are most worldly wise. God hath made all the wisdom of this world foolishness, first to the Corinthians, the first and second chapters. ‘He that put his beloved and dear heart into the hands of the enemies thereof,’ Jer. xii. 7.

This thing doth God, which thing all wise men account to be the most foolish and unwise part that can be. Will the wise of the world, trow ye, put their most dear friends and tenderly beloved children into their enemies’ hands to kill, slay, burn, &c.? that is unto them a madness above all madness. And yet doth God use this order, and this is a high and singular wisdom in his sight, which the world taketh to be the most extreme madness.

Can the world show a cause why he suffered the great multitude of innocent children to be murdered of Herod of Ascalon? or why he put that most holy man John Baptist into the hands of Herod his son to be beheaded, and that in prison secretly, without open judgment, most tyrannously? Why he suffered his beloved apostle James to be beheaded of another Herod? Acts xii. Why he suffered his beloved seed of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, to be four hundred years in thraldom and bondage, and under Pharaoh? And all the stock of Juda and Benjamin, his beloved children and church, to come under the power, sword, and tyranny of Nebuchadnezzar? No, verily, but his true catholic church knoweth divers causes thereof, which are now too long to rehearse, and which I would right gladly show, if I had time.

But this I am right sure of, that it was not because that the aforesaid godly men were in heresies, and subject to false gods’ services, and idolatry, and that their adversaries were men of God, and beloved of God: the contrary was true: John Baptist was beloved of God, and Herod hated; and so forth of the rest: and John Baptist, the innocent children,
James, the children of Israel in Egypt, and in Babylon, were the catholic members and people of God: and their adversaries, into whose hands they were put and delivered, and that of God by his good will and pleasure, were idolaters, and the people of the devil: but they would be called the chief members of God, and rejoiced that they had the true God, and that it was now declared by miracle, that the Israelites had but a false God, and a false religion, seeing they were delivered into the Babylonians' hands. And all the other (the Herods and Pharaoh I mean) plainly determined, that if the men, which they killed and handled evil, had been God's people, God would never have suffered them to come into their hands, but rather have done the contrary, and have let John Baptist kill Herod, and the Israelites Pharaoh and Nebuchadnezzar. Even the like is now to be seen in us and in our most cruel adversaries.

They are not, therefore, the catholic church, because our merciful God hath at this present given our lives into their hands: neither are we, therefore, heretics, because we suffer punishment at their hands, as the lord-chancellor by his rejoicing seemeth to gather: the contrary is hereby to be gathered, that we be the members of the true catholic church, because we suffer for the same doctrine which John Baptist, James, the Israelites, yea, Christ, and the apostles, did teach: of which none taught any thing of our adversaries' doctrine, namely, that the rotten antichristian head of Rome should be head of Christ's church: but they have manifestly taught the contrary, specially Paul, 2 Thess. ii. John, in the Revelation: Dan. xi. Which thing, if I might have life and books, I would so (by God's grace) set forth, that all the world should see it; and that our adversaries, with their antichristian head, are the members of the devil's church, as they undoubtedly are. And in like case, as the above-mentioned holy men, though they in their days were counted to be heretics, seditious, and disturbers of the whole world; for unto John Baptist it was said, John i. 'Wherefore baptizest thou, if thou be not Elias, nor that prophet, &c.?' As who should say, thou hast no such authority to begin a new ceremony in the church. For we be in ordinary possession of the church: and of us thou hast received no such power; we abide by our circumcision: and the like could I declare of James, and of all the apostles and prophets, and of our Saviour Christ himself, that we are all condemned as heretics, and blasphemers of God, and disturbers of the whole world. Paul and Silas, Acts xvi. heard like words of the Philippians, 'These men trouble our city, seeing they are Jews, and preach institutions which are now not lawful for us to receive, seeing we be Romans.' And in the seventeenth chapter, in Athens, the wise men of this world, and such as gave their endeavours to wisdom, said by St. Paul, 'What will this prater, (as my lord-chancellor said to me, Shall we suffer this fellow to prate; when I would fain have said that thing that I have here written,) trifler, news-carrier, or bringer, that tellleth whatsoever men will have him for gain or advantage, that will for a piece of bread say what ye will have him, &c. And another said in the same place, He seemeth to be a preacher of new devils, &c. And Acts xxiii., the Jews say by Paul, laying hands on him, 'Help, O ye Israelites, say they, this is the man that teacheth all men every where against the people (meaning the Jews) and the law of this place,' (meaning Jerusalem,) and yet was never a word of these true. And Acts xxii. the same Jews said of Paul, 'Out of the earth with that man, or away with him; for it is not lawful for him to live, or he is not worthy to live.' And how many more of these examples are to be found in the Bible! Although I say these men were in their days taken for heretics of them that were then in authority, and of the great multitude of the world, yet it is now well known, yea, and very shortly after their deaths this was known, yea, and even in their lives also unto the true catholic church, that they were not only the chief and special members of the true catholic church, but also the founders and builders thereof, (notwithstanding the sinister judgment that the wise and mighty men, and the great multitude of the world had of them,) and in their consciences they were always assuredly certified of the same. Even the same shall the world find true in us, shortly after our deaths, as also there be at this hour (the Lord be thanked therefore) not a few that already know it, as we ourselves are by God's grace assuredly certified in our consciences, that we are not heretics, but members of the
true catholic church, and that our adversaries, the bishops and popish clergy, which will have that title, are the members of Satan's church, and their antichristian head of Rome with them.

But here they will cry out: Lo, these men will be still John Baptist, the apostles, and prophets, &c.

I answer, We make not ourselves like unto them, in the singular virtues and gifts of God given unto them; as of doing miracles, and of many other things. The similitude and likeness of them and us consisteth not in all things, but only in this, that is, that we be like them in doctrine, and in the suffering of persecution and infamy for the same.

We have preached their very doctrine, and none other thing: that we are able sufficiently to declare by their writings; and by writing for my part, I have proffered to prove the same, as is now often said. And for this cause we suffer the like reproach, shame, and rebuke of the world, and the like persecution, losing of our lives and goods, forsaking (as our master Christ commandeth) father, mother, sister, brethren, wives, children, and all that there is, being assured of a joyful resurrection, and to be crowned in glory with them, according to the infallible promises made unto us in Christ, our only and sufficient mediator, reconciler, priest, and sacrifice, which hath pleased the Father, and quieted and pacified his wrath against our sins, and made us without spot or wrinkle in his sight by imputation, although we, of and in ourselves, are bespotted and belotted with many filthy sins, which, if the great mercy granted in Christ did not put away, by not imputing them unto us, of his measureless unspeakable mercy and love to save us, they would have brought us to everlasting damnation and death perpetual: herein, and in no other, do we affirm ourselves to be like unto our head Christ, and all his apostles, prophets, martyrs, and saints. And herein ought all christian men to be like them, and herein are all christian men and women like them every one, according to the measure of faith that God hath dealt unto them, and to the diversity of the gifts of the Spirit given unto them. But let us now consider, that if it be God's good will and pleasure to give his own beloved heart, that is, his beloved church, and the members thereof, into the hands of their enemies, to chasten, try, and prove them, and to bring them to the true unfeigned acknowledging of their own natural stubbornness, disobedience towards God and his commandments, as touching the love of God and of their brethren or neighbours, and their natural inclination, readiness, and desire to love creatures, to seek their own lusts, pleasures, and things forbidden of God, to obtain a true and earnest repentance, and sorrowfulness therefore, and to make them to sigh and cry for the forgiveness of the same, and for the aid of the Spirit, daily to mortify and kill the said evil desires and lusts: yea, and often falling into gross outward sins, as did David, Peter, Magdalen, and others, to rise again also thereout with a mighty crying for mercy, with many other causes; let us also consider what he hereafter doth with the said enemies, into whose hands he hath given his tender beloved dearlings to be chastened and tried. Forsooth, whereas he but chasteneth his dearlings, and crosseth them for a small while, according to his good pleasure, as all fathers do with their children, Heb. xii. Prov. iii. he utterly destroyeth, yea, and everlastingly damneth, the unrepentant enemies.

Let Herod tell me what he won by killing James, and persecuting Peter, and Christ's tender dearlings, and beloved spouse and wife, his church. Verily, God thought him not worthy to have death ministered unto him by men or angels, or any worthy creatures, but those small and yet most vile vermin, lice and worms, must consume and kill his beastly, vile, and tyrannous body. Pharaoh and Nebuchadnezzar, for all their pride and most mighty power, must at length let God's dearlings go freely out of their land, yea, out of their bands and tyranny. For when it could not be obtained at their hands, that God's congregation might have true mercy ministered unto them, but the counterfeit mercy of these our days, that is to say, extreme cruelty, and even the very and that most horrible and cruel death, God arose and awoke out of his sleep, and destroyed those enemies of his flock with a mighty hand, and stretched-out arm. Pharaoh did with most great and intolerable labours and burdens oppress and bring under the poor Israelites, and yet did the courtiers undoubtedly noise abroad, that the king was merciful unto them, to suffer them to live in
the land, and to set them a work, that they might get them their livings. If he should thrust them out of his land, whither should they go, like a sort of vagabonds and runagate? This title and name of mercy would that tyrant have, and so did his flattering false courtiers spread his vain praise abroad. Have we not the like example nowadays? O that I had now time to write certain things pertaining to our Winchester's mercy! How meritorious he hath been to me and my good brethren, I will not speak of, neither yet unto the Duke of Suffolk's most innocent daughter, and to her as innocent husband. For, although their fathers were faulty, yet had their youth and lack of experience deserved a pardon by all true merciful men's judgments. O that I had time to paint out this matter aright! but there be many alive that can do it much better, when I am dead. Pharaoh had his plagues, and his most flourishing land was by counterfeit mercy, which was indeed right cruelty and abominable tyranny, utterly destroyed. And think ye that bloody butcherly bishop of Winchester, and his most bloody brethren, shall escape? or that England shall, for their offences, and specially for the maintenance of their idolatry, and wilful following of them, not abide as great brunts? Yes, undoubtedly."

After that John Rogers, as ye have heard, had been long and straitly imprisoned, and lodged in Newgate among thieves, often examined, and very uncharitably entreated, and at length unjustly and most cruelly condemned by Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester: the 4th of February, in the year of our Lord 1555, being Monday in the morning, he was suddenly warned by the keeper of Newgate's wife, to prepare himself to the fire; who, being then sound asleep, could scarce be awakened. At length being raised and awakened, and bid to make haste, then said he, if it be so, I need not tie my points. And so was had down, first to Bishop Bonner to be degraded: which being done, he craved of Bonner but one petition; and Bonner asking what that should be? Mr. Rogers replied, that he might speak a few words with his wife before his burning. But that could not be obtained of him. Then, said he, you declare what your charity is: and so he was brought into Smithfield by Mr. Chester and Mr. Woodrooffe, then sheriffs of London, there to be burnt; where he showed most constant patience, not using many words, for he could not be permitted, but only exhorting the people constantly to remain in that faith and true doctrine which he before had taught, and they had learned, and for the confirmation whereof he was not only content patiently to suffer and bear all such bitterness and cruelty as had been showed him, but also most gladly to resign up his life, and to give his flesh to the consuming fire, for the testimony of the same.

Briefly, and in few words, to comprehend the whole order of his life, doings, and martyrdom: First, this good man, Mr. Rogers, was committed to prison, as above said, and there continued a year and a half. In prison he was merry and earnest in all he went about. He wrote much; his own examinations he penned with his own hand, which else had never come to light. Wherein it is to be noted, by the way, a memorable working of God's providence. Ye heard a little above, how Mr. Rogers craved of Bishop Bonner, going to his burning, that he might speak a few words before with his wife, which could not be granted. What these words were, which he had to say to his wife, it is for no man certainly to determine. It may be supposed, that his purpose was, amongst other things, to signify unto her of the book of his examinations and answers, which he had written and privily hid in a secret corner of the prison where he lay. But where man's power lacketh, see how God's providence worketh. For notwithstanding that, during the time of his imprisonment, there was strict search made to take away his letters and writings, yet, after his death, his wife, and one of her sons called Daniel, coming into the place where he lay, to seek for his books and writings, and now ready to go away, it chanced her son aforenamed, casting his eye aside, to spy a black thing (for it had a black cover, because it should not be known) lying in a blind corner under a pair of stairs; who, desiring his mother to see what it was, found it to be the book written with his own hand, containing these his examinations and answers, with other matters above specified. In the latter end whereof, this also was contained; which, because it concerneth a prophetical forewarning of things pertaining to the church,
I thought to place the same in his own words, as they be there written, which are these: "If God look not mercifully upon England, the seeds of utter destruction are sown in it already by these hypocritical tyrants, and antichristian prelates, popish papists, and double traitors to their natural country. And yet they speak of mercy, of blessing, of the catholic church, of unity, of power, and strengthening of the realm. This double dissimulation will show itself one day when the plague cometh, which undoubtedly will light upon these crown-shorn captains, and that shortly, whatsoever the godly and the poor realm suffer in the mean while by God's sufferance and will.

"Spite of Nebuchadnezzar's beard, and maugre his heart, the captive, thrall, and miserable Jews must come home again, and have their city and temple built up again by Zerobabel, Esdras, and Nehemias, &c.; and the whole kingdom of Babylon must go to ruin and be taken of strangers, the Persians and Medes. So shall the dispersed English flock of Christ be brought again into their former estate, or to a better, I trust in the Lord God, than it was in innocent King Edward's days; and our bloody Babylonish bishops, and the whole crown-shorn company brought to utter shame, rebuke, ruin, decay, and destruction. For God cannot, and undoubtedly will not, suffer for ever their abominable lying, false doctrine, their hypocrisy, blood-thirst, whoredom, idleness, their pestilent life, pampered in all kinds of pleasure, their thraaaaaaasonical boasting pride, their malicious, envious, and poisoned stomachs, which they bear towards his poor and miserable Christians. Peter truly warneth, that, 'If judgment beginneth in the house of God, what shall be the end of them that believe not the gospel? If the righteous shall scarcely be saved, where shall the ungodly and sinner appear?' Some shall have their punishment here in this world, and in the world to come; and they that do escape in this world, shall not escape everlasting damnation. This shall be your sauce, O ye wicked papists; make ye merry as long as ye may."

Furthermore, amongst other words and sayings, which may seem prophetically to be spoken by him, this also may be added, and is notoriously to be marked, that he spake, being then in prison, to the printer of this present book, who then also was laid up for like cause of religion: Thou, said he, shalt live to see the alteration of this religion, and the gospel to be freely preached again; and, therefore, have me commended to my brethren, as well in exile as others, and bid them be circumspect in displacing the papists, and putting good ministers into churches, or else their end will be worse than ours. And, for lack of good ministers to furnish churches, his device was, (Mr. Hooper also agreeing to the same,) that for every ten churches some one good and learned superintendent should be appointed, which should have under him faithful readers, such as might well be got, so that the popish priests should clean be put out, and the bishop once a year to oversee the profiting of the parishes; and if the minister did not his duty, as well in profiting himself in his book, and his parishioners in good instructions, so that they may be trained by little and little to give a reckoning how they do profit, then he to be expelled, and another put in his place: And the bishop to do the like with the superintendent; this was his counsel and request; showing, moreover, and protesting in his commendations to his brethren by the printer aforesaid, that if they would not so do, their end, he said, would be worse than theirs.

Over and besides divers things touching Mr. Rogers, this is not to be forgotten, how in the days of King Edward VI. there was a controversy among the bishops and clergy, for wearing of priests' caps, and other attire belonging to that order. Mr. Rogers, being one of that number which never went otherwise than in a round cap, during all the time of King Edward, affirmed, that he would not agree to that decreement of uniformony, but upon this condition, that if they would needs have such an uniformity of wearing the cap, tippet, &c., then it should also be decreed withal, that the papists, for a difference betwixt them and others, should be constrained to wear upon their sleeves a chalice with an host upon it. Whereupon, if they would consent, he would agree to the other; otherwise he would not, he said, consent to the setting forth of the same, nor ever wear the cap, as indeed he never did.

To proceed now further in describing the doings of this man, during the time he remained prisoner in Newgate, he was to the prisoners' beneficial and liberal; for whom he had
thus devised, that he with his fellows should have but one meal a day, the paying notwithstanding for the charges of the whole; the other meal should be given to them that lacked, on the other side of the prison. But Alexander their keeper, a strait man, and a right Alexander, a coppersmith indeed, would in no case suffer that; of whose doings more shall be said, God willing, hereafter. The Sunday before Mr. Rogers suffered, he drank to Mr. Hooper, being then underneath him, and bade them commend him unto him, and tell him, there was never little fellow better would stick to a man, than he would stick to him, presupposing they should both be burnt together, although it happened otherwise, for Mr. Rogers was burnt alone. And thus much briefly concerning the life and such acts of Mr. Rogers, as I thought worthy of noting.

Now when that time came, that he, being delivered to the sheriffs, should be brought out of Newgate to Smithfield, the place of his execution, Mr. Woodrooffe, one of the aforesaid sheriffs, first came to Mr. Rogers, and asked him, if he would revoke his abominable doctrine, and the evil opinion of the sacrament of the altar. Mr. Rogers answered that which I have preached, I will seal with my blood. Then Mr. Woodrooffe said, Thou art an heretic. That shall be known, quoth Mr. Rogers, at the day of judgment. Well, said Mr. Woodrooffe, I will never pray for thee. But I will pray for you, said Mr. Rogers; and so was brought the same day, which was Monday, the 4th of February, by the sheriffs, towards Smithfield, saying the psalm Misere - re; by the way, all the people wonderfully rejoicing at his constancy with great praises and thanks to God for the same. And there, in the presence of Mr. Rochester, comptroller of the Queen's household, Sir Richard Southwell, both the sheriffs, and a great number of people, he was burnt to ashes, washing his hands in the flame as he was burning. A little before his burning, his pardon was brought, if he would have recanted; but he utterly refused it. He was the first Martyr of all the blessed company that suffered in Queen Mary's time, that gave the first adventure upon the fire. His wife and children, being eleven in number, ten able to go, and one sucking at her breast, met him by the way, as he went towards Smithfield: this sorrowful sight of his own flesh and blood could nothing move him, but that he constantly and cheerfully took his death with wonderful patience, in the defence and quarrel of the gospel of Christ.

We have thought it expedient to present our readers with a full account of the life and behaviour of Mr. Rogers, as it has been transmitted to the present time, in the records collected by the persevering industry of Mr. Fox. As a document of his faith, it is no less valuable to every protestant reader than the examinations of three venerable episcopal martyrs already given; and in some respects, it is better adapted to the comprehension of common readers, from its being digested into a summary of opinions, containing the leading features of the protestant faith, in perspicuous and intelligent language. For this reason, we have preserved entire every account relating to this celebrated martyr; and for the same purpose, we have retained the particulars concerning Mr. Saunders, as will be seen in the next chapter.
NICOLAS BURTON AN ENGLISH MERCHANT SUFFERING THE TORTURES OF THE INQUISITION IN SPAIN.
FOX'S BOOK OF MARTYRS;

OR,

THE ACTS AND MONUMENTS

OF

The Christian Church;

BEING

A COMPLETE HISTORY OF THE LIVES, SUFFERINGS, AND DEATHS

OF

THE CHRISTIAN MARTYRS;

FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF CHRISTIANITY TO THE PRESENT PERIOD.

TO WHICH IS ADDED

AN ACCOUNT OF THE INQUISITION,


WITH

THE LIVES OF SOME OF THE EARLY EMINENT REFORMERS.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

"Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?"—Matt. vii, 16.

REVISED AND IMPROVED

BY THE REVEREND JOHN MALHAM.

RE-EDITED

BY THE REVEREND T. PRATT, D. D.

EMBELLISHED WITH SUPERB ENGRAVINGS.

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1830.
THE
LIVES, SUFFERINGS, AND DEATHS
OF THE
CHRISTIAN MARTYRS.

CONTINUATION OF
BOOK III.

CHAP. VII.

THE REV. MR. LAWRENCE SAUNDERS.

Mr. Saunders, after passing some time in the school of Eaton, was chosen to go to King’s college in Cambridge, where he continued three years, and profited in knowledge and learning very much for that time: shortly after, he quitted the university, and went to his parents, upon whose advice he was minded to become a merchant, for that his mother, who was a gentlewoman of a good estimation, being left a widow, and having a good portion for him among his other brethren, she thought to set him up wealthily, and on his coming up to London, he was bound apprentice to a merchant, named Sir William Chester, who afterward chanced to be sheriff of London the same year, Mr. Saunders was burnt at Coventry. His master perceiving his whole purpose to be bent to the study of books and spiritual contemplation, like a good man, directed his letters unto his friends, and giving him his indentures, set him free. Thus Mr. Saunders, being ravished with the love of learning, and especially with the reading of God’s word, carried not long in the traffic of merchandize, but shortly returned to Cambridge again to his study, where he began to add to the knowledge of the Latin, the study of the Greek and Hebrew tongues, and gave himself up to the study of the holy Scriptures, the better to qualify himself for the office of a preacher.

In the beginning of King Edward’s reign, when God’s true religion was introduced, after license obtained, he began to preach, and was so well liked of them who then had authority, that they appointed him to read a divinity lecture in the college of Fotheringham, where, by his doctrine and life, he edified the pious, drew many ignorant to the true knowledge of God, and stopped the mouths of his adversaries. He married about that time, and in the married state led a life unblameable before all men. The college of Fotheringham being dissolved, he was placed to be a reader in the minster at Litchfield. After a certain space, he departed from Litchfield to a benefice in Leicestershire, called Church-langton, where he held a residence, taught diligently, and kept a liberal house. Thence he was orderly called to take a benefice in the city of London, namely, All-hallows in Bread-street. Then he was minded to give over his cure in the country; and therefore, after he had taken possession of his benefice in London, he departed from thence into the country, clearly to discharge himself thereof; at which time began the contest about the claim that Queen Mary made to the crown, whence he could not accomplish his purpose.

In this trouble, and even among the beginners of it, (such as were for the queen) he preached at Northampton, nothing meddling with the state, but boldly uttering his conscience against the popish doctrines which were likely to spring up again in England, as a just plague
for the little love which the English nation then bore to the blessed word of God, which had been so plentifully offered unto them.

The queen’s party, who were there, and heard him, were highly displeased with him for his sermon, and for it kept him among them as a prisoner. But partly for love of his brethren and friends, who were chief actors for the queen among them, partly because there was no law broken by his preaching, they dismissed him.

Some of his friends, perceiving such fearful menacing, counselled him to fly out of the realm, which he refused to do. But seeing he was with violence kept from doing good in that place, he returned towards London, to visit his flock.

In the afternoon of Sunday, Oct. 15, 1554, as he was ready in his church to exhort his people, the Bishop of London interrupted him, by sending an officer for him.

His treason and sedition the Bishop’s charity was content to let slip until another time, but a heretic he meant to prove him, and all those, he said, who taught and believed that the administration of the sacraments, and all orders of the church, are the most pure, which come the nearest to the order of the primitive church.

After much talk concerning this matter, the Bishop desired him to write what he believed of transubstantiation. Laurence Saunders did so, saying, “My Lord, you seek my blood, and you shall have it: I pray God that you may be so baptized in it, that you may never after loathe blood-sucking, and become a better man.” Upon being closely charged with contumacy, the severe replies of of Mr. Saunders to the Bishop, (who had before, to get the favour of Henry VIII. written and set forth in print, a book of true obedience, wherein he had openly declared Queen Mary to be a bastard) so irritated him, that he exclaimed, Carry away this frenzied fool to prison. Unto whom Mr. Saunders answered, that he did give God thanks, which had given him at the last a place of rest and quietness, where he might pray for the bishop’s conversion. Mr. Saunders continued in prison one year and three months, in which time he sent several letters to Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer; another to his wife, and to others. In the mean time, Gardiner, the chancellor, sent him to the prison of the Marshalsea, where he was kept rigorously imprisoned, during which time he sent a letter of exculpation to Gardiner.

After this good and faithful martyr had been kept in prison one year and a quarter, the bishops at length called him, as they did his fellow-prisoners, openly to be examined before the Queen’s council.

His examination being ended, the officers led him out of the place, and said until the rest of his fellow-prisoners were likewise examined, that they might lead them all together to prison.

After his excommunication and delivery over to the secular power, he was brought by the sheriff of London to the Compter, a prison in his own parish of Bread-street, at which he rejoiced greatly, both because he found there a fellow-prisoner, Mr. Cardmaker, with whom he had much much Christian and comfortable discourse; and because out of prison, as before in his pulpit, he might have an opportunity of preaching to his parishioners. The 4th of February, Bonner, bishop of London, came to the prison to degrade him; the day following, in the morning, the sheriff of London delivered him to certain of the Queen’s guard, who were appointed to carry him to the city of Coventry, there to be burnt.

When they had arrived at Coventry, a poor shoemaker, who used to serve him with shoes, came to him, and said, O my good master, God strengthen and comfort you. Good shoemaker, Mr. Saunders replied, I desire thee to pray for me, for I am the most unfit man for this high office, that ever was appointed to it; but my gracious God and dear Father is able to make me strong enough. The next day, being the 8th of February, 1555, he was led to the place of execution, in the park, without the city; he went in an old gown and a shirt, bare-footed, and oftentimes fell flat on the ground, and prayed. When he was come nigh to the place, the officer, appointed to see the execution done, said to Mr. Saunders, that he was one of them who married the Queen’s realm, but if he would recant, there was pardon for him.—“Not I,” replied the holy martyr, “but such as you have injured the realm. The blessed gospel of Christ is what I hold; that do I believe, that have I taught, and that will I never revoke!”—Mr. Saunders then slowly moved towards the fire, sank to the earth, and prayed; he then rose up, embraced
the stake, and frequently said, “Welcome, thou cross of Christ! welcome, everlasting life!” Fire was then put to the fagots; and he was overwhelmed by the dreadful flames, and sweetly slept in the Lord Jesus.

Well might the apostle say, If we only in this life have hope, we are of all men the most miserable. And what will the reader think, when he is told that this martyr was 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. This is strongly verified in a conversation that took place between Dr. Pendleton and Mr. Saunders. The Doctor encouraged his friend to act heroically and die a martyr for the truth; urging, that he should himself have much more to bear from the agonies of burning, being a larger and lustier man, but how are the mighty often humbled! This proud talker turned apostate, and the humble Saunders acted that brave holy character the other knew only to talk of!

CHAP. IX.

The History, Imprisonment, and Examinations, of Mr. John Hooper, Bishop of Worcester and Gloucester.

John Hooper, student and graduate in the university of Oxford, was stirred with such fervent desire to the love and knowledge of the Scriptures, that he was compelled to remove from thence, and was retained in the house of Sir Thomas Arundel, as his steward, till Sir Thomas had intelligence of his opinions and religion, which he in no case did favour, though he exceedingly favoured his person and condition, and wished to be his friend. Mr. Hooper now prudently left Sir Thomas's house and arrived at Paris, but in a short time returned into England, and was retained by Mr. Sentlow, till the time that he was again molested and sought for, when he passed through France to the higher parts of Germany; where, commencing acquaintance with learned men, he was by them free and lovingly entertained, both at Basil, and especially at Zurich, by Mr. Bullinger, who was his singular friend; here also he married his wife, who was a Burgonian, and applied very studiously to the Hebrew tongue.

At length, when God saw it good to stay the bloody time of the six articles, and to give us King Edward to reign over this realm, with some peace and rest unto the church, amongst many other English exiles, who then repaired homeward, Mr. Hooper also, moved in conscience, thought not to absent himself, but seeing such a time and occasion, offered to help forward the Lord's work to the uttermost of his ability. And coming to Mr. Bullinger, and other of his acquaintance in Zurich, he took a pious farewell of them, saying prophetically, From time to time let me hear from you, and I will write unto you how it fares with me. But the last news of all I shall not be able to write; for there, (said he, taking Mr. Bullinger by the hand) where I shall take most pains, there shall you hear of me being burnt to ashes; and that shall be the last news, which I shall not be able to write unto you, but you shall hear of me, &c.

To this also may be added another like prophetical demonstration, foreshowing the manner of that martyrdom wherewith he should glorify God, which was this: when Mr. Hooper was made bishop of Worcester and Gloucester, the arms allotted to him were, a lamb in a fiery bush, and the sunbeams from heaven descending upon the lamb; rightly denoting, as it seemed, the order of those sufferings which afterward were to follow.

But to proceed: when Mr. Hooper had taken his farewell of Mr. Bullinger, and his friends in Zurich, he repaired again into England in the reign of King Edward the Sixth, and coming to London, used continually to preach, most times twice, or at least once a day.

In his sermons, according to his accustomed manner, he corrected sin, and sharply inveighed against the iniquity of the world, and the corrupt abuses of the church. The people in great flocks and companies daily came to hear his voice, as the most melodious sound and tune of Orpheus's harp, insomuch, that, oftentimes when he was preaching, the church would be so full, that none could enter further than the doors thereof. In his doctrine, he was earnest, in tongue eloquent, in the Scriptures perfect, in pains indefatigable, in his life exemplary.

Having preached before the king's majesty, he was soon after made Bishop of Gloucester. In that office he continued two years, and be-
haved himself so well, that his very enemies could find no fault with him, and after that he was made Bishop of Worcester.

Notwithstanding the godly reformation of religion begun in the church of England, besides other ceremonies, they used such garments and apparel as the Popish bishops were wont to do: viz. a chimere, and under that a white rochet; then a mathematical cap with four angles, dividing the whole world into four parts. These trifles he obtained a dispensation from; but it became matter of regret to all good Christians that this difficulty should have been started; and after all the Bishop was compelled to officiate sometimes in that dress. This good bishop was no less exalted in his private than in his public character. At home, in his domestic concerns, he exhibited an example of a worthy prelate's life. In every corner thereof there was the beauty of virtue, good example, honest conversation, and reading of the holy Scriptures. As to the revenues of both his bishoprics, if any thing surmounted thereof, he saved nothing, but bestowed it in hospitality. Twice I was (says Mr. Fox) in his house in Worcester, where, in his common-hall, I saw a table spread with good store of meat, and beset full of beggars and poor people: and I asking his servants what this meant, they told me, that every day their lord and master's manner was, to have at dinner a certain number of the poor of the said city by course, who were served by four at a mess, with wholesome meat: and when they were served (being before examined by him or his deputies of the Lord's prayer, the articles of their faith, and ten commandments) then he himself sat down to dinner, and not before.” In this manner Dr. Hooper executed the office of a most careful and vigilant pastor, for the space of two years and more, so long as the state of religion in King Edward's time was sound and flourishing.

After he had been cited to appear before Bonner and Dr. Heath, he was led to the Council, accused falsely of owing the Queen money; and in the next year, 1554, he wrote an account of his severe treatment during near eighteen months' confinement in the Fleet, and after his third examination, January 29, 1555, at St. Mary Overy's, he, with the Rev. Mr. Rogers, was conducted to the Compter in Southwark, there to remain till the next day at nine o'clock, to see whether they would recant.—Come, brother Rogers, said Dr. Hooper, must we two take this matter first in hand, and begin to fry these fagots? Yes, Doctor, said Mr. Rogers, by God's grace. Doubt not, said Dr. Hooper, but God will give us strength; and the people so applauded their constancy, that they had much ado to pass.

January 29, Bishop Hooper was degraded and condemned, and the Rev. Mr. Rogers was treated in like manner. At dark, Dr. Hooper was led through the city to Newgate; notwithstanding this secrecy, many people came forth to their doors with lights, and saluted him, praising God for his constancy.

During the few days he was in Newgate, he was frequently visited by Bonner and others, but without avail. As Christ was tempted, so they tempted him, and then maliciously reported that he had recanted. The place of his martyrdom being fixed at Gloucester, he rejoiced very much, lifting up his eyes and hands to heaven, and praising God that he saw it good to send him among the people over whom he was pastor, there to confirm with his death the truth which he had before taught them.

On Feb. 7th he came to Gloucester, about five o'clock, and lodged at one Ingram's house. After his first sleep, he continued in prayer until morning; and all the day, except a little time at his meals, and when conversing with such as the guard kindly permitted to speak to him, he spent in prayer.

Sir Anthony Kingston, at one time Doctor Hooper's good friend, was appointed by the queen's letters to attend at his execution. As soon as he saw the Bishop he burst into tears. With tender entreaties he exhorted him to live.—”True it is,” said the Bishop, “that death is bitter, and life is sweet: but alas! consider, that the death to come is more bitter, and the life to come is more sweet.”

The same day a blind boy obtained leave to be brought into Dr. Hooper's presence. The same boy, not long before, had suffered imprisonment at Gloucester for confessing the truth. “Ah! poor boy,” said the Bishop, “though God hath taken from thee thy outward sight, for what reason he best knoweth, yet he hath endued thy soul with the eye of knowledge and of faith. God give thee grace continually to pray unto him, that thou lose not
that sight, for then wouldst thou indeed be
blind both in body and soul?"

When the mayor waited upon him preparatory to his execution, he expressed his perfect obedience, and only requested that a quick fire might terminate his torments. He was permitted to remain in Ingram's house, went to bed at five that afternoon, slept one hour soundly, and spent the rest of the night in prayer. After he had got up in the morning, he desired that no man should be suffered to come into the chamber, that he might be solitary till the hour of execution.

About eight o'clock, on February 9, 1555, he was led forth, and many thousand persons were collected, as it was market-day. All the way, being straitly charged not to speak, and beholding the people, who mourned bitterly for him, he would sometimes lift up his eyes towards heaven, and look very cheerfully upon such as he knew: and he was never known, during the time of his being among them, to look with so cheerful and ruddy a countenance as he did at that time. When he came to the place appointed where he should die, he smilingly beheld the stake and preparation made for him, which was near unto the great elm-tree over against the college of priests, where he used to preach.

Now, after he had entered into prayer, a box was brought and laid before him upon a stool, with his pardon from the Queen, if he would turn. At the sight whereof he cried, If you love my soul, away with it. The box being taken away, Lord Chandois said, Seeing there is no remedy, despatch him quickly. Prayer being done, Bishop Hooper prepared himself for the stake, and taking off his host's gown, he delivered it to the sheriffs, requiring them to see it restored unto the owner, and put off the rest of his apparel, unto a doublet and hose, wherein he wished to have been burned, but the sheriffs overruled it, and his doublet, hose, and waistcoat, were taken off. Then being in his shirt, he took a point from his hose himself, and trussed his shirt between his legs, where he had a pound of gunpowder in a bladder, and under each arm the like quantity delivered him by the guard. Desiring the people to say the Lord's prayer with him, and to pray for him, (who performed it with tears, during the time of his pains,) he went up to the stake: when he was at it, three irons, made to bind him thereto, were brought; one for his neck, another for his middle, and the third for his legs.

When the hoop of iron prepared for his middle was brought, it being made somewhat too short, for his belly was swollen with imprisonment, he shrank, and put in his belly with his hand, until it was fastened: but when they offered to have bound his neck and legs with the other two hoops of iron, he refused them, and would have none, saying, I am well assured I shall not trouble you.

Thus being ready, he looked upon the multitude, of whom he might well be seen, for he was both tall, and stood also upon a high stool, and beheld round about him, that at every corner there was nothing to be seen but weeping and sorrowing people. Then, lifting up his eyes and hands to heaven, he prayed in silence. The reeds were next cast up, and he received two bundles, placing one under each arm, and showed with his hand how the others should be bestowed, and pointed to the place where any were wanting.

Command was now given that the fire should be kindled. But because there were not more green fagots than two horses could carry, it kindled not speedily, and was a pretty while also before it took the reeds upon the fagots. At length it burned about him, but the wind having full strength in that place, and being a lowering cold morning, it blew the flame from him, so that he was in a manner little more than touched by the fire.

Within a space after, a few dry fagots were brought, and a new fire kindled with fagots, (for there were no more reeds) and those burned at the nether parts, but had small power above, because of the wind, saving that it burnt his hair, and scorched his skin a little. In the time of which fire, even as at the first flame, he prayed, saying mildly, and not very loud, but as one without pain, O Jesus, Son of David, have mercy upon me, and receive my soul! After the second fire was spent, he wiped both his eyes with his hands, and beholding the people, he said with an indifferent loud voice, For God's love, good people, let me have more fire! and all this while his nether parts did burn; but the fagots were so few, that the flame only singed his upper parts.

The third fire was kindled within a while after, which was more extreme than the other
two: and then the bladders of gunpowder brake, which did him little good, they were so placed, and the wind had such power. In this fire he prayed with a loud voice, Lord Jesus, have mercy upon me! Lord Jesus, receive my spirit! And these were the last words he was heard to utter. But when he was black in the mouth, and his tongue swollen that he could not speak, yet his lips went till they were shrunk to the gums: and he knocked his breast with his hands until one of his arms fell off, and then knocked still with the other, while the fat, water, and blood dropped out at his fingers' ends, until by renewing of the fire, his strength was gone, and his hand clave fast in knocking to the iron upon his breast. Then immediately bowing forwards, he yielded up his spirit.

**CHAP. XII.**

*The Life and Conduct of Dr. Rowland Taylor of Hadley.*

Dr. Rowland Taylor, vicar of Hadley in Suffolk, was a man of eminent learning, and had been admitted to the degree of doctor of the civil and canon law.

His attachment to the pure and uncorrupted principles of Christianity recommended him to the favour and friendship of Dr. Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, with whom he lived a considerable time, till through his interest he obtained the living of Hadley.

Dr. Taylor promoted the interest of the great Redeemer, and the souls of mankind, both by his preaching and example, during the time of King Edward VI. But on his demise, and the succession of Queen Mary to the throne, he escaped not the cloud that burst on so many beside; for two of his parishioners, Foster, an attorney, and Clark, a tradesman, out of blind zeal, resolved that mass should be celebrated, in all its superstitious forms, in the parish church of Hadley, on Monday before Easter; this Dr. Taylor, entering the church, strictly forbade; but Clark forced the Doctor out of the church, celebrated mass, and immediately informed the lord-chancellor, bishop of Winchester, of his behaviour, who summoned him to appear, and answer the complaints that were alleged against him.

The doctor, upon receipt of the summons, cheerfully prepared to obey the same; and rejected the advice of his friends to fly beyond sea. When Gardiner saw Dr. Taylor, he, according to his common custom, reviled him. Dr. Taylor heard his abuse patiently, and when the bishop said, How darest thou look me in the face! knowest thou not who I am? Dr. Taylor replied, You are Dr. Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and lord-chancellor, and yet but a mortal man. But if I should be afraid of your lordly looks, why fear ye not God, the Lord of us all? With what countenance will you appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, and answer to your oath made first unto King Henry the Eighth, and afterward unto King Edward the Sixth, his son?

A long conversation ensued, in which Dr. Taylor was so piously collected and severe upon his antagonist, that he exclaimed, Thou art a blasphemous heretic! Thou indeed blasphemest the blessed sacrament, (here he put off his cap) and speakest against the holy mass, which is made a sacrifice for the quick and the dead.—The bishop afterward committed him into the King's Bench.

When Dr. Taylor came there, he found therein the virtuous and vigilant preacher of God's word, Mr. Bradford; who equally thanked God that he had provided him such a comfortable fellow-prisoner; and they both together praised God, and continued in prayer, reading and exhorting one another.

After that Dr. Taylor had lain some time in prison, he was cited to appear in the arches of Bow-church. Thither, when he came, he strongly defended his marriage, affirming by the Scriptures of God, by the doctors of the primitive church, by both laws civil and canon, that it is lawful for priests to marry, and that such as have not the gift of continency are bound in pain of damnation to marry. This he so plainly proved, that the judge preferred no sentence of divorce against him, but gave sentence that he should be deprived of his benefice, because he was married.

The papists having gotten some old laws (annulled by Henry VIII. and Edward VI.) to be again revived by parliament, could now by authority cite whom they would upon suspicion, charge them with what articles they please, and burn them. When these laws were once established, they sent for Dr. Tay-
lor, with several other prisoners, who were convened before the chancellor and other commissioners.

The examination having taken place in January, 1555, the Rev. Dr. Taylor, Mr. Bradford, and Mr. Saunders, were again called to appear before the bishop of Winchester, the bishops of Norwich, London, Salisbury, and Durham, who, finding them immovably fixed in the truth, read the sentence of death upon them, which when they had heard they most joyfully gave God thanks.

Dr. Taylor being condemned, was committed to the Clink, and the keepers were charged to treat him roughly; at night he was removed to the Poultry Compter.

When Dr. Taylor had lain in the Compter a week or thereabouts, on the 4th of February, Bonner came to degrade him, bringing with him such ornaments as appertained to the massing mummary; but the Doctor refused these trappings till they were forced upon him.

The bishop would have given Dr. Taylor a stroke on the breast with his crosier-staff, but his chaplain said, My Lord, strike him not, for he will certainly strike again. Yes, by Saint Peter will I! said Dr. Taylor. The cause is Christ's, and I were no good Christian if I would not fight my master's quarrel. So the bishop laid his curse upon him, but struck him not.

The night after he was degraded, his wife came with John Hull, his servant, and his son Thomas, and were by the gentleness of the keepers permitted to sup with him.

After supper, walking up and down, he gave God thanks for his grace, that had so called him and given him strength to abide by his holy word; and turning to his son Thomas, he exhorted him to piety and filial obedience in the most earnest manner. Then, turning to his wife, "My dear wife, (said he) continue steadfast in the fear and love of God; keep yourself undefiled from their popish idolatries and superstitions. I have been to you a faithful yoke-fellow, and so have you been unto me, for which I pray God to reward you; and doubt not, dear wife, 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 such counsel as 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 shall never be a convenient stay for yourself and your poor children, nor out of trouble till you be married. Therefore, as soon as God will provide it, marry with some honest faithful man that feareth God. Doubt you not, God will provide an honest husband for you, and he will be a merciful father to our children, whom I pray you to bring up in the fear of God, and in learning, to the utmost of your power, and keep them from this Romish idolatry." When he had thus said, they with weeping eyes prayed together, and kissed one another; and he gave to his wife a book for the church service, set out by King Edward, which he in the time of his imprisonment daily used. And unto his son Thomas he gave a Latin book, containing the notable sayings of the old martyrs, gathered out of the Ecclesiastical History; and in the end of that book he wrote his pious testament and last farewell.

Dr. Taylor, about two o'clock in the morning, was conveyed to the Woolpack, Aldgate, and had an affecting interview with his wife and daughter, and a female orphan he had brought up, who had waited all night in St. Botolph's porch, to see him pass before being delivered to the sheriff of Essex. On coming out of the gates, John Hull, his good servant, stood at the rails with Thomas (Dr. Taylor's son.) This, said he, is my own son, begotten of my body in lawful matrimony; and God be blessed for lawful matrimony. Then he lifted up his eyes to heaven, and prayed for his son and blessed him.

At Chelmsford the sheriff of Suffolk met them, there to receive him, and to carry him into Suffolk. Being at supper, the sheriff of Essex very earnestly besought him to return to the popish religion, thinking with fair words to persuade him. When they had all drunk to him, and the cup was come to him, he said, Mr. Sheriff, and my masters all, I heartily thank you for your good will. I have hearkened to your words, and marked well your counsels. And to be plain with you, I perceive that I have been deceived myself, and am like to deceive a great many in Hadley of their expectations.—At these words they all rejoiced, but the doctor had a meaning very remote from theirs. He alluded to the disappointment that the worms would have in not being able to feast upon his portly and goodly body, which
they would have done, if, instead of being burnt, he was buried.

When the sheriff and his company heard him speak thus, they were amazed, marvelling at the constant mind that could thus without fear make a jest of the cruel torments and death now at hand prepared for him. At Chelmsford he was delivered to the sheriff of Suffolk, and by him conducted to Hadley.

When they were come to Hadley-bridge, at the bridge-foot waited a poor man with five small children; who held up their hands, and he cried, O dear father, and good shepherd, Dr. Taylor, God help and succour thee as thou hast many a time succoured me and my poor children! The streets of Hadley were beset on both sides the way with the men and women of the town and country, who waited to see and bless him.

Coming against the alms-houses, which he well knew, he cast to the poor people money, some of that which remained out of what had been given him in the time of his imprisonment.

The money which remained he put into a glove, ready for the same purpose, and gave it to the poor alms-men standing at their doors to see him. And coming to the last of the alms-houses, and not seeing the poor that dwelt there ready at their doors, as the others were, he asked, Is the blind man and blind woman who dwelt here alive? It was answered, Yes, they are within. Then he threw the glove and all in at the window, and rode on.

When Dr. Taylor had arrived at Aldham-Common, the place where he should suffer, seeing a great multitude of people, he asked, What place is this, and what meaneth it that so many people are gathered hither? It was answered, It is Aldham-Common, the place where you must suffer; and the people are come to look upon you. Then he said, Thanked be God, I am even at home; and he alighted from his horse, and with both his hands rent the hood from his head.

His head had been notched and clipped like as a man would clip a fool's; which cost the good bishop Bonner had bestowed upon him. But when the people saw his reverend and ancient face, with a long white beard, they burst out with weeping tears, and cried, saying, God save thee, good Dr. Taylor! Jesus Christ strengthen thee, and help thee! the Holy Ghost comfort thee! with such other like good wishes.

Dr. Taylor, perceiving that he should not be suffered to speak, sat down. On seeing one named Soyce, he called him, and said, Soyce, I pray thee come and pull off my boots, and take them for thy labour; thou hast long looked for them, now take them. Then he rose up, and put off his clothes unto his shirt, and gave them away. Which done, he said with a loud voice, Good people, I have taught you nothing but God's holy word, and those lessons that I have taken out of God's blessed book, the Holy Bible; and I am come hither this day to seal it with my blood. With that word Holmes, yeoman of the guard, who used Dr. Taylor very cruelly all the way, gave him a heavy stroke upon the head, and said, Is that the keeping of thy promise of silence, thou heretic? Then the doctor knelt down and prayed, and a poor woman that was among the people stepped in and prayed with him.

When he had prayed, he went to the stake and kissed it, and set himself into a pitch-barrel, which they had put for him to stand in, and stood with his back upright against the stake, with his hands folded together, and his eyes towards heaven, and continually prayed.

Then they bound him with the chains, and having set up the fagots, one Warwick cruelly cast a fagot at him, which struck him on his head, and cut his face, so that the blood ran down. Then said Dr. Taylor, O friend, I have harm enough, what needed that?

Sir John Shelton standing by, as Dr. Taylor was speaking, and saying the Psalm Misere Rere in English, struck him on the lips: You knave, said he, speak Latin: I will make thee. At last they kindled the fire; and Dr. Taylor, holding up both his hands, called upon God, and said, Merciful Father of heaven! for Jesus Christ my Saviour's sake, receive my soul into thy hands! So he stood still without either crying or moving, with his hands folded together, till Soyce with a halbert struck him on the head till his brains fell out, and the corpse fell down into the fire.

Thus rendered up this man of God his blessed soul into the hands of his merciful Father, and to his most dear Saviour Jesus Christ, whom he most entirely loved, faithfully and earnestly preached, obediently followed in living, and constantly glorified in death.
The morning when he was called up by the sheriff to go to his burning, being suddenly awaked out of his sound sleep, he sat up in his bed, and, putting on his shirt, said these words, speaking somewhat thick after his accustomed manner: Ah, vile thieves! ah, vile thieves! rob God of his honour, rob God of his honour! Afterward, being risen and tying his points, he cast his arms about a great beam which was in the chamber between Mr. Bradford's bed and his; and there, hanging by the hands, said to Mr. Bradford, O Mr. Bradford, what a notable sway I should give if I were hanged! meaning because he was a corpulent and big man. These things it is thought good here to note, to set forth and declare to all who shall read this history, what a notable and singular gift of spirit and courage God had given this blessed martyr.

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CHAP. XIII.

Account of Judge Hales.

There is a species of persecution, which in its effects is as fatal as the cruel sentence of the law.—Some have strength to undergo the torments of death, and others equally virtuous, but endued with less fortitude, anticipate the awful crisis, and deprive the fanatical demons of Catholicism of their complete satiety of blood.—Of this description was Judge Hales, who was accused Oct. 6, 1553, by Gardiner, of impeding the regular solemnization of mass, and of heresy, to which the worthy judge replied that he only executed those laws he was appointed to preside over. Dissatisfied with his answer, he was committed alternately, to the King's-bench, the Compter, and the Fleet, where it is said, Dr. Day, bishop of Chester, and Judge Portman, persuaded him to recant. Certain it is, however, that shortly after he was brought to great repentance and terror of conscience; insomuch, that for very anguish of heart he was ready to kill himself with his penknife when he was in prison.

It happened when supper-time came that he should be called down, he, having little or no stomach to eat or drink, went immediately to bed, where he lay all night, sobbing and groaning, and took little rest or sleep. At length, when morning came, about six o'clock he sent his servant for a cup of beer, under pretence as though he was thirsty and desirous to drink; whether this cause were true or feigned is unknown, but his man had scarcely got out of the chamber, when he with his penknife wounded himself in divers places of his body; his man however meeting the butler just when he had passed the chamber door, the latter was desired to fill the drink; and he, taking the cup, the other returned immediately, and thus prevented the suicide. Mr. Hales being within a while after recovered of those wounds, and delivered out of prison, returned home to his house; where he, either from the greatness of his sorrow, or want of good counsel, or desirous to avoid the necessity of hearing mass, having set all things in order pertaining to his last will and testament, cast himself into a shallow river and was drowned.

The unhappy end of this worthy judge was the cause of great sorrow and grief to all good men, and it likewise gave occasion to some divines to doubt within themselves, whether he was reprobate or saved.

We neither excuse nor defend this heinous act of Judge Hales, which we could wish might be drowned in oblivion: and because we are unable to comprehend the bottomless depth of the graces and mercies which are in Christ Jesus our Saviour, we will leave therefore our weak judgment of it to the determination of him who is appointed judge both of the quick and dead.

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CHAP. XIV.

Martyrdom of Tomkins, Pygot, Knight, Lawrence, Hunter, and Higbed.

Thomas Tomkins was by trade a weaver in Shoreditch, till he was summoned before the inhuman Bonner, and confined with many others, who renounced the errors of popery, in a prison in that tyrant’s house at Fulham.

Under his confinement, he was treated by the bishop not only unbecoming a prelate, but even a man; for the savage, because Tomkins would not assent to the doctrine of transubstantiation, bruised him in the face, and
plucked off the greatest part of the hair of his beard.

On another occasion, this scandal to humanity, in the presence of many who came to visit at Fulham, took this poor honest man by the fingers, and held his hand directly over the flame of a wax candle, having three or four wicks, supposing that, being terrified by the smart and pain of the fire, he would leave off the defence of the doctrine which he had received.

Tomkins thinking no otherwise, but there presently to die, began to commend himself unto the Lord, saying, O Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit, &c. All the time that his hand was burning; the same Tomkins afterward reported to one James Hince, that his spirit was so rapt, that he felt no pain. In which burning he never shrank till the veins shrank, and the sinews burst, and the water spurted into Mr. Harpsfield’s face: insomuch that Mr. Harpsfield, moved with pity, desired the Bishop to stay, saying, that he had tried him enough.

After undergoing two examinations, and refusing to swerve from his duty and belief, he was commanded to appear before the Bishop.

Agreeable to this mandate, being brought before the bloody tribunal of bishops, and pressed to recant his errors and return to the mother church, he maintained his fidelity, nor would swerve in the least from the articles he had signed with his own hand. Having therefore declared him an obstinate heretic, they delivered him up to the secular power, and he was burned in Smithfield, March 16th, 1555, triumphant in the midst of the flames, and adding to the noble company of martyrs, who had preceded him through the path of the fiery trial to the realms of immortal glory.

William Hunter had been trained to the doctrines of the reformation from his earliest youth, being descended from religious parents, who carefully instructed him in the principles of the true religion.

Hunter, then nineteen years of age, refusing to receive the communion at mass, was threatened to be brought before the Bishop. His master, fearful of incurring ecclesiastical censure, desired him to leave him for a time: upon which he quitted his service, went down to Brentwood, and resided with his father about six weeks.

One day, finding the chapel open, he entered, and began to read in an English Bible, which lay upon the desk, but was severely reprimanded by an officer of the Bishop’s court. The officer then informed a neighbouring priest of the liberty the young man had taken in reading the Bible. The priest then upbraided him as a heretic; he denied the charge, and having given his opinion concerning the corporeal presence in the sacrament of the altar, the vicar threatened to complain of him to the bishop.

The following day, he was taken by the constable, kept in the stocks four and twenty hours, and then brought before the justice; to whom, having given the same explanation as he had done to the priest, and persisting in his denial of the corporeal presence in the eucharist, the justice upbraided him with heresy, and wrote to the bishop of London acquainting him with the same, to whom this valiant young martyr was conducted by a constable.

After Bonner had read the letter, he caused William to be brought into a chamber, where he began to reason with him, promising him security and pardon if he would recant. Nay, he would have been content if he would have gone only to receive and to confession, but William would not do so for all the world.

Upon this the bishop commanded his men to put William in the stocks in his gate-house, where he sat two days and nights, with a crust of brown bread and a cup of water only, which he did not touch.

At the two days’ end, the bishop came to him, and finding him steadfast in the faith, sent him to the convict prison, and commanded the keeper to lay irons upon him as many as he could bear. He continued in prison three quarters of a year, during which time he had been before the bishop five times, besides the time when he was condemned in the consistory in St. Paul’s, February 9th, at which time his brother, Robert Hunter, was present.

Then the bishop, calling William, asked him if he would recant, and finding he was unchangeable, he pronounced sentence upon him, that he should go from that place to Newgate for a time, and thence to Brentwood, there to be burned.

Then the bishop called for the others, and when he had condemned them all, he sent for William Hunter, and reasoned with him, say-
ing, If thou wilt yet recant, I will make thee a free man in the city, and give thee forty pounds in good money to set thee up in business; or I will make thee steward of my house, and set thee in office, for I like thee well; thou hast wit enough, and I will prefer thee, if thou recant. But William answered, I thank you for your great offers: notwithstanding, my Lord, said he, if you cannot persuade your conscience with Scriptures, I cannot find in my heart to turn from God for the love of the world; for I count all worldly things but loss and dung in respect of the love of Christ.

Thus William and the bishop parted; William and the rest being committed to Newgate, where they remained about a month, and afterward William was sent down to Brentwood, and the others to different places. When William had come down to Brentwood, which was the Saturday before the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary, that followed on the Monday after, William remained till the next Tuesday, because they would not put him to death then, for the holiness of the day.

In the mean time, William’s father and mother came to him, and desired heartily of God that he might continue to the end in that good way which he had begun, and his mother said to him, that she was glad that ever she was so happy to bear such a child, which could find in his heart to lose his life for Christ’s name’s sake.

On Monday night it happened that William had an ominous dream. Next morning the sheriff called to set forward to the burning of the youth, when Hunter plucked up his gown, and went forward cheerfully, assisted by his brother. Going along, he met with his father according to his dream, and he said to his son, weeping, God be with thee, son William. And William said, God be with you, good father, and be of good comfort; for I hope we shall meet again, when we shall be merry. His father said, I hope so, William; and so departed. He then went to the place where the stake stood, even according to his dream, where all things were not yet ready; and taking a fagot of broom, he knelt down thereon, and read 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.” Steadfast in refusing the Queen’s pardon, if he would become apostate, at length one Richard Ponde, a bailiff, came, and made the chain fast about him.

Then said Mr. Brown, Here is not wood enough to burn a leg of him. William said, Good people, pray for me; and make speed and despatch me quickly: and pray for me while you see me live, good people, and I will pray for you likewise. No, said Brown; pray for thee! I will pray no more for thee than I will for a dog. To whom William answered, Mr. Brown, if God forgive you, I shall not require my blood at your hands.

Then said William, Son of God, shine upon me! and immediately the sun in the firmament shone out of a dark cloud so full in his face, that he was constrained to look another way; whereas the people mused, because it was so dark a little time before. Then William took up a fagot of broom, and embraced it in his arms, and immediately the fire was made.

William now cast his psalter into his brother’s hand, who said, William, think on the holy passion of Christ, and be not afraid of death. Behold, answered William, I am not afraid. Then he lifted up his hands to heaven, and said, Lord, Lord, Lord, receive my spirit! and casting down his head again into the smothering smoke, he yielded up his life for the truth, sealing it with his blood to the praise of God.

William Pygot having been pointed out by the emissaries of Bonner and Gardiner, information was given to those prelates, that Pygot, Knight, and the Rev. Mr. Lawrence, maintained religious opinions contrary to the doctrine and practice of the holy mother church. In consequence of this, they were all three summoned to appear before Bishop Bonner’s consistory court at London, where they were severally questioned concerning their faith in the corporeal presence in the sacrament.

Bonner, failing in his affected concern for the souls of the laymen, entered into an argument with the Rev. Mr. Lawrence alone, and having demanded of what order he was, he answered, that he had been admitted to the priest’s orders eighteen years past, that he was some time a black friar, and that he was betrothed to a maid whom he intended to marry.

The bishop having no reason to approve his opinion of the corporeal presence in the sa-
crament, he was for the present dismissed; but a few days after, he, with Pygott and Knight, was again summoned before the bishop, who, with his usual hypocrisy, exhorted them to recant; but all of them declaring their opinions were founded on the word of God, he proceeded to pass sentence on them as irreclaimable heretics; and then degraded Mr. Lawrence with the usual ceremonies. After which they remained with joy together in Newgate, until they were carried down into Essex, and there, on the 28th of March, 1555, Pygott was burned at Braintree, and Knight at Malden.

The next day, March 29, Mr. John Lawrence was brought to Colchester, being unable to go, (for his legs were much worn with irons in prison, and also his body weakened with low keeping;) he was taken to the fire in a chair, and, sitting, was in his constant faith consumed with fire.

When he was burning, the young children came about the fire, and cried out, as well as young children could speak, Lord, strengthen thy servant, and keep thy promise! This singular occurrence is no small manifestation of the glory of God in the hearts of these little ones; nor yet a little commendation to their parents, who from their youth had brought them up in the knowledge of God.

Mr. Higbed and Mr. Causton, two gentlemen in the county of Essex, the one at Hornden on the Hill, the other of the parish of Thundarst, being zealous and religious in the true service of God, were discovered to Edmund Bonner, bishop of London; hence they were committed to the officers of Colchester, to be safely kept, and with them also a servant of Thomas Causton, who equalled his master in true piety.

Bishop Bonner, perceiving these two gentlemen to be of good estate and of great estimation in that country, went there himself, accompanied by Mr. Fecknem and several others, thinking, by large promises and flatterings, to reduce them again to the unity of the papal church.

At length, when no persuasions would serve, they were brought up to have open examination at the consistory in St. Paul's, February 17, 1555, where they were commanded by the Bishop of Bath and others to recant.

March 1st, they were called before the Bishop in consistory, and refusing to abjure their faith, they were again dismissed, and commanded to appear the Wednesday after, to receive their definitive sentence.

Two other examinations followed, and every argument was urged to make these pious men abjure. With great difficulty they obtained leave to read their confession of faith, which they delivered to the Bishop of London, before the Mayor and Sheriffs, in the presence of all the people then assembled.

When they had finished, the Bishop, still persisting, sometimes in fair promises, and sometimes threatening to pronounce judgment, asked them whether they would stand to their confession and answers. Causton having replied in the affirmative, the Bishop pronounced sentence against them, and they were delivered to the sheriffs, to be sent to Newgate, where they remained the space of fourteen days, praised be God, not so much in affliction as in consolation; for the increase of which they earnestly desired all their good brethren and sisters in Christ to pray that God, for his Son's sake, would continue that great mercy which already he had begun in them, so that they might persevere unto the end, to the praise of the eternal God, and the comfort of all their brethren.

Fourteen days after their condemnation having expired, they were, March 23, 1555, taken from Newgate at four o'clock in the morning to Aldgate, where they were delivered to the sheriff of Essex, and there being fast bound in a cart, were shortly after brought to their several appointed places of torment; viz. Thomas Higbed to Hornden on the Hill, and Thomas Causton to Railey, in Essex, where they, on the 26th of the same month, sealed their faith, shedding their blood in the most cruel fire, to the glory of God and great joy of the godly.

CHAP. XV.

Dr. Robert Farrar.

This worthy and learned prelate, the bishop of St. David's in Wales, having in the former reign, as well as since the accession of Mary,
been remarkably zealous in promoting the reformed doctrines, and exploding the errors of popish idolatry, was summoned, among others, before the persecuting Bishop of Winchester, and other commissioners set apart for the abominable work of devastation and massacre.

His principal accusers and persecutors, on a charge of praemunire in the reign of Edward VI. were George Constantine Walter, his servant; Thomas Young, chanter of the cathedral, afterward Bishop of Bangor, &c. Dr. Farrar ably replied to the copies of information laid against him, consisting of fifty-six articles. The whole process of this trial was long and tedious. Delay succeeded delay, and after that Dr. Farrar had been long unjustly detained in custody under sureties, in the reign of King Edward, because he had been promoted by the Duke of Somerset, whence after his fall he found fewer friends to support him against such as wanted his bishopric by the coming in of Queen Mary, he was accused and examined, not for any matter of praemunire, but for his faith and doctrine; for which he was called before the Bishop of Winchester, with Bishop Hooper, Mr. Rogers, Mr. Bradford, Mr. Saunders, and others, Feb. 4, 1555; on which day he would also with them have been condemned, but his condemnation was deferred, and he sent to prison again, where he continued till Feb. 14, and then was sent into Wales to receive sentence. He was six times brought up before Henry Morgan, Bishop of St. David’s, who demanded if he would abjure; from which he zealously dissented, and appealed to Cardinal Pole; notwithstanding which, the bishop, proceeding in his rage, pronounced him a heretic excommunicate, and surrendered him to the secular power.

Dr. Farrar, being condemned and degraded, was not long after brought to the place of execution in the town of Carmarthen, in the market-place of which, on the south side of the market-cross, March 30, 1555, being Saturday next before Passion-Sunday, he most constantly sustained the torments of the fire.

Concerning his constancy, it is said that one Richard Jones, a knight’s son, coming to Dr. Farrar a little before his death, seemed to lament the painfulness of the death he had to suffer; to whom the Bishop answered, That if he saw him once stir in the pains of his burning, he might then give no credit to his doctrine; and as he said, so did he maintain his promise, patiently standing without emotion, till one Richard Gravell with a staff struck him down.

CHAP. XVI.

Rawlins White.

Rawlins White was by his calling and occupation a fisherman, living and continuing in the said trade for the space of twenty years at least, in the town of Cardiff, where he bore a very good name amongst his neighbours.

Though the good man was altogether unlearned, and withal very simple, yet it pleased God to remove him from error and idolatry to a knowledge of the truth, through the blessed reformation in Edward’s reign. He had his son taught to read English, and after the little boy could read pretty well, his father every night after supper, summer and winter, made the boy read a portion of the holy scriptures, and now and then a part of some other good book. Hence, through the help of his little son, and much conference besides, he profited and went forward so rapidly, that he was able to admonish and instruct others; and therefore, when occasion served, he would go from one place to another, visiting such as he had best hope in. God had also given him a singular gift of memory, so that by this blessing only, he could do that in vouching and rehearsing of the text, which men of riper years and more profound knowledge, by their notes and other artificial helps, could hardly accomplish.

When he had continued in his profession the space of five years, King Edward died, upon whose decease Queen Mary succeeded, and with her all kind of superstition crept in. White now, against the advice of his most earnest friends, taught and reproved as before, though less openly; till at last he was taken by the officers of the town, as a man suspected of heresy, brought before the Bishop of Llandaff, and committed to prison in Chepstow, and at last removed to the castle of Cardiff, where he continued for the space of one whole year. Notwithstanding the grief of his poor wife and fond children, his heart was so set
on the instruction and promotion of others in the way of salvation, that he was never in quiet, but when he was persuading or exhorting such of his familiar friends as commonly visited him. Being brought before the bishop in his chaple, he counselled him by threats and promises. But as Rawlins would in no-wise recant his opinions, the bishop told him plainly, that he must proceed against him by law, and condemn him as a heretic.

Before they proceeded to this extremity, the bishop proposed that prayer should be said for his conversion. "This," said White, "is like a godly bishop, and if your request be godly and right, and you pray as you ought, no doubt God will hear you; pray you, therefore, to your God, and I will pray to my God." After the bishop and his party had done praying, he asked Rawlins if he would now revoke. "You find," said the latter, "your prayer is not granted, for I remain the same; and God will strengthen me in support of this truth." After this, the bishop tried what saying mass would do; but Rawlins called all the people to witness that he did not bow down to the host. Mass being ended, Rawlins was called for again; to whom the bishop used many persuasions; but the blessed man continued so steadfast in his former profession, that the bishop's discourse was to no purpose. The bishop now caused the definitive sentence to be read, which being ended, Rawlins was carried again to Cardiff, to a loathsome prison in the town, called Cockmarel, where he passed his time in prayer, and in singing of psalms. In about three weeks, the order came from town for his execution, and his last hour being come, this good and constant martyr was brought out of prison, having on his body a long shirt, which he called his wedding garment, an old russet coat which he used to wear, and upon his legs an old pair of leather buskins.

When he came to the place, where his poor wife and children stood weeping, the sudden sight of them so pierced his heart, that the tears trickled down his face. Being come to the altar of his sacrifice, in going towards the stake, he fell down upon his knees, and kissed the ground; and in rising again, a little earth sticking on his face, he said these words, Earth unto earth, and dust unto dust; thou art my mother, and unto thee I shall return. Then cheerfully and joyfully he set his back close to the stake, and a smith came with a great chain of iron: when he saw him, he cast up his hands, and with a loud voice gave God thanks. As the smith was making it fast on the other side, Rawlins said, "I pray thee, good friend, knock in the chain fast; for it may be that the flesh will strive mightily; but God of his great mercy give me strength and patience to abide the extremity."

When the smith had made him fast to the stake, the officers began to lay on more wood, with a little straw and reeds wherein the good old man assisted.

When all things were ready, directly over-against the stake, in the face of Rawlins White, there was a standing erected, whereon stept up a priest, addressing himself to the people, but, as he spoke of the Romish doctrines of the sacraments, Rawlins cried out, Ah! thou wicked hypocrite, dost thou presume to prove thy false doctrine by scripture? Look in the text that followeth; did not Christ say, "Do this in remembrance of me?"

Then some that stood by cried out, Put fire! set on fire! which being done, the straw and reeds cast up a great and sudden flame. In which flame this good man bathed his hands so long, until such time as the sinews shrank, and the fat dropped away, saving that once he did, as it were, wipe his face with one of them. All this while, which was somewhat long, he cried with a loud voice, O Lord, receive my spirit! until he could not open his mouth. At last the extremity of the fire was so vehement against his legs that they were consumed almost before the rest of his body was hurt, which made the whole body fall over the chain into the fire sooner than it would have done. Thus died this good old man for his testimony of God's truth, and is now rewarded, no doubt, with the crown of eternal life.

**Occurrences.**—Mar. 28, 1555, the Queen summoned a council, to enforce the restitution of the church lands, and a bull from the pope confirmed this; but it was not acted upon in England from fear of the nobles, who did not like the Catholic church so well as to give up what they had taken from it.
About this time Pope Julius died; masses were said for him, and not without reason, for he was a disgrace to religion, and detested as a man for unnatural practices.—A woman, going into St. Magnus’s church, hearing it said that she must pray for the deceased pope, said, that I will not, for he needeth not my prayers! and seeing he could forgive us all our sins, I am sure he is clean himself: therefore I need not pray for him. Some who stood by hearing her speak these words, upon their information she was put into the cage at London-bridge.

The sudden death of Mr. Nightingale, a priest of Crondal in Kent, made chief penitentiary of that deanery by Cardinal Pole, as he was reading the pope’s bull of pardon to England, and thanking God that he had lived to see that day, made a considerable impression on the minds of many Catholics at this time.

CHAP. XVII.

The Rev. Mr. George Marsh.

George Marsh, born in the parish of Deane, in the county of Lancaster, received a good education and trade from his parents; about his 25th year he married, and lived, blessed with several children, on his farm till his wife died. He then went to study at Cambridge, and became the curate of the Rev. Mr. Lawrence Saunders, in which duty he constantly and zealously set forth the truth of God’s word, and the false doctrines of the modern anticrist.

Being confined by Dr. Coles, the bishop of Chester, within the precincts of his own house, he was kept from any intercourse with his friends during four months: his friends and mother earnestly wished him to have flown from “the wrath to come;” but Mr. Marsh thought that such a step would ill agree with that profession he had during nine years openly made. He, however, secreted himself, but he had much struggling, and in secret prayer begged that God would direct him, through the advice of his best friends, for his own glory and to what was best. At length, determined, by a letter he received, boldly to confess the faith of Christ, he took leave of his mother-in-law and other friends, recommending his children to their care, and departed for Smeththills, whence he was, with others, conducted to Latham, to undergo examination before the Earl of Derby, Sir William Nores, Mr. Sherburn, the parson of Grapnal, and others. The various questions put to him he answered with a good conscience: but when Mr. Sherburn interrogated him upon his belief of the sacrament of the altar, Mr. Marsh answered like a true Protestant, that the essence of the bread and wine was not at all changed; hence, after receiving dreadful threats from some, and fair words from others, for his opinions, he was remanded to ward, where he lay two nights without any bed. On Palm Sunday he underwent a second examination, and Mr. Marsh much lamented that his fear should at all have induced him to prevaricate, and to seek his safety, so long as he did not openly deny Christ; and he again cried more earnestly to God for strength that he might not be overcome by the subtleties of those who strove to overrule the purity of his faith. He underwent three examinations before Dr. Coles, who, finding him steadfast in the Protestant faith, began to read his sentence; but he was interrupted by the Chancellor, who prayed the bishop to stay before it was too late. The priest then prayed for Mr. Marsh, but the latter, upon again being solicited to recant, said he durst not deny his Saviour Christ, lest he lose his everlasting mercy, and so obtain eternal death. The bishop then proceeded in the sentence. He was committed to a dark dungeon, and lay deprived of the consolation of any one, (for all were afraid to relieve or communicate with him) till the day appointed came that he should suffer. The sheriffs of the city, Amry and Couper, with their officers, went to the north gate, and took out Mr. George Marsh, who walked all the way with his book in his hand, looking upon the same, whence the people said, This man does not go to his death as a thief, nor as one that deserveth to die.

When he came to the place of execution without the city, near Spittal-Boughton, Mr. Cawdry, deputy chamberlain of Chester, showed Mr. March a writing under a great seal, saying, that it was a pardon for him if he would recant. He answered, That he would
gladly accept the same, did it not tend to pluck him from God.

After that, he began to speak to the people, showing the cause of his death, and would have exhorted them to stick unto Christ, but one of the sheriffs prevented him. Kneeling down, he then said his prayers, put off his clothes unto his shirt, and was chained to the post, having a number of fagots under him, and a thing made like a firkin, with pitch and tar in it, over his head. The fire being unskilfully made, and the wind driving it in eddies, he suffered great extremity, which notwithstanding he bore with Christian fortitude.

When he had been a long time tormented in the fire without moving, having his flesh so broiled and puffed up, that they who stood before him could not see the chain wherewith he was fastened, and therefore supposed that he had been dead, suddenly he spread abroad his arms, saying, Father of heaven, have mercy upon me! and so yielded his spirit into the hands of the Lord. Upon this, many of the people said he was a martyr, and died gloriously patient. This caused the bishop shortly after to make a sermon in the cathedral church, and therein he affirmed, that the said Marsh was a heretic, burnt as such, and was a fire-brand in hell.—Mr. Marsh suffered April 24, 1555.

CHAP. XVIII.

Mr. William Flower.

William Flower, otherwise Branch, was born at Snow-hill, in the county of Cambridge, where he went to school some years, and then came to the abbey of Ely. After he had remained a while, he became a professed monk, was made a priest in the same house, and there celebrated and sang mass. After that, by reason of a visitation, and certain injunctions by the authority of Henry VIII. he took upon him the habit of a secular priest, and returned to Snow-hill, where he was born; and there celebrated mass, and taught children about half a year.

He then went to Ludgate, in Suffolk, and served as a secular priest about a quarter of a year; from thence to Stoniland; at length to Tewksbury, where he married a wife, with whom he ever after faithfully and honestly continued: after marriage he resided at Tewksbury about two years, and from thence went to Brosley, where he practised physic and surgery; but departing from those parts, he came to London, and finally settled at Lambeth, where he and his wife dwelt together: however, he was generally abroad, except once or twice in a month, to visit and see his wife. Being at home upon Easter Sunday morning, he came over the water from Lambeth into St. Margaret's church at Westminster; when seeing a priest, named John Cheltham, administering and giving the sacrament of the altar to the people, and being greatly offended in his conscience with the priest for the same, he struck and wounded him upon the head, and also upon the arm and hand, with his wood knife, the priest having at the same time in his hand a chalice with the consecrated host therein, which became sprinkled with blood.

Mr. Flower, for this injudicious zeal, was heavily ironed, and put into the Gatehouse at Westminster; and afterward summoned before bishop Bonner and his ordinary, where the bishop, after he had sworn him upon a book, ministered articles and interrogatories to him.

After examination, the bishop began to exhort him again to return to the unity of his mother the catholic church, with many fair promises. These Mr. Flower steadfastly rejecting, the bishop ordered him to appear in the same place in the afternoon, and in the mean time to consider well his former answer; but he, neither apologizing for having struck the priest, nor swerving from his faith, the bishop assigned him the next day, April 20th, to receive sentence, if he would not recant. The next morning, the bishop accordingly proceeded to the sentence, condemning and excommunicating him for a heretic, and after pronouncing him to be degraded, committed him to the secular power.

April 24, St. Mark's eve, he was brought to the place of martyrdom, in St. Margaret's churchyard, Westminster, where the fact was committed: and there coming to the stake, he prayed to Almighty God, made a confession of his faith, and forgave all the world.

This done, his hand was held up against the stake, and struck off, his left hand being
WE FLOWER A MONK HAVING HIS HAND CHOPPED OFF AGAINST THE STAKE AT WHICH HE WAS BURNED AT WESTMINSTER.
fastened behind him. Fire was then set to him, and he, burning therein, cried with a loud voice, O thou Son of God, have mercy upon me! O thou Son of God, receive my soul! three times; his speech being now taken from him, he spake no more, but notwithstanding he lifted up the stump with his other arm as long as he could.

Thus he endured the extremity of the fire, and was cruelly tortured, for the few fagots that were brought being insufficient to burn him, they were compelled to strike him down into the fire, where lying along upon the ground, his lower part was consumed in the fire, whilst his upper part was little injured, his tongue moving in his mouth for a considerable time.

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CHAP. XIX.

The Rev. John Cardmaker and John Warne.

May 30, 1555, the Rev. John Cardmaker, otherwise called Taylor, prebendary of the church of Wells, and John Warne, upholsterer, of St. John's, Walbrook, suffered together in Smithfield. Mr. Cardmaker, who first was an observant friar before the dissolution of the abbeys, afterward was a married minister, and in King Edward's time appointed to be reader in St. Paul's; being apprehended in the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, with Dr. Barlow, bishop of Bath, he was brought to London, and put in the Fleet prison, King Edward's laws being yet in force. In Mary's reign, when brought before the bishop of Winchester, the latter offered them the Queen's mercy, if they would recant.

Their resolutions and declarations at first seemed to induce a supposition that they would apostatize, at which the catholics rejoiced; yet Barlow was led again to the Fleet, from whence afterward being delivered, he did by exile constantly bear witness to the truth of the gospel. Mr. Cardmaker was conveyed to the Compter in Bread-street, to which prison Lawrence Saunders was brought, (after the sentence of excommunication and condemnation was pronounced against him;) where these two prisoners had such Christian conference, that they both showed themselves constant confessors and worthy martyrs of Christ. After Mr. Saunders's departure, Cardmaker remained there a prisoner, to be baited by the papists, who imagined they should be able to convert him; but Dr. Martin's simple reasons for transubstantiation, and such papistical trash, Mr. Cardmaker ably confuted, exposing the falsehood of his arguments, and delivering the sentences of the fathers (which Martin abused for his purpose) in their true meaning. Thus this good man endured with constancy all their malice, as he did also the death which he suffered in Smithfield. Articles having been preferred against Mr. John Warne, he was examined upon them by Bonner, who earnestly exhorted him to recant his opinions. To whom he answered, I am persuaded that I am in the right opinion, and I see no cause to recant; for all the filthiness and idolatry lies in the church of Rome.

The bishop then, seeing that all his fair promises and terrible threatenings could not prevail, pronounced the definitive sentence of condemnation, and ordered the 30th of May, 1555, for the execution of John Cardmaker and John Warne, who were brought by the sheriffs to Smithfield. Being come to the stake, the sheriffs called Mr. Cardmaker aside, and talked with him secretly, during which Mr. Warne prayed, was chained to the stake, and had wood and reeds set about him.

The people were greatly afflicted, thinking that Mr. Cardmaker would recant at the burning of Mr. Warne. At length Mr. Cardmaker departed from the sheriffs, and came towards the stake, knelt down, and made a long prayer in silence to himself. He then arose up, put off his clothes to his shirt, and went with a bold courage unto the stake and kissed it; and taking Mr. Warne by the hand, he heartily comforted him, and was bound to the stake, rejoicing. The people seeing this so suddenly done, contrary to their previous expectation, cried out, God be praised! the Lord strengthen thee, Cardmaker! the Lord Jesus receive thy spirit! And this continued while the executioner put fire to them, and both had passed through the fire to the blessed rest and peace among God's holy saints and martyrs, to enjoy the crown of triumph and victory prepared for the elect soldiers and warriors of Christ Jesus in his blessed kingdom, to whom be glory and majesty for ever. Amen.
John Simpson and John Ardeley.

John Simpson and John Ardeley were condemned on the same day with Mr. Cardmaker and John Warne, which was the 25th of May. They were both husbandmen in the town of Wigborough in Essex, and nearly of one age. Simpson being 34, the other 30; they were brought up both together by the under-sheriff of Essex, before Bonner, bishop of London, upon the accusation of heresy, as in that time it was called.

Having replied to the articles exhibited against them, and refused the invitation of their unfeeling judge to recant, Mr. Ardeley boldly said, It is you who shed innocent blood; you have killed many, and are anxious to kill more, &c.

The bishop then read the sentence of condemnation against both, and they were delivered over to the secular power. They were shortly after sent down from London to Essex, where they were burnt in one day, John Simpson at Rochford, and John Ardeley at Railey, glorifying God in his beloved Son, and rejoicing that they were accounted worthy to suffer. So greedy and so thirsty were the persecutors of Christian blood, that they could not obtain life, though they offered to surrender all their little substance to the Queen, would she but suffer them to worship God in the way their consciences dictated.

He then added, "all you that are true Christians, say with me Amen." And immediately three hundred persons answered and said, Amen and Amen! He then delivered to one of the marshal’s officers a prayer-book, and desired him to deliver it to one Mr. Haukes, saying, that it was his book.

After the execution of Tooley, the public insult committed on the character of God’s Vicegerent, alias the pope! by his dying words, demanded a public reparation; and hence the body of the poor man was taken out of the ground by Cardinal Pole’s order, declared to be that of a heretic, and burnt as a sacrifice to his holiness! By his orders also, the bones of Martin Bucer and Paulus Phagius, then interred two years, were taken up and burned at Cambridge, and Peter Martyr’s wife, a woman of worthy memory, was dug out of the churchyard, and buried on a dunghill.

Mr. Thomas Haukes, with six others, was condemned on the 9th of February, 1555.—In education he was erudite; in person, comely and of good stature; in manners, a gentleman, and a sincere Christian. In King Edward’s reign, he entered the service of the Earl of Oxford, but after that prince’s death, he retired to his own house, displeased with the irreligion then becoming prevalent. Mr. Haukes had a child born whom he delayed the christening of, that it might not be done by a popish priest; for this intention he was cited before Bonner, and underwent a strict examination respecting his faith in, and opinion of, the sacramental elements. In a second conversation that passed between Bonner and Mr. Haukes, the bishop asked him what he thought of the Romish Confiteor, to which Mr. Haukes replied, I say it is abominable and detestable, yea, a blasphemy against God and his Son Jesus Christ, to call upon any, to trust to any, or to pray to any, save only Jesus Christ. When the bishop afterward heard him say, that the works he read were those of Latimer, Cranmer, Bradford, and Ridley, he became indignant, and ordered him into custody. Upon his farther examination the next day, Bonner’s declarations clearly demonstrated the malice of his religion. Thou art a heretic! said he, and thou shalt be burned, if thou continue in this opinion. You think we are afraid to put one of you to death; yes, yes, there is a brotherhood of you, but I will break

CHAP. XX.

Thomas Haukes, Thomas Watts, Thomas Osmond, William Bamford, and Nicholas Chamberlain.

Mr. T. Haukes became involved in the burning proscription, partly from the following cause, which presents a singular picture of the retrospective ferocity and sanguinary malice of the popish hierarchy. A person named John Tooley had been executed for robbing a Spaniard at St. James’s. This unfortunate man concluded his last dying words with the following audible declaration: “From the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities, from false doctrine and heresy, and from the contempt of thy word and commandment, good Lord deliver us.”
it, I warrant you. We will show such mercy unto you, as ye showed unto us; for my benefice or bishopric was taken away from me, so that I had not one penny to live upon.

After various private conferences, persuasions, and long debates, with Mr. Haukes in the bishop's house, the bishop, seeing no hope to win him to his wicked ways, was determined to proceed openly against him after the ordinary course of his popish law. Hence Mr. Haukes was shortly after cited with his other companions, T. Tomkins, S. Knight, W. Pygot, J. Lawrence, and W. Hunter, to appear in the bishop's consistory, February the 8th, 1555. Refusing to abandon their heresies, or rather Christian fortitude and virtues, bishop Bonner read the sentence of death upon all, on the following day.

A little before death, several of Mr. H.'s friends, terrified by the sharpness of the punishment he was going to suffer, privately desired that in the midst of the flames he would show them some token, whether the pains of burning were so great that a man might not collectedly endure it. This he promised to do; and it was agreed, that if the rage of the pain might be suffered, then he should lift up his hands above his head towards heaven, before he gave up the ghost.

Not long after, Mr. Haukes was led away to the place appointed for slaughter by Lord Rich, and being come to the stake, mildly and patiently prepared himself for the fire, having a strong chain cast about his middle, with a multitude of people on every side compassing him about. Unto whom after he had spoken many things, and poured out his soul unto God, the fire was kindled.

When he had continued long in it, and his speech was taken away by violence of the flame, his skin drawn together, and his fingers consumed with the fire, so that it was thought that he was gone, suddenly and contrary to all expectation, this good man, being mindful of his promise, reached up his hands burning in flames over his head to the living God, and with great rejoicings, as it seemed, struck or clapped them three times together. A great shout followed this wonderful circumstance, and then this blessed martyr of Christ, sinking down in the fire, gave up his spirit, June 10, 1555.

**THOMAS WATTS,** of Billericay in Essex, of the diocese of London, was a linendraper. He had daily expected to be taken by God's adversaries, and this came to pass on the 26th of April, 1555, when he was brought before Lord Rich, and other commissioners, at Chelmsford, and accused for not coming to the church. When he was questioned by Justice Brown, upon the cause why he had embraced his heretical opinion, he boldly replied, You taught it me, and no one more than you. For, in King Edward's days, in open sessions you said the mass was abominable trumpery, earnestly exhorting that none should believe therein, but that our belief should be only in Christ!

The commissioners being unable to model him to their wish, he was consigned over to the bloody bishop, who gave him several hearings, and, as usual, many arguments, with much entreaty, that he would be a disciple of antichrist, but his preaching availed not, and he resorted to his last revenge—that of condemnation.

Being carried to Chelmsford, Mr. W. was brought to Mr. Scott's, an inn in Chelmsford, where were Mr. Haukes and the rest that came down to their burning, who all prayed together. Mr. Watts then went and prayed privately by himself, and afterward came to his wife and his six children, who were there, and conjured them not to regret, but to glory in the sacrifice he was making for Jesus's sake, who would be a father to all who truly believe. His words had such an effect upon them, that two, it is said, voluntarily offered to be burnt with him,

At the stake, after he had kissed it, he spake to Lord Rich, charging him to repent, for the Lord would revenge his death. Thus did this good martyr offer his body to the fire, in defence of the true gospel of the Saviour.

**THOMAS OSMOND, WILLIAM BAMFORD,** and **NICHOLAS CHAMBERLAIN,** all of the town of Coxhall, being sent up to be examined, Bonner, after several hearings, pronounced them obstinate heretics, and delivered them to the sheriffs, in whose custody they remained till they were delivered to the sheriff of Essex, and by him were executed. Chamberlain at Colchester, the 14th of June; Thomas Os-
mond at Manningtree, and William Bamford, alias Butler, at Harwich, the 15th of June, 1555; all dying full of the glorious hope of immortality.

CHAP. XXI.

Rev. Mr. John Bradford.

This gentleman was born at Manchester in Lancashire; he was a good Latin scholar, and afterward became a servant of Sir John Harrington, knight.

He continued several years in an honest and thriving way; but the Lord had elected him to a better function. Hence he departed from his master, quitting the Temple, at London, for the University of Cambridge, to learn by God's law how to further the building of the Lord's temple. In a few years after, the university gave him the degree of master of arts, and he became a fellow of Pembroke Hall.

Martin Bucer first urged him to preach, and when he modestly doubted his ability, Bucer was wont to reply, If thou hast not fine wheat bread, yet give the poor people barley bread, or whatsoever else the Lord hath committed unto thee. Dr. Ridley, that worthy bishop of London, and glorious martyr of Christ, first called him to take the degree of a deacon, and gave him a prebend in his cathedral church of St. Paul.

In this preaching office Mr. Bradford diligently laboured for the space of three years. Sharply he reproved sin, sweetly he preached Christ crucified, ably he disproved heresies and errors, earnestly he persuaded to godly life. After the death of blessed King Edward VI. Mr. Bradford still continued diligent in preaching, till he was suppressed by Queen Mary.—An act now followed of the blackest ingratitude, and at which a Pagan would blush. It has been before recited, that a tumult was occasioned by Mr. Bourne's (then bishop of Bath) preaching at St. Paul's Cross; the indignation of the people placed his life in imminent danger; indeed a dagger was thrown at him. In this situation he entreated Mr. Bradford, who stood behind him, to speak in his place, and assuage the tumult. The people welcomed Mr. Bradford, and the latter afterward kept close to him, that his presence might prevent the populace from renewing their assaults.

The same Sunday in the afternoon, Mr. Bradford preached at Bow church in Cheapside, and reproved the people sharply for their seditious misdemeanor. Notwithstanding this conduct, within three days after, he was sent for to the Tower of London, where the Queen then was, to appear before the council. There he was charged with this act of saving Mr. Bourne, which was called seditious, and they also objected against him for preaching. Thus he was committed first to the Tower, then to other prisons, and, after his condemnation, to the Poultry Compter, where he preached twice a day continually, unless sickness hindered him. Such was his credit with the keeper of the King's Bench, that he permitted him in an evening to visit a poor sick person near the Steel-yard, upon his promise to return in time, and in this he never failed.

He was somewhat tall and slender in person, of a faint sanguine colour, with a dark brown beard. He slept not commonly above four hours in the night: in his bed, till sleep came, his book went not out of his hand. He counted that hour not well spent wherein he did not some good. He was not sparing of his purse, and commonly once a week visited the felons and others that were with him in prison, where he lay on the other side, giving them pious exhortations, and distributing money among them to relieve their wants.

While he was in the King's Bench, and Mr. Saunders in the Marshalsea, they met many times, and conferred together. Mr. Bradford also was made the blessed instrument of persuading bishop Farrar not to comply with the wish of the Papists, (to which he had agreed,) in receiving the sacrament only in one kind; hence the bishop, though a prisoner in the King's Bench, would never after consent to be spotted with that papistical pitch.

The night before he was sent to Newgate, he was troubled in his sleep by foreboding dreams, that on Monday after he should be burned in Smithfield. In the afternoon, the keeper's wife came up and announced this dreadful news to him, but in him it excited only thankfulness to God. At night, half a dozen friends came, with whom he spent all the evening in prayer and godly exercises.
A little before he went from the Compter, he made a remarkable farewell prayer, and put on a clean shirt, made for his burning by Mr. Walter Marlar's wife, who was a good nurse to him. He made such a prayer over the wedding garment, that some of those present were struck with admiration. Notwithstanding he was removed to Newgate, a weeping crowd accompanied him, and a rumour having been spread that he was to suffer at four the next morning, an immense multitude attended. At nine o'clock Mr. Bradford was brought into Smithfield. The cruelty of the sheriff deserves notice; for his brother-in-law, Roger Beswick, having taken him by the hand as he passed, Mr. Woodroffe, with his staff cut his head open.

Mr. Bradford, being come to the place, fell flat on the ground, secretly making his prayers to Almighty God. Then, rising again, and putting off his clothes unto the shirt, he went to the stake, and there suffered with a young man of twenty years of age, whose name was

John Leaf, an apprentice to Mr. Humphry Gaudy, tallow-chandler, of Christ-church, London. Upon Friday before Palm-Sunday, he was committed to the Compter in Bread-street, and afterward examined and condemned by the bloody bishop.

It is reported of him, that, when the bill of his confession was read unto him, instead of a pen, he took a pin, and pricking his hand, sprinkled the blood upon the said bill, desiring the reader thereof to show the bishop that he had sealed the same bill with his blood already.

They both ended this mortal life, July 12th, 1555, like two lambs, without any alteration of their countenances, hoping to obtain that prize they had long run for; to which may Almighty God conduct us all, through the merits of Christ our Saviour!—We shall conclude this article with mentioning, that Mr. Sheriff Woodroffe, it is said, within half a year after, was struck on the right side with a palsy, and for the space of eight years after, (till his dying day,) he was unable to turn himself in his bed: thus he became at last a fearful object to behold.—Mr. Bradford's letters to his friends were very voluminous.—The day after Mr. Bradford and John Leaf suffered in Smithfield,

William Minge, priest, died in prison at Maidstone. With as great constancy and boldness he yielded up his life in prison, as if it had pleased God to have called him to suffer by fire, as other godly men had done before at the stake, and as he himself was ready to do, had it pleased God to have called him to this trial.

CHAP. XXII.


These Christian persons were all burnt at Canterbury for the same cause. Frankesh and Bland were ministers and preachers of the word of God, the one being parson of Adesham, and the other vicar of Rolvindon. Mr. Bland was a man so little born for his own advantage, that no part of his life was separated from the common and public utility of all men. For his first doings were there employed in bringing up children in learning and virtue.

After this, he was called to the ministry, and such was his zeal, that, though he was three times apprehended, he would not abstain from preaching, urging with the apostle Paul, "Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Tribulation, or anguish, or hunger, or nakedness, or persecution, or the sword?" Mr. Bland wrote a long account of the proceedings against him to his father, by which we learn, that, being first opposed by some of his idolatrous parishioners, he was cited to answer for his opposition to antichristianism, and underwent several examinations before Dr. Harpsfield, archdeacon of Canterbury, and finally on the 25th of June, 1555, again withstanding the power of the pope, he was condemned, and delivered to the secular arm.—On the same day were condemned, John Frankesh, Nicholas Shetterden, Humphry Middleton, Thacker, and Cocker, of whom Thacker only recanted.

Being delivered to the secular power, Mr. Bland, with the three former, were all burnt together at Canterbury, July 12, 1555, at two several stakes, but in one fire, when they, in the sight of God and his angels, and before men, like true soldiers of Jesus Christ, gave
a constant testimony to the truth of his holy gospel.

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CHAP. XXIII.

Nicholas Hall and Christopher Waid.

The same month of July, Nicholas Hall, bricklayer, and Christopher Waid, linendraper, of Dartford, suffered death, condemned by Maurice, bishop of Rochester, about the last day of June, 1555. At the same time three others were condemned, whose names were Joan Beach, widow, John Harpol, of Rochester, and Margery Polley.

Mr. Waid was appointed to be burnt at a place a quarter of a mile out of Dartford town, called the Brimth, in a gravel pit, the common place for the execution of felons. About ten o'clock, the sheriff came with a great retinue, with Christopher Waid, and Margery Polley, of Tunbridge, pinioned by him, both singing psalms. Margery, as soon as she viewed afar off the multitude gathered about the place where they were to suffer, waiting their coming, said unto Waid cheerfully, You may rejoice, to see such a company gathered to celebrate your marriage this day. Passing by this place, which joined to the highway, they were carried down to the town, where she was kept till the sheriff returned from Waid's execution. Mr. Waid being made ready, and his clothes stripped off at an inn, a long white shirt was brought him from his wife, which being put on, and he pinioned, he was led on foot again to the aforesaid place. When he was come to the stake, he took it in his arms, and kissed it, setting his back to it, and standing in a pitch barrel which was taken from the beacon hard by; a smith then brought a hoop of iron, and with two staples made it fast to the stake under his arms.

As soon as he was thus settled, with his eyes and hands lifted up to heaven, he spake with a cheerful and loud voice the last verse of the 88th psalm: "Show some good token upon me, O Lord, that they which hate me may see it, and be ashamed: because thou, Lord, hast helped me, and comforted me."

Then the reeds being set about him, he pulled them, and embraced them in his arms, making a hole against his face, that his voice might be heard; which his tormentors perceiving, they cast fagots at the aperture; but notwithstanding, he still, as he could, put them off, his face being hurt with the end of a fagot cast thereat. The fire being put to him, he cried unto God often, Lord Jesus, receive my soul! showing no token nor sign of impatience in the fire, till at length, after the fire was thoroughly kindled, he was heard by no man to speak, still holding up his hands together over his head towards heaven, even when he was dead and altogether roasted, as though they had been stayed up with a support under them.

This sign did God show upon him, that his enemies might perceive, that God had, according to his prayer, manifested such a token upon him to their shame and confusion.

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CHAP. XXIV.

Dirick Carver and John Launder.

The 22d of July, 1555, Dirick Carver, brewer, of Brighthelmstone, aged forty, was burnt at Lewes. And the day following John Launder, husbandman, aged twenty-five, of Godstone, Surry, was burnt at Stening. These two men were, with others, about the latter end of October, 1554, sent up to the Queen's council, who, after examination, committed them prisoners to Newgate, there to attend the leisure of bishop Bonner; whence they were brought into the bishop's chamber at his house in London; and there they made their several confessions, subscribing and signing them with their own hands.

Mr. Launder became acquainted with Mr. Carver by going to Brighton, when he heard that Mr. Carver was a zealous protestant; and thus their acquaintance produced his apprehension.

On Monday, June 10th, 1555, these two persons, with others, were brought into the bishop's consistory. The bishop, seeing that neither his accustomed flatteries, nor yet his cruel threatenings, could move these good men to incline to idolatry, pronounced his usual and general blessing. Both were afterward conveyed to the places above named, and there
most joyfully gave their bodies to be burned in the fire, and their souls into the hands of Almighty God through Jesus Christ, who had assured to them the hope of a better life.

Dirick Carver was a man whom the Lord had blessed as well with temporal riches as with his spiritual treasures. At his coming into the town of Lewes to be burnt, the people called to him, beseeching God to strengthen him in the faith of Jesus Christ; and, as he came to the stake, he knelt down, and prayed earnestly. Then his book was thrown into the barrel, and, when he had stripped himself, he went into it. As soon as he was in, he took the book, and threw it among the people, upon which the sheriff commanded, in the name of the king and queen, on pain of death, to throw in the book again. And immediately the holy martyr began to address the people. After he had prayed awhile, he said, "O Lord my God, thou hast written, He that will not forsake wife, children, house, and every thing that he hath, and take up thy cross and follow thee, is not worthy of thee! but thou, Lord, knowest that I have forsaken all to come unto thee: Lord, have mercy upon me, for unto thee I commend my spirit! and my soul doth rejoice in thee!" These were the last words of this faithful servant of Christ before enduring the fire. And when the fire came to him, he cried, "O Lord, have mercy upon me!" and sprang up in the fire, calling upon the name of Jesus, till he gave up the ghost.

Thomas Iveson, of Godstone, in the county of Surry, carpenter, was burnt about the same month at Chichester; whose apprehension, examination, and condemnation, were at the same time and in the same form as Mr. Carver's and Mr. Launer's.

John Aleworth, who died in prison at Reading, July, 1555, had been imprisoned for the sake of the truth of the gospel. Though excluded by the catholic prelates from their burial rites, we trust he is not excluded from the holy martyrs whose names are registered in the book of life.

James Abbes. This young man wandered about to escape apprehension, but was at last informed against, and brought before the bishop of Norwich who influenced him to recant; to secure him further in apostacy, the bishop afterward gave him a piece of money; but the interference of Providence is here remarkable. This bribe lay so heavily upon his conscience, that he returned, threw back the money, and repented of his conduct. Like Peter, he was contrite, steadfast in the faith, and sealed it with his blood at Bury, Aug. 2, 1555, praising and glorifying God.

CHAP. XXV.


Mr. Denley and Newman were returning one day to Maidstone, the place of their abode, when they were met by E. Tyrrell, Esq. a bigoted justice of the peace in Essex, and a cruel persecutor of the protestants. He apprehended them merely on suspicion, as they were going to visit some friends in Essex, and finding their confession of faith about them, and having heard them say that they had for a time quitted England on account of their religion, he sent them up to undergo examination before bishop Bonner, by whom they were interrogated, at the same time with Mr. Packingham. They underwent a second examination June 28, 1555, and on July 1, in the consistory of St. Paul's, they were tempted with fair promises to recant. On the 5th, they were condemned, and consigned to the sheriffs, who sent Mr. Denley to Uxbridge, where he perished, August the 8th, 1555. While suffering in agony, and singing a psalm, Dr. Story inhumanly ordered one of the tormentors to throw a fagot at him, which cut his face severely, caused him to cease singing, and to raise his hands to his face. Just as Dr. Story was remarking in jest, that he had spoiled a good song, the pious martyr again chanted, spread his hands abroad in the flames, and, through Christ Jesus, resigned his soul into the hands of its Maker.

Mr. Packingham suffered at the same town on the 28th of the same month. One of the chief charges against him was, that he had not pulled off his cap at the celebration of mass.
Mr. Newman, pewterer, was burnt at Saffron Walden, in Essex, Aug. 31, for the same cause, and Richard Hook about the same time perished at Chichester.

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CHAP. XXVI.

W. Coker, W. Hooper, H. Laurence, R. Collier, R. Wright, and W. Stere.

These persons, all of Kent, were examined at the same time with Mr. Bland and Shetterden, by Thornton, bishop of Dover, Dr. Harpsfield, and others.—William Stere, upon his examination at the Chapter-house at Canterbury, August 16, in the most determined manner questioned the authority of the bishop as derived from the Pope, would own no supremacy but that of the late Protestant bishop Cranmer, and declared the sacrament of the altar to be blasphemous idolatry.—These six martyrs and witnesses of the truth were consigned to the flames in Canterbury, at the end of August, 1555. They were burnt in the fire, fastened to the stakes, and to the last gloried in the cause of Him who suffered to save all who call in truth on his holy name.

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The prisons now beginning to fill with those who were marked as sacrifices to the Catholic idolatry, the commissioners, to make the quicker destruction of the innocent unfortunate, sent the following ten at once to bishop Bonner, that he might have a festival day, for such was a day of murder in his calendar.

Elizabeth Warne, widow, wife of John Warne, upholsterer, martyr, was burnt at Stratford-le-bow, near London, at the end of August, 1555. She was apprehended when at prayer in a private house, in January of the same year, and confined in Newgate till July 2, when, with others, she was brought before the ecclesiastical demon Bonner; and, deaf to entreaties to recant, replied, If Christ were in an error, then am I in an error. Dr. Story was the chief cause of her death. Before he became a commissioner, he had through Dr. Martin obtained a partial pardon; but when he attained his new dignity, probably to gratify the papal leeches who had raised him, he caused Mr. Warne, his wife, and daughter, to be re-apprehended, and burnt to ashes, notwithstanding there existed a family obligation.

George Tankerfield, of London, cook, born at York, aged 27, in the reign of Edward VI. had been a papist; but the cruelty of bloody Mary made him suspect the truth of those doctrines which were enforced by fire and torture. In the midst of his doubts, he earnestly entreated the Lord in prayer, and was mercifully heard.—He read the Testament, was convinced of the rationality of Protestantism, and manifested a lively faith, which displayed itself in his earnest zeal to turn his misguided friends. He was gone out when Mr. Beard, yeoman of the guards, came to invite him to dress a banquet at Lord Paget's. —The poor woman treated him with the greatest kindness, setting provision before him, while she went to seek her husband; but when he heard who it was, he replied, A banquet! but not such a one as will be very pleasant to the flesh, but God's will be done!—His wife, when she entered the house, and had fully learned Mr. Beard's business, would have run him through with a spit, had not a constable prevented her, and even then, upon his going out, she struck him on the back with a brickbat. Tankerfield was imprisoned in Newgate about the end of February, 1555, and on Aug. 26, at St. Alban's, he braved the excruciating fire, and joyfully died for the glory of his Redeemer.

Rev. Robert Smith was first in the service of Sir T. Smith, provost of Eton; and was afterward removed to Windsor, where he had a clerkship of ten pounds a year. He delighted in painting, and was much benefited by the preaching of Mr. Turner, of Windsor; at the commencement however of Mary's reign, he was deprived of his clerkship, and brought before bishop Bonner for examination.—This having taken place he was again brought up into the chamber where the prelate intended to sup, and in which the wine flowed in abundance, as the Lord Mayor and sheriffs were his guests.—The interrogations of the bishop were as unsuccessful as before, Mr. Smith irresistibly contending that the cup in the sacra-
ment was as much the representative of Christ’s blood as the bread was of his body, and that St. Paul paid an equal reverence to both.—After two other examinations, in which he severely reproved the Lord Mayor and bishop for their unscriptural doctrines, he was committed to Newgate, where he was as equally zealous for the souls of all, whether felons or the faithful. He was condemned, July 12, 1555, and suffered Aug. 8, at Uxbridge.—He doubted not but that God would give the spectators some token in support of his own cause; this actually happened; for, when he was nearly half burnt, and supposed to be dead, he suddenly rose up, moved the remaining parts of his arms, and praised God; then, hanging over the fire, he sweetly slept in the Lord Jesus.—This gentleman possessed considerable learning, and his letters are marked by zeal and ability.

Mr. Stephen Harwood and Mr. Thomas Fust suffered about the same time with Smith and Tankerfield, with whom they were condemned. They finished the work they were sent to witness with their blood, the first at Stratford, and the latter at Ware, in August, 1555. Mr. William Hale also, of Thorp, in Essex, was sent to Barnet, where about the same time he joined the ever-blessed company of Martyrs.

George King, Thomas Leyes, and John Wade, falling sick in Lollard’s Tower, were removed to different houses, and died.—Their bodies were thrown out into the common fields as unworthy of burial, and lay till the faithful conveyed them away by night.

Joan Lashford, daughter-in-law of John and Elizabeth Warne, martyr, was the last of the ten condemned before alluded to; her martyrdom took place in 1556, of which we shall speak in its date.

Mr. William Andrew, of Horsley, Essex, was imprisoned in Newgate for heresy, and defended bravely the cause of Christ in his examination before the mitred tiger, Bonner. God chose to call him to himself by the severe treatment he endured in Newgate, and thus to mock the sanguinary expectations of his Catholic persecutors. His body was thrown to the open air, but his soul was received into the everlasting mansions of its heavenly Creator.

CHAP. XXVII.


This gentleman was minister of Bradford, Suffolk, where he industriously taught the flock committed to his charge, while he was openly permitted to discharge his duty. He was first persecuted by Mr. Foster, of Copdock, near Ipswich, a severe and bigoted persecutor of the followers of Christ according to the truth in the Gospel. Notwithstanding Mr. Samuel was ejected from his living, he continued to exhort and instruct privately; nor would he obey the order for putting away his wife, whom he had married in King Edward’s reign; but kept her at Ipswich, where Foster, by warrant, surprised him by night with her. After being imprisoned in Ipswich jail, he was taken before Dr. Hopton, bishop of Norwich, and Dr. Dunnings, his chancellor, two of the most sanguinary among the bigots of those days.—

To intimidate the worthy pastor, he was in prison chained to a post in such a manner that the weight of his body was supported by the points of his toes: added to this, his allowance of provision was reduced to a quantity so insufficient to sustain nature, that he was almost ready to devour his own flesh. From this dreadful extremity, there was even a degree of mercy in ordering him to the fire. After the third day of his famished state, a kind of dozing stupor came over him, in which he saw the most encouraging visions to persevere in the faith; he also had a dream of three ladders, one longer than the rest, which presently after joined, became one, and reached to heaven; this was clearly explained by his own death, and that of two female martyrs, who not long before suffered in the same town.—As this pious clergyman was going to the stake, a young woman came and embraced him; for this affectionate deed, she was eagerly pursued the next day, but Providence sheltered her from discovery. Mrs. Anne Potten and Joan Trunchfield, however, were selected for the bloody banquet, of whom we shall speak here-
after, as they perished in the following year, February 19, 1556. Mr. Samuel suffered August 31, 1555.

William Allen, a labouring servant to Mr. Houghton of Somerton, suffered not long after Mr. Samuel, at Walsingham. He was taken up for not entering into a procession of the cross, and refusing to kneel to it. He was condemned for heresy, and suffered to go unbound to execution, the pains of which he sustained without discrediting the cause of the blessed Master whom he served.

Roger Coo, was an aged man, and brought before the bishop of Norwich for contumacy, by whom he was condemned Aug. 12, 1555, and suffered in the following month at Yoxford, in Suffolk. When the bishop, in examining him, said that he had the charge of his soul, this shrewd old martyr replied, "But if your lordship should go to the devil, what then will become of me?"—Indeed we regret our narrow limits do not afford us room to enlarge upon the blind questions of the Catholic prelates, and the keen retorts they met with even from babes and sucklings in the world.

Thomas Cobb, was a butcher at Haverhill, and condemned by Dunnings, the furious chancellor of Norwich. He grounded his reply to the real presence in the sacrament upon his conviction that Christ, having ascended into heaven, had never descended since, and therefore his body could not be in two places at the same time.—Mr. Cobb suffered at Thetford, Sept. 1555.

G. Catmer, R. Streeter, A. Burward, G. Brodbridge, and J. Tutty.

These five worthies, denying the real presence in the eucharist, were brought before Dr. Thornton, bishop of Dover, and condemned as heretics. They suffered in one fire, Sept. 6, 1555, at Canterbury, enduring all things for their faith in Christ Jesus.

We shall now speak of some that were sacrificed in the diocess of Litchfield and Coventry.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Robert, John, and William Glover.

John Glover was a gentleman of property in the town of Manchester, and with his brothers, Robert and William, had received and embraced the happy light of the reformation. John was of a peculiarly tender conscience; and during five years, before the accession of Queen Mary, had the strongest terrors of mind upon him, that he was in a reprobate state; in this fearful view, however, it pleased the Lord to comfort him, and when the bishop of Coventry heard of his zeal and piety, he sent an order to the mayor for his immediate apprehension. The worthy magistrate, however, gave him private notice of his danger, and thereby John and William had time to withdraw before the arrival of the officers, one of whom, proceeding up stairs, found Mr. Robert Glover ill in bed. Regardless of his not being the person indicted, he took him before the officers, who would willingly have dismissed him, but the sheriff threatened to denounce them as favours of heretics. Thus he was brought before the tiger of Coventry, and ordered to be conveyed to Litchfield, ill as he was, where he arrived about four o'clock at the Swan, and afterward was put into a dismal room in the prison, without stool or table, and with straw only for his bed that night. Here, deprived of all means of communication with his friends, and wasted with sickness, his only comfort was a Latin Testament and a prayer-book he had privately secreted. On the third day, he was visited by the chancellor and a Mr. Temsey, a prebendary of the cathedral, who endeavoured to persuade him from the truth. He underwent several examinations before the bishop in public consistory, and was condemned. Before execution he felt much doubt of his strength to bear the bitter cross preparing for him, but Mr. Augustus Bernher, a faithful friend and minister, consoled him in the trying conflict on the day of his death. As he proceeded towards the stake, he felt the Saviour's hand so strongly supporting him, that he ejaculated, clapping his hands to his reverend friend, "Asuin, he comes! he comes!" In this glorious frame of mind he was joined to his Redeemer. At the same time suffered
with him Mr. Cornelius Bungey, of Coventry, Sept. 20, 1555.

Mr. Robert Glover's brothers remained concealed, and after their deaths, being excommunicated, their bodies were dug up, and buried in the fields.

William Wolsey and Robert Pygot.

The first was a constable, and brought before Dr. Fuller, chancellor of Ely, who, disapproving of his rebukes and answers, gave him a book to convert him, written by Dr. Watson, bishop of Lincoln. When Dr. Fuller afterward visited Wolsey in prison, the latter returned the book, in which he had erased all those passages that militated against the scripture truth, and thereby much offended Dr. Fuller, who nevertheless would have set him at large; but he insisted that the law, which had imprisoned him, should set him free; in consequence of which he was consigned to Wisbeach jail.

Thither also was sent Mr. Pygot, painter, for not coming to church. They were afterward committed to Ely prison, and on Oct. 9th brought before Dr. Fuller, old Dr. Shaxton, Christopherson, and others of the commission. Dr. Shaxton urged to Wolsey that he himself formerly had heretical notions, but now, he thanked God, he was a new man; words which much offended the constancy of Wolsey. Dr. Fuller said that Pygot was a quiet man, and proposed to discharge him, but Christopherson asked him if he would readily subscribe to transubstantiation, and when he would not, he reproached Fuller with wishing to let him escape.—Being condemned as heretics, they were brought to the stake, and a person threw in a sheet full of books to burn, like New Testaments. Pygot and Wolsey each seized one, pressed them to their breasts, and, repeating at the same time the 136th psalm, they were made, through fire, meet for the kingdom of heaven.

It is remarkable that Richard Denton, smith, of Wells, Cambridgeshire, who first gave the Holy Scriptures into the hand of Wolsey, and shrank from the fiery trial, declaring he could not endure burning for the cause of Christ, was afterward burnt with his house, in endeavouring to save his goods, April 13th, 1564.

CHAP. XXIX.

Bishop Ridley and Bishop Latimer.

These reverend prelates suffered October 17, 1555, at Oxford, on the same day Wolsey and Pygot perished at Ely.—Pillars of the church and accomplished ornaments of human nature, they were the admiration of the realm, amiably conspicuous in their lives, and glorious in their deaths.

Dr. Ridley was born in Northumberland, was first taught grammar at Newcastle, and afterward removed to Cambridge, where his aptitude in education raised him gradually till he came to be the head of Pembroke college, where he received the title of Doctor of Divinity. Having returned from a trip to Paris, he was appointed chaplain to Henry VIII. and Bishop of Rochester, and was afterward translated to the see of London in the time of Edward VI.

His tenacious memory, extensive erudition, impressive oratory, and indefatigable zeal in preaching, drew after him not only his own flock, but persons from all quarters, desirous of godly exhortation or reproof. His tender treatment of Dr. Heath, who was a prisoner with him during one year, in Edward's reign, evidently proves that he had no Catholic cruelty in his disposition. In person he was erect and well proportioned; in temper forgiving; in self-mortification, severe. His first duty in the morning was private prayer: he remained in his study till ten o'clock, and then attended the daily prayer used in his house. Dinner being done, he sat about an hour, conversing pleasantly, or playing at chess. His study next engaged his attention, unless business or visitors occurred; about five o'clock prayers followed; and after he would recreate himself at chess for about an hour, then retire to his study till eleven o'clock, and pray on his knees, as in the morning. In brief, he was a pattern of godliness and virtue, and such he endeavoured to make men wherever he came.

His attentive kindness was displayed particularly to old Mrs. Bonner, mother of Dr. Bonner, the cruel Bishop of London. Dr. Ridley, when at his manor at Fulham, always invited her to his house, placed her at the head of his table, and treated her like his own mo-
ther; he did the same by Bonner's sister and other relatives; but when Dr. Ridley was under persecution, Bonner pursued a conduct diametrically opposite, and would have sacrificed Dr. Ridley's sister and her husband, Mr. Geo. Shipside, had not Providence delivered him by the means of Dr. Heath, bishop of Worcester. Dr. Ridley was first in part converted by reading Bertram's book on the sacrament, and by his conferences with Archbishop Cranmer and Peter Martyr. When Edward VIth was removed from the throne, and bloody Mary succeeded, Bishop Ridley was immediately marked as an object of slaughter. He was first sent to the Tower, and afterward, at Oxford, was consigned to the common prison of Bocardo, with archbishop Cranmer and Mr. Latimer. Being separated from them, he was placed in the house of one Irish, where he remained till the day of his martyrdom, from 1554, till October 16, 1555. It will easily be supposed that the conversations of these chiefs of the martyrs were elaborate, learned, and instructive. Such indeed they were, and equally beneficial to all their spiritual comforts.—Bishop Ridley's letters to various Christian brethren in bonds in all parts, and his disputation with the mitred enemies of Christ, alike prove the clearness of his head and the integrity of his heart. In a letter to Mr. Grindal, (afterward Archbishop of Canterbury,) he mentions with affection those who had preceded him in dying for the faith, and those who were expected to suffer; he regrets that poverty is re-established in its full abomination, which he attributes to the wrath of God, made manifest in return for the lukewarmness of the clergy and people in justly appreciating the blessed light of the reformation.

Bishop Latimer was the son of Hugh Latimer, of Thirkelson, in Leicestershire, a husbandman of repute, with whom he remained till he was four years old. His parents, finding him of acute parts, gave him a good education, and then sent him at fourteen to the university of Cambridge, where he entered into the study of the school divinity of that day, and was from principle a zealous observer of the Romish superstitions of the time. In his oration, when he commenced bachelor of divinity, he inveighed against the reformer Melancthon, and openly declaimed against good Mr. Stafford, divinity lecturer in Cambridge.

Mr. Thomas Bilney, moved by a brotherly pity towards Mr. Latimer, begged to wait upon him in his study, and to explain to him the groundwork of his (Mr. Bilney's) faith. This blessed interview effected his conversion; the persecutor of Christ became his zealous advocate, and before Dr. Stafford died he became reconciled to him.

Once converted, he became eager for the conversion of others, and commenced public preacher, and private instructor in the university. His sermons were so pointed against the absurdity of praying in the Latin tongue, and withholding the oracles of salvation from the people who were to be saved by belief in them, that he drew upon himself the pulpit animadversions of several of the resident friars and heads of houses, whom he subsequently silenced by his severe criticisms and eloquent arguments. This was at Christmas, 1529. At length Dr. West preached against Mr. Latimer at Barwell Abbey, and prohibited him from preaching again in the churches of the university; notwithstanding which, he continued during three years to advocate openly the cause of Christ, and even his enemies confessed the power of those talents he possessed. Mr. Bilney remained here some time with Mr. Latimer, and thus the place where they frequently walked together obtained the name of Heretics' Hill.

Mr. Latimer at this time traced out the innocence of a poor woman, accused by her husband of the murder of her child. Having preached before King Henry VIII. at Windsor, he obtained the unfortunate mother's pardon. This, with many other benevolent acts, served only to excite the spleen of his adversaries. He was summoned before Cardinal Wolsey for heresy, but being a strenuous supporter of the king's supremacy, in opposition to the pope's, by favour of Lord Cromwell and Dr. Buts, (the king's physician,) he obtained the living of West Kingston, in Wiltshire. For his sermons here against purgatory, the immaculacy of the Virgin, and the worship of images, he was cited to appear before Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, and John, bishop of London. He was required to subscribe certain articles, expressive of his conformity to the accustomed usages; and there
is reason to think, after repeated weekly examinations, that he did subscribe, as they did not seem to involve any important article of belief. Guided by Providence, he escaped the subtle nets of his persecutors, and at length, through the powerful friends before mentioned, became bishop of Worcester, in which function he qualified or explained away most of the papal ceremonies he was for form's sake under the necessity of complying with. He continued in this active and dignified employment some years, till the coming in of the Six Articles, when, to preserve an unsullied conscience, he, as well as Dr. Shaxton, bishop of Salisbury, resigned. He remained a prisoner in the Tower till the coronation of Edward VI. when he was again called to the Lord's harvest in Stamford, and many other places: he also preached at London in the convocation house, and before the young king; indeed he lectured twice every Sunday, regardless of his great age, (then above sixty-seven years,) and his weakness through a bruise received from the fall of a tree. Indefatigable in his private studies, he rose to them in winter and in summer at two o'clock in the morning. By the strength of his own mind, or of some inward light from above, he had a prophetic view of what was to happen to the church in Mary's reign, asserting that he was doomed to suffer for the truth, and that Winchester, then in the Tower, was preserved for that purpose. Soon after Queen Mary was proclaimed, a messenger was sent to summon Mr. Latimer to town, and there is reason to believe it was wished that he should make his escape. On entering Smithfield he jocosely said, that the place had long groaned for him. After being examined by the council, he was committed to the Tower, where his cheerfulness is displayed in the following anecdote. Being kept without fire in severe frosty weather, his aged frame suffered so much, that he told the lieutenant's man, that if he did not look better after him he should deceive his master. The lieutenant, thinking he meant to effect his escape, came to him, to know what he meant by this speech; which Mr. Latimer replied to, by saying, "You, Mr. Lieutenant, doubtless suppose I shall burn; but, except you let me have some fire, I shall deceive your expectation, for here it is likely I shall be starved with cold."

Mr. Latimer, after remaining a long time in the Tower, was transported to Oxford, with Cranmer and Ridley, the disputations at which place have been already mentioned in the first volume of this work. He remained imprisoned till October, and the principal objects of all his prayers were three—that he might stand faithful to the doctrine he had professed, that God would restore his gospel to England once again, and preserve the Lady Elizabeth to be Queen; all which happened. When he stood at the stake without the Bocardo-gate, Oxford, with Dr. Ridley, and fire was putting to the pile of fagots, he raised his eyes benignantly towards heaven, and said, "God is faithful, who doth not suffer us to be tempted above our strength." His body was forcibly penetrated by the fire, and the blood flowed abundantly from the heart; as if to verify his constant desire that his heart's blood might be shed in defence of the gospel. His polemical and friendly letters are lasting monuments of his integrity and talents. It has been before said, that public disputations took place in April, 1554; new examinations took place in Oct. 1555, previous to the degradation and condemnation of Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer. We now draw to the conclusion of the lives of the two last.

Dr. Ridley, the night before execution, was very facetious, had himself shaved, and called his supper a marriage-feast; he remarked upon seeing Mrs. Irish (the keeper's wife) weep, "though my breakfast will be somewhat sharp, my supper will be more pleasant and sweet." The place of death was on the north side of the town, opposite Batiol College:—Dr. Ridley was dressed in a black gown furred, and Mr. Latimer had a long shroud on, hanging down to his feet. Dr. Ridley, as he passed Bocardo, looked up to see Dr. Cranmer, but the latter was then engaged in disputations with a friar. When they came to the stake, Dr. Ridley embraced Latimer fervently, and bid him be of good heart. He then knelt by the stake, and after earnestly praying together, they had a short private conversation. Dr. Smith then preached a short sermon against the martyrs, who would have answered him, but were prevented by Dr. Marshal, the vice-chancellor. Dr. Ridley then took off his gown and tippet, and gave it to his brother-in-law, Mr. Shipside. He gave
away also many trifles to his weeping friends, and the populace were anxious to get even a fragment of his garments. Mr. Latimer gave nothing, and from the poverty of his garb, was soon stripped to his shroud, and stood venerable and erect, fearless of death. Dr. Ridley being unclothed to his shirt, the smith placed an iron chain about their waists, and Dr. Ridley bid him fasten it securely; his brother having tied a bag of gunpowder about his neck, gave some also to Mr. Latimer. Dr. Ridley then requested of Lord Williams, of Fane, to advocate with the Queen the cause of some poor men to whom he had, when bishop, granted leases, but which the present bishop refused to confirm. A lighted fagot was now laid at Dr. Ridley's feet, which caused Mr. Latimer to say, "Be of good cheer, Ridley; and play the man. We shall this day, by God's grace, light up such a candle in England, as, I trust, will never be put out." When Dr. Ridley saw the flame approaching him, he exclaimed, "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit!" and repeated often "Lord, receive my spirit." Mr. Latimer, too, ceased not to say, "O Father of heaven, receive my soul!" Embracing the flame, he bathed his hands in it, and soon died, apparently with little pain; but Dr. Ridley, by the ill adjustment of the fagots, which were green, and placed too high about the furze, was burnt much downwards. At this time, piteously entreating for more fire to come to him, his brother-in-law imprudently heaped the fagots up over him, which caused the fire more fiercely to burn his limbs, whence he literally leaped up and down under the fagots, exclaiming that he could not burn; indeed, his dreadful extremity was but too plain; for after his legs were quite consumed, he showed his body and shirt unscorched by the flame.—Crying upon God for mercy, a man with a bill pulled the fagots down, and when the flames arose, he bent himself towards that side: at length the gunpowder was ignited, and then he ceased to move, burning on the other side, and falling down at Mr. Latimer's feet over the chain that had hitherto supported him. Every eye shed tears at the afflictting sight of these sufferers, who were among the most distinguished persons of their time in dignity, piety, and public estimation. They suffered October 16, 1555.

In the following month died Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester and Lord Chancellor of England. This papistical monster was born at Bury, in Suffolk, and partly educated at Cambridge.—Ambitious, cruel, and bigoted, he served any cause; he first espoused the King's part in the affair of Anne Bolein: upon the establishment of the Reformation, he declared the supremacy of the Pope an execrable tenet; and when Queen Mary came to the crown, he entered into all her papistical bigoted views, and became a second time bishop of Winchester. It is conjectured it was his intention to have moved the sacrifice of Lady Elizabeth, but when arrived at this point, it pleased God to remove him.

It was on the afternoon of the day when those faithful soldiers of Christ, Ridley and Latimer, perished, that Gardiner sat down with a joyful heart to dinner. Scarcely had he taken a few mouthfuls, when he was seized with illness, and carried to his bed, where he lingered fifteen days in great torment, unable in any wise to evacuate, and burnt with a devouring fever, that terminated in death. Execrated by all good Christians, we pray the Father of mercies, that he may receive that mercy above he never imparted below.

Mr. John Webb, George Roper, and Gregory Parker.

These martyrs, after being brought before the bishop of Dover and Dr. Harpsfield, were finally examined, October 3, 1555, and adjudged to be heretics. About the end of the same month, they were conducted together to the place of martyrdom at Canterbury, singing psalms, and rejoicing in their sufferings, till the raging flames terminated their existence.

Wm. Wiseman, clothworker, of London, died in Lollard's Tower, Dec. 13, 1555, not without suspicion of being made away with for his love of the gospel. He was thrown into the fields, with an order that no man should bury him, which nevertheless some Christian Samaritans at night secretly performed. In December died James Gore, at Colchester, imprisoned for the same cause.
CHAP. XXX.

Mr. John Philpot.

This martyr was the son of a knight, born in Hampshire, and brought up at New College, Oxford, where he several years studied the civil law, and became eminent in the Hebrew tongue. He was a scholar and a gentleman, zealous in religion, fearless in disposition, and a detester of flattery. After visiting Italy, he returned to England, affairs in King Edward’s days wearing a more promising aspect. During this reign he continued to be archdeacon of Winchester under Dr. Poinet, who succeeded Gardiner. Upon the accession of Mary, a convocation was summoned, in which Mr. Philpot defended the Reformation against his ordinary Gardiner, (again made bishop of Winchester,) and soon was conducted to Bonner and other commissioners for examination, Oct. 2, 1555, after being eighteen months imprisoned. Upon his demanding to see the commission, Dr. Story cruelly observed, “I will spend both my gown and my coat but I will burn thee!—Let him be in Lollard’s tower, (a wretched prison,) for I will sweep the King’s Bench and all the other prisons of these heretics!”—Upon Mr. Philpot’s second examination, it was intimated to him, that Dr. Story had said that the Lord Chancellor had commanded that he should be made away with. It is easy to foretell the result of this inquiry; he was committed to Bonner’s coal-house, where he joined company with a zealous minister of Essex, who had been induced to sign a bill of recantation; but afterward, stung by his conscience, he asked the bishop to let him see the instrument again, when he tore it to pieces; which induced Bonner in a fury to strike him repeatedly, and tear away part of his beard. Mr. Philpot had a private interview with Bonner the same night, and was then remanded to his bed of straw, like the other prisoners, in the coal-house. After seven examinations, Bonner ordered him to be set in the stocks, and on the following Sunday separated him from his fellow-prisoners as a sower of heresy, and ordered him up to a room near the battlements of St. Paul’s, eight foot by thirteen, on the other side of Lollard’s tower, and which could be overlooked by any one in the bishop’s outer gallery. Here Mr. Philpot was searched, but happily he was successful in secreting some letters containing his examinations. In the eleventh investigation before various bishops, and Mr. Morgan, of Oxford, the latter was so driven into a corner by the close pressure of Mr. Philpot’s arguments, that he said to him, “Instead of the spirit of the gospel, which you boast to possess, I think it is the spirit of the buttery, which your fellows have had, who were drunk before their death, and went I believe drunken to it.” To this unfounded and brutish remark, Mr. Philpot indignantly replied, “It appeareth by your communication, that you are better acquainted with that spirit than the spirit of God; wherefore I tell thee, thou painted wall and hypocrite, in the name of the living God, whose truth I have told thee, that God shall rain fire and brimstone upon such blasphemers as thou art!” He was then remanded by Bonner, with an order not to allow him his Bible nor candlelight. December 4th, Mr. Philpot had his next hearing, and this was followed by two more, making in all fourteen conferences, previous to the final examination in which he was condemned; such were the perseverance and anxiety of the Catholics, aided by the argumentative abilities of the most distinguished of the papal bishops, to bring him into the pale of their church. Those examinations, which were very long and learned, were all written down by Mr. Philpot, and a stronger proof of the imbecility of the Catholic doctors cannot to an unbiassed mind be exhibited.—December 16th, in the consistory of St. Paul’s, bishop Bonner, after laying some trifling accusations to his charge, such as secreting powder to make ink, writing some private letters, &c. proceeded to pass the awful sentence upon him, after he and the other bishops had urged him by every inducement to recant. He was afterward conducted to Newgate, where the avaricious Catholic keeper loaded him with heavy irons, which by the humanity of Mr. Macham were ordered to be taken off. December 17th, Mr. Philpot received intimation that he was to die next day, and the next morning about eight o’clock, he joyfully met the sheriffs, who were to attend him to the place of execution.—Upon entering Smithfield, the ground was so muddy, that two officers offered to carry him to the stake, but he replied, “Would you make me a pope!
I am content to finish my journey on foot.”—Arrived at the stake, he said, “Shall I disdain to suffer at the stake, when my Redeemer did not refuse to suffer the most vile death upon the cross for me?” He then meekly recited the cvith, cviiith, and cviiiith psalms, and when he had finished his prayers, was bound to the post, and fire applied to the pile. On December 18th, 1555, perished this illustrious martyr, reverenced by man, and glorified in heaven! His letters, arising out of the cause for which he suffered, are elegant, numerous, and elaborate.
BOOK IV.
THE HISTORY OF QUEEN MARY CONTINUED TO THE END OF THE THIRD YEAR OF HER REIGN.

CHAP. I.
EXECUTIONS IN 1556.


These seven persons were summoned before Bonner's consistory, and the articles of the Romish church tendered for their approbation. Their refusal subjected them to the sentence of condemnation, and on Jan. 27, they underwent the dreadful sentence of blood in Smithfield.

Of Mr. Whittle we have spoken before; he was the reverend gentleman imprisoned in the coal-room with Mr. Philpot.—Driven out of his residence in Essex, he went wherever he could, sowing the gospel till he was informed against, and first brought before Gardiner, who was then very ill, and afterward before Bonner, who manually ill-treated him, and lodged him in a salt-house, where he lay two nights on a bare table. The Friday following, he was sent to Dr. Harpsfield, at Fulham, by whose persuasion he subscribed to an instrument of recantation. Goaded by his conscience, on the next night he sent for Dr. Harpsfield, told him the tortured state of his mind, and requested to withdraw his recantation, to which that gentleman humanely complied. This circumstance was remitted to Bonner, before whom Mr. Whittle had his last examination, January 14th, 1556, when he was exorted to recant, with much entreaty; sentence immediately followed his refusal, and he was consigned to the secular arm.—Mr. Whittle wrote several faithful letters to his relations and friends in bonds.

Mr. Bartlet Green was condemned the next day. He was of a good family, and studied divinity, with the other sciences. at Oxförd.—He became a convert to the true faith eventually by attending the lectures of Peter Martyr, divinity lecturer in the same university. He was placed by his friends in the Temple, London, to acquire a complete knowledge of the law; but here, as too often happens to young men, he became gay and dissipated, seduced by the thoughtless love of dress and festivity, a conduct which afterward caused him much self-reprobation.—Mr. Green had a worthy exiled friend, a Mr. Goodman, beyond sea, with whom he corresponded, and having written to him, in reply to his direct question, that the Queen was not dead, it was endeavoured to construe this sentence into treason; the law, however, not bearing his persecutors out in this, he was attacked on religious ground. After being detained some time in prison, he was sent (chiefly by the Queen's secretary) to be examined by Bonner, who charged him with having spoken against the sacrament of the altar, and calling the pope Antichrist, which charges he readily admitted. Mr. Welch, one of the bench, wished to talk with him alone, and then represented to him the folly, being a young man, of setting his opinion in opposition to the ancient fathers, and the prelates of the realm. Mr. Green replied, that the Bible was of more authority than all the fathers and churches, and that it was the test which must try all religions.—Having expressed a wish to read controversial books on each side of the question, hopes were entertained that he would secede; hence, during his confinement under Bonner's roof, he was indulgently treated; and Bonner after supper had a strong persuasory conference with him, but to no effect.—He was examined on November 18th, and called up again for
judgment January 15th, 1556, when, after much polemical conversation between him and Mr. Fecknam and Dr. Pendleton, he was sentenced by Bonner to die the fiery death, which he patiently underwent, January 26th. This pious young martyr, though exceedingly gifted, was conspicuous for his great humility and universal compassion, and from extreme modesty confided to one friend only (Mr. Cotton) the personal cruelty Bonner had inflicted on him.

Mr. Thomas Brown, born at Histon, Ely, but afterward of St. Bride's, London, was presented by the parish constable to Bonner, for absenting himself from church.—Being ordered to Fulham, to hear mass, he chose rather to enter the warren there, and kneel down to the trees. January 15th, 1556, Bonner condemned him, and in this verified Mr. Brown's declaration to him; "As your lordship delights in sucking blood, I wish I had as much as there is water in the sea, that your lordship might be satiated."—This faithful soldier of Christ suffered on the same day with the preceding.

Mr. John Tudson, of Ipswich by birth, was apprenticed in London to a Mr. Goodyear, of St. Mary Botolph. Being complained of to Dr. Story and Sir R. Cholmley he was sent to the slaughter-house of bishop Bonner, who, after his usual promises and threats, condemned him in open consistory, Jan. 15, 1556, and he was consigned to the secular power, which completed the fiery tyranny of the law, Jan. 27, to the glory of God and the immortal salvation of the meek sufferer!

Mr. John Went, sheerman, was born at Langham, Essex, and was but twenty-seven years of age when he was called to witness the truth, as it is in God's holy oracles. Dr. Story (the counterpart of his high employer, the bishop of London) conveyed him to the latter's den, where Mr. Went's refusal to recant was the signal for his condemnation and subsequent consignment to the flames, in which he formed one of the seven golden candlesticks, whose brightness shall for ever shine in the new Jerusalem.

Isabella Forster and Joan Warne alias Lashford, made up the seven martyrs who suffered together in Smithfield. Mrs. Forster was born at Grafestock, near Carlisle, and afterward married to Mr. Forster, of St. Bride's, Fleet-street. She was accused before Bonner of absenting herself from church; and, undergoing several examinations without wavering in the faith, she was brought to the stake, and removed from her troubles here to enjoy rest in the arms of her blessed Redeemer.

We before mentioned John and Elizabeth Warne, who suffered death in May and June, 1555; their daughter followed them in January. Mr. Lashford was a cutler; his daughter Joan was born in Little St. Alhallowes, Thames-street; and upon his demise, Mrs. Lashford married Mr. Warne, upholsterer. Her daughter was but twenty, when she was taken up, suspected of heresy, for the tenderness which she displayed to her parents in prison. She remained in the Poultry Compter five weeks, after that she was some months in Newgate, and was for a time in the custody of Bonner, who received her confessions of faith, and noted her in his red book for destruction. Despising auricular confession and popish absolution, she remained firm to the pure doctrines of the Protestant reformation, while the unrelenting bishop, who gloried in the papal maxim, "that no faith ought to be kept with heretics," prepared alike to destroy the softer sex with the other, passed sentence upon her, and she was delivered to the sheriffs to die by fire. Called thus early to the marriage supper of the Lamb, she now sits at the right hand of the Redeemer, blessed for ever!—Her death completed the seven who perished together, Jan. 27, 1556.

John Lomas, Agnes Snoch, Anne Wright, Joan Sole, and Joan Catmer.

These five martyrs suffered together, Jan. 31, 1556. John Lomas was a young man of Tenterden. He was cited to appear at Canterbury, and was examined Jan. 17. His answers being adverse to the idolatrous doctrine of the papacy, he was condemned on the following day, and suffered Jan. 31.

Agnes Snoch, widow, of Smarden Parish, was several times summoned before the Catholic Pharisees, and rejecting absolution, indulgences, transubstantiation, and auricular confession, she was adjudged worthy to suffer death, and endured martyrdom, Jan. 31, with
Anne Wright and Joan Sole, who were placed in similar circumstances, and perished at the same time, with equal constancy and resignation. Joan Catmer, the last of this heavenly company, of the parish Hithe, was the wife of the martyr George Catmer.

Seldom in any country, for political controversy, have four women been led to execution, whose lives were irreproachable, and whom the pity of savages would have spared. We cannot but remark here that, when the Protestant power first gained the ascendancy over the Catholic superstition, and some degree of force in the laws was necessary to enforce uniformity, whence some bigoted people suffered privation in their person or goods, we read of few burnings, savage cruelties, or poor women brought to the stake; but it is the nature of error to resort to force instead of argument, and to silence truth by taking away existence, of which the Redeemer himself is an instance. The above five persons were burnt at two stakes in one fire, singing hosannas to the glorified Saviour, till the breath of life was extinct. Sir John Norton, who was present, wept bitterly at their unmerited sufferings.

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CHAP. II.

Archbishop Cranmer.

Dr. Thomas Cranmer was descended from an ancient family, and was born at the village of Arselacton, in the county of Northampton. After the usual school education he was sent to Cambridge, and was chosen fellow of Jesus College. Here he married a gentleman’s daughter, by which he forfeited his fellowship, and became a reader in Bingham college, placing his wife at the Dolphin inn, the landlady of which was a relation of hers, whence arose the idle report that he was an ostler. His lady shortly after dying in childbed, to his credit he was re-chosen a fellow of the college before mentioned. In a few years after, he was promoted to be Divinity Lecturer, and appointed one of the examiners over those who were ripe to become Bachelors or Doctors in Divinity. It was his principle to judge of their qualifications by the knowledge they possessed of the Scriptures, rather than of the ancient fathers, and hence many popish priests were rejected, and others rendered much improved.

He was strongly solicited by Dr. Capon to be one of the fellows on the foundation of Cardinal Wolsey’s college, Oxford, of which he hazarded the refusal. While he continued in Cambridge, the question of Henry VIII.’s divorce with Catharine was agitated. At that time, on account of the plague, Dr. Cranmer removed to the house of a Mr. Cressy, at Waltham Abbey, whose two sons were then educating under him. The affair of the divorce, contrary to the king’s approbation, had remained undecided above two or three years, from the intrigues of the canonists and civilians, and though the cardinals Campeius and Wolsey were commissioned from Rome to decide the question, they purposely protracted the sentence. It happened that Dr. Gardiner (secretary) and Dr. Foxe, defenders of the king in the above suit, came to the house of Mr. Cressy to lodge, while the king removed to Greenwich. At supper, a conversation ensued with Dr. Cranmer, who suggested that the question, whether a man may marry his brother’s wife or not, could be easily and speedily decided by the word of God, and this as well in the English courts as in those of any foreign nation. The king, uneasy at the delay, sent for Dr. Gardiner and Dr. Foxe, to consult them, regretting that a new commission must be sent to Rome, and the suit be endlessly protracted. Upon relating to the king the conversation which had passed on the previous evening with Dr. Cranmer, his majesty sent for him, and opened the tenderness of his conscience upon the near affinity of the queen. Dr. Cranmer advised that the matter should be referred to the most learned divines of Cambridge and Oxford, as he was unwilling to meddle in an affair of such weight; but the king enjoined him to deliver his sentiments in writing, and to repair for that purpose to the Earl of Wiltshire’s, who would accommodate him with books, and every thing requisite for the occasion. This Dr. Cranmer immediately did, and in his declaration, not only quoted the authority of the Scriptures, of general councils and the ancient writers, but maintained that the bishop of Rome had no authority whatever to dispense with the word of God. The king asked him if he would stand by this bold declaration; to which re-
plying in the affirmative, he was deputed ambassador to Rome, in conjunction with the Earl of Wiltshire, Dr. Stokesley, Dr. Carne, Dr. Bennet, and others, previous to which, the marriage was discussed in most of the universities of Christendom and at Rome; when the pope presented his toe to be kissed, as customary, the Earl of Wiltshire and his party refused. Indeed, it is affirmed, that a spaniel of the earl's, attracted by the glitter of the pope's toe, made a snap at it, whence his holiness drew in his sacred foot, and kicked at the offender with the other. Upon the pope demanding the cause of their embassy, the earl presented Dr. Cranmer's book, declaring that his learned friends had come to defend it. The pope treated the embassy honourably, and appointed a day for the discussion, which he delayed, as if afraid of the issue of the investigation. The earl returned, and Dr. Cranmer, by the king's desire, visited the emperor, and was successful in bringing him over to his opinion. Upon the Doctor's return to England, Dr. Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, having quitted this transitory life, Dr. Cranmer was deservedly, and by Dr. Warham's desire, elevated to that eminent station.

In this function, it may be said that he followed closely the charge of St. Paul.—Diligent in duty, he rose at five in the morning, and continued in study and prayer till nine; between then and dinner, he devoted to temporal affairs. After dinner, if any suitors wanted hearing, he would determine their business with such an affability, that even the defaulters were scarcely displeased. Then he would play at chess for an hour, or see others play, and at five o'clock he heard the Common Prayer read, and from this till supper he took the recreation of walking. At supper his conversation was lively and entertaining; again he walked or amused himself till nine o'clock, and then entered his study.

He ranked high in favour with king Henry, and ever had the purity and the interest of the English church deeply at heart. His mild and forgiving disposition is recorded in the following instance—An ignorant priest, in the country, had called Cranmer an ostler, and spoken very derogatory of his learning. Lord Cromwell receiving information of it, the man was sent to the Fleet, and his case was told to the archbishop by a Mr. Chertsey, a grocer, and a relation of the priest's. His grace, having sent for the offender, reasoned with him, and solicited the priest to question him on any learned subject. This the man, overcome by the bishop's good nature, and knowing his own glaring incapacity, declined, and entreated his forgiveness, which was immediately granted, with a charge to employ his time better when he returned to his parish. Cromwell was much vexed at the leniency displayed, but the bishop was ever more ready to receive injury than to retaliate in any other manner than by good advice and good offices.

At the time that Cranmer was raised to be archbishop, he was king's chaplain and archdeacon of Taunton; he was also constituted by the pope, penitentiary general of England. It was considered by the king that Cranmer would be obsequious; hence the latter married the king to Anne Boleyn, performed her coronation, stood godfather to Elizabeth, the first child, and divorced the king from Catharine. Though Cranmer received a confirmation of his dignity from the pope, he always protested against acknowledging any other authority than the King's, and he persisted in the same independent sentiments when before Mary's commissioners in 1555. One of his first steps after the divorce was to prevent preaching throughout his diocese, but this narrow measure had rather a political view than a religious one, as there were many who inveighed against the king's conduct. In his new dignity Cranmer agitated the question of supremacy, and by his powerful and just arguments induced the parliament to "render to Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's." During Cranmer's residence in Germany, 1531, he became acquainted with Ossiander, at Nu-renburgh, and married his niece, but left her with him while on his return to England; after a season he sent for her privately, and she remained with him till the year 1539, when the Six Articles compelled him to return her to her friends for a time.

It should be remembered that Ossiander, having obtained the approbation of his friend Cranmer, published the laborious work of the Harmony of the Gospels in 1537. In 1534 the Archbishop completed the dearest wish of his heart, the removal of every obstacle to the perfection of the Reformation, by the subscription of the nobles and bishops to the
These the king delivered himself to Cranmer, and believing firmly the fidelity and assertions of innocence of the accused prelate, he caused the matter to be deeply investigated, and Winchester and Dr. Lendon, with Thornton and Barber, of the bishop's household, were found by the papers to be the real conspirators. The mild forgiving Cranmer would have interceded for all remission of punishment, had not Henry, pleased with the subsidy voted by parliament, let them be discharged; these nefarious men, however, again renewing their plots against Cranmer, fell victims to Henry's resentment, and Gardiner for ever lost his confidence. Sir G. Gostwick soon after laid charges against the archbishop, which Henry quashed, and the primate was willing to forgive.

In 1544, the archbishop's palace at Canterbury was burnt, and his brother-in-law with others perished in it. These various afflictions may serve to reconcile us to an humble state; for of what happiness could this great and good man boast? since his life was constantly harassed either by political, religious, or natural crosses. Again the inveterate Gardiner laid high charges against the meek archbishop, and would have sent him to the Tower; but the king was his friend, gave him his signet that he would defend him, and in the council not only declared the bishop one of the best affected men in his realm, but sharply rebuked his accusers for their calumny.

A peace having been made, Henry, and the French king Henry the Great, were unanimous to have the mass abolished in their kingdom, and Cranmer set about this great work; but the death of the English monarch, in 1546, suspended the procedure, and king Edward his successor continued Cranmer in the same functions, upon whose coronation he delivered a charge that will ever honour his memory, for its purity, freedom, and truth. During this reign he prosecuted the glorious Reformation with unabated zeal, even in the year 1552, when he was seized with a severe ague, from which it pleased God to restore him that he might testify by his death the truth of that seed he had diligently sown.

The death of Edward, in 1553, exposed Cranmer to all the rage of his enemies.—Though the archbishop was among those who supported Mary's accession, he was attained
at the meeting of parliament, and in November adjudged guilty of high treason at Guildhall, and degraded from his dignities. He sent an humble letter to Mary, explaining the cause of his signing the will in favour of Edward, and in 1554 he wrote to the council, whom he pressed to obtain a pardon from the queen, by a letter delivered to Dr. Weston, but which the latter opened, and, on seeing its contents, basely returned. Treason was a charge quite inapplicable to Cranmer, who supported the queen's right; while others, who had favoured Lady Jane, upon paying a small fine, were dismissed. A calumny was now spread against Cranmer, that he complied with some of the popish ceremonies to ingratiate himself with the queen, which he dared publicly to disavow, and justified his articles of faith. The active part which the prelate had taken in the divorce of Mary's mother had ever rankled deeply in the heart of the queen, and revenge formed a prominent feature in the death of Cranmer.—We have, in the first volume of this work, noticed the public disputations at Oxford, in which the talents of Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, shone so conspicuously, and tended to their condemnation. The first sentence was illegal, inasmuch as the usurped power of the pope had not yet been re-established by law. Being kept in prison till this was effected, a commission was despatched from Rome, appointing Dr. Brooks to sit as the representative of his Holiness, and Drs. Story and Martin as those of the Queen. Cranmer was willing to bow to the authority of Drs. Story and Martin, but against that of Dr. Brooks he protested. Such were the remarks and replies of Cranmer, after a long examination, that Dr. Brooks observed, "We come to examine you, and methinks you examine us." Being sent back to confinement, he received a citation to appear at Rome within eighteen days, but this was impracticable, as he was imprisoned in England; and as he stated, even had he been at liberty, he was too poor to employ an advocate. Absurd as it must appear, Cranmer was condemned at Rome, and February 14, 1556, a new commission was appointed, by which Thirlby, bishop of Ely, and Bonner, of London, were deputed to sit in judgment at Christ-church, Oxford. By virtue of this instrument, Cranmer was gradually degraded, by putting mere rags on him to represent the dress of an archbishop; then stripping him of his attire, they took off his own gown, and put an old worn one upon him instead. This he bore unmoved, and his enemies, finding that severity only rendered him more determined, tried the opposite course, and placed him in the house of the dean of Christ-church, where he was treated with every indulgence. This presented such a contrast to the three years hard imprisonment he had received, that it threw him off his guard. His open generous nature was more easily to be seduced by a liberal conduct than by threats and fetters. When Satan finds the Christian proof against one mode of attack, he tries another; and what form is so seductive as smiles, rewards, and power, after a long painful imprisonment? Thus it was with Cranmer: his enemies promised him his former greatness if he would but recant, as well as the queen's favour, and this at the very time they knew that his death was determined in council. To soften the path to apostacy, the first paper brought for his signature was conceived in general terms; this once signed, five others were obtained as explanatory of the first, till finally he put his hand to the following detestable instrument:—

"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 body and blood of Christ, being contained most truly under the forms of bread and wine; the bread, through the mighty power of God being turned into the body of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and the wine into his blood.

"And in the other six sacraments, also, (alike as in this) I believe and hold as the universal church holdeth, and the church of Rome judgeth and determineth.

"Furthermore, I believe that there is a place
of purgatory, where souls departed be punished for a time, for whom the church doth godly and wholesomely pray, like as it doth honour saints and make prayers to them.

"Finally, in all things I profess, that I do not otherwise believe than the catholic church and church of Rome holdeth and teacheth. I am sorry that ever I held or thought otherwise. And I beseech Almighty God, that of his mercy he will vouchsafe to forgive me, whatsoever I have offended against God or his church, and also I desire and beseech all Christian people to pray for me.

"And all such as have been deceived either by mine example or doctrine, I require them by the blood of Jesu Christ that they will return to the unity of the church, that we may be all of one mind, without schism or division.

"And to conclude, as I submit myself to the catholic church of Christ, and to the supreme head thereof, so I submit myself unto the most excellent majesties of Philip and Mary, king and queen of this realm of England, &c. and to all other their laws and ordinances, being ready always as a faithful subject ever to obey them. And God is my witness, that I have not done this for favour or fear of any person, but willingly and of mine own conscience, as to the instruction of others."

"Let him that standeth take heed lest he fall!" said the apostle; and here was a falling off indeed! The papists now triumphed in their turn: they had acquired all they wanted short of his life. His recantation was immediately printed and dispersed, that it might have its due effect upon the astonished Protestants; but God counterworked all the designs of the catholics by the extent to which they carried the implacable persecution of their prey. Doubtless, the love of life induced Cranmer to sign the above declaration; yet death may be said to have been preferable to life to him who lay under the stings of a goaded conscience and the contempt of every gospel Christian; this principle he strongly felt in all its force and anguish.

The queen's revenge was only to be satisfied in Cranmer's blood, and therefore she wrote an order to Dr. Cole, to prepare a sermon to be preached, March 21, directly before his martyrdom, at St. Mary's, Oxford; Dr. Cole visited him the day previous, and was induced to believe that he would publicly deliver his sentiments in confirmation of the articles to which he had subscribed. About nine in the morning of the day of sacrifice, the queen's commissioners, attended by the magistrates, conducted the amiable unfortunate to St. Mary's church. His torn dirty garb, the same in which they habited him upon his degradation, excited the commiseration of the people. In the church he found a low mean stage, erected opposite to the pulpit, on which being placed, he turned his face, and fervently prayed to God. The church was crowded with persons of both persuasions, expecting to hear the justification of his late apostacy:—the Catholics rejoicing, and the Protestants deeply wounded in spirit at the deceit of the human heart. Dr. Cole, in his sermon, represented Cranmer as having been guilty of the most atrocious crimes; encouraged the deluded sufferer not to fear death, not to doubt the support of God in his torments, nor that masses would be said in all the churches of Oxford for the repose of his soul. The Doctor then noticed his conversion, and which he ascribed to the evident working of Almighty Power, and in order that the people might be convinced of its reality, asked the prisoner to give them a sign. This Cranmer did, and begged the congregation to pray for him, for he had committed many and grievous sins; but, of all, there was one which awfully lay upon his mind, of which he would speak shortly.

During the sermon Cranmer wept bitter tears: lifting up his hands and eyes to heaven, and letting them fall, as if unworthy to live; his grief now found vent in words: before his confession he fell upon his knees, and, in the following words unveiled the deep contrition and agitation which harrowed up his soul:

"O Father of heaven! O Son of God, Redeemer of the world! O Holy Ghost, three persons and one God! have mercy on 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 may I flee? To heaven I may be ashamed to lift up mine eyes, and in earth I find no place of refuge or succour. To thee, therefore, O Lord, do I run; to thee do I humble myself, saying, O Lord my God, my sins be great, but yet have mercy upon me for thy great mercy. The great mystery that God became man, was not wrought
for little or few offences. Thou didst not give thy Son, O Heavenly Father, unto death for small sins only, but for all the greatest sins of the world, so that the sinner return to thee with his whole heart, as I do at this present. Wherefore, have mercy on me, O God, whose property is always to have mercy; have mercy upon me, O Lord, for thy great mercy. I crave nothing for my own merits, but for thy name's sake, that it may be hallowed thereby, and for thy dear Son Jesus Christ's sake. And now therefore, O Father of Heaven, hallowed be thy name," &c.

Then rising, he said he was desirous before his death to give them some pious exhortations by which God might be glorified and themselves edified. He then descanted upon the danger of a love of the world, the duty of obedience to their majesties, of love to one another, and the necessity of the rich administering to the wants of the poor. He quoted the three verses of the fifth chapter of James, and then proceeded, "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 victrix 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 the wicked in hell, and I see before mine eyes presently either heaven ready to receive me, or else hell ready to swallow me up; I shall therefore declare unto you my very faith how I believe, without any colour of dissimulation; for now is no time to dissemble, whatsoever I have said or written in times past.

"First, I believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, &c. And I believe every article of the Catholic faith, every word and sentence taught by our Saviour Jesus Christ, his apostles and prophets, in the New and Old Testament.

"And now I come to the great thing which so much troubleth my conscience, more than any thing that ever I did or said in my whole life, and that is the setting abroad of a writing contrary to the truth; which now here I renounce and refuse, as things written with my hand contrary to the truth which I thought in my heart, and written for fear of death, and to save my life, if it might be; and that is, all such bills and papers which I have written or signed with my hand since my degradation, wherein I have written many things untrue. And forasmuch as my hand hath offended, writing contrary to my heart, therefore my hand shall first be punished: for when I come to the fire, it shall first be 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 in the last day before the judgment of God, where the papistical doctrines contrary thereto shall be ashamed to show their face."

Upon the conclusion of this unexpected declaration, amazement and indignation were conspicuous in every part of the church. The catholics were completely foiled, their object being frustrated; Cranmer, like Sampson, having completed a greater ruin upon his enemies in the hour of death than he did in his life.

Cranmer would have proceeded in the exposure of the popish doctrines, but the murmur of the idolaters drowned his voice, and the preacher gave an order to lead the heretic away! The savage command was directly obeyed, and the lamb about to suffer was torn from his stand to the place of slaughter, insulted all the way by the revilings and taunts of the pestilent monks and friars. With thoughts intent upon a far higher object than the empty threats of man, he reached the spot died with the blood of Ridley and Latimer. There he knelt for a short time in earnest devotion, and then arose, that he might undress and prepare for the fire. Two friars who had been parties in prevailing upon him to abjure, now endeavoured to draw him off again from the truth, but he was steadfast and immovable in what he had just professed and before publicly taught. A chain was provided to bind him to the stake, and after it had tightly encircled him, fire was put to the fuel, and the flames began soon to ascend. Then was the glorious sentiments of the martyr made manifest;—then it was, that, stretching out his right hand, he held it unshrinkingly in the fire till it was burnt to a cinder, even before his body
was injured, frequently exclaiming, "This unworthy right hand!"—Apparently insensible of pain, with a countenance of venerable resignation, and eyes directed to Him for whose cause he suffered, he continued, like St. Stephen, to say, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit!" till the fury of the flames terminated his powers of utterance and existence. He closed a life of high sublunary elevation, of constant uneasiness, and of glorious martyrdom, on March 21, 1556.

Thus perished the illustrious Cranmer, the man whom King Henry's capricious soul esteemed for his virtues above all other men. Cranmer's example is an endless testimony that fraud and cruelty are the leading characteristics of the Catholic hierarchy. They first seduced him to live by recantation, and then doomed him to perish, using perhaps the sophistical arguments, that, being brought again within the Catholic pale, he was then most fit to die. — His gradual change from darkness to the light of the truth, proves that he had a mind open to conviction. Though mild and forgiving in temper, he was severe in church discipline, and it is only on this ground that one act of cruelty of his can, in any way be excused. A poor woman was in Edward's reign condemned to be burnt for her religious opinions; the pious young monarch reasoned with the archbishop upon the impropriety of Protestants resorting to that cruel mean they censured in Papists, adding humanely, "What! would you have me send her quick to the devil in her error?" The prelate however was not to be softened, and the king signed the death-warrant with eyes steeped in tears. There is however a shade in the greatest characters, and few characters, whether political or religious, were greater than Cranmer's.

CHAP. III.

Agnes Potten and Joan Trunchfield.

These godly women (before mentioned) were both of Ipswich, and suffered about the same time with Cranmer. Probably they listened with delight to the lectures of that excellent martyr, the Rev. Mr. Samuel, of Barford, in Suffolk, whom they in the next year followed to glory. The first was the wife of Robert Potten; the other of Michael Trunchfield, shoemaker. They were condemned on the unscriptural doctrine of the real presence in the sacrament. Bravely they defended their belief with their dying attestation, calling upon the pitying bystanders to lay hold of the word of God, and not the corrupt substitution of the church of Rome. When in prison together, Mrs. Trunchfield was less ardent and zealous than Mrs. Potten; but when at the stake, her hope in glory was brighter even than that of her fellow-sufferer.

John Maundrel, William Coberly, and John Spicer.

John was the son of Mr. Robert Maundrel, of Wilts, farmer. He was brought up to husbandry, and lived with his family in good repute at the village of Buckhampton, in the parish of Kevel, Wilts. When the Scriptures were translated into English by William Tindal, he delighted daily in God's word, and always had the New Testament about him, though unable to read. In Henry's reign, Mr. Maundrel was charged before Dr. Trigonia, with speaking contemptuously of holy bread, holy water, &c. and for this did penance in a white sheet, with a candle in his hand, in the market place of Devizes. In Mary's reign he left his house, and wandered into Gloucestershire, and the north of Wilts, hiring himself to those of the true religion, as a servant to keep their cattle. At length returning home, Spicer, Coberly, and he, had many Christian conferences together. One Sunday shortly after, in the parish church of Kevel, the three having gone there together, and seeing the procession of the parishioners following the host, they openly advised the people to return to the living God, and not to worship graven images. Upon the vicar's mounting the pulpit, to read his bead-roll, and pray for the souls in purgatory, John Maundrel audibly called it the pope's pinfold, in which he was joined by his friends;—hence they were immediately put in the stocks, and next day carried to Salisbury, before bishop Capon and William Geoffry, chancellor of the diocess.—Their last examination was in the church of Fisherton Anger, where they replied ably to all the papistical charges of heresy. To the article, Whether images were not necessary
in churches, Maundrel replied facetiously, if wooden images were good for any thing, it was to roast a shoulder of mutton. Being delivered to the sheriff, March 24, 1556, they were taken from the common jail to a place between Salisbury and Wilton, where two stakes were erected. After privately praying together, and being undressed, Maundrel loudly said, "No, not for all Salisbury." These words evidently alluded to an offer made him by the sheriff to recant. Spicer replied in the same manner, and rejoiced in seeing such a day! Two died without any particular retardation, but Coberly, from the current of wind as he stood, was a long time in perishing. His left arm was visible to the bone, while the right, but little injured, beat upon his breast softly, and the discharge from his mouth was considerable. Rising suddenly erect from hanging over the chain, as if dead, he gave up this mortal abode for one made without hands, eternal in the heavens!


These worthies were of Essex, and in the diocese of London. They were all sent up to Gardiner, the chancellor, March 22, 1555; who imprisoned them, some in the King’s Bench, and others in the Marshalsea. After remaining in prison nearly a year, Gardiner died, and four of them petitioned his successor, Dr. Heath, to be liberated. Upon this Sir R. Reed, one of the officers of the court of chancery, was ordered to examine them, whence he learned that they had been complained of by the parson of Bocking for non-attendance at the parish church, which caused Lord Rich to send them to the chancellor. Mr. Drakes was minister of Thundersley, of Essex, and had been minister three years: he was first made deacon by Dr. Hadley, at Dr. Cranmer’s desire, and presented by Lord Rich to the said benefice in Edward’s time, who, when the times changed, to his disgrace, sent him up for examination.

Mr. Tyms had preached to a numerous auditory in the woods at Hockley, which belonged to Mr. Tyrrel, a persecuting magistrate, now a fierce Catholic, though in King Edward’s time a time-serving Protestant. Having learned that Mr. Tyms was the author of this heinous offence, he caused him to be brought into his presence. After a short conversation, Mr. Tyms, who was too much for the justice in argument, said, "Why, Mr. Tyrrel, in Edward’s days you maintained the same doctrine that I do now." "I did, by God’s body," replied the other, "but I never believed it in my heart." "Then," replied Mr. Tyms, "bear with me a little; for I have been a traitor but a little time, but you have been a traitor these six years." When Mr. Tyms was brought before Bonner, the bishop of Bath was at that time on the bench: he was questioned by both, but, after six or seven hours employed in reply, they could only obtain that satisfaction which bigoted power had placed in their hands. Upon one occasion, when Mr. Tyms was brought before the bishop of Winchester, the latter, seeing him meanly dressed in a coat, and the upper part of his stockings differently coloured from the lower, reproached him with his dress, saying, "Are you dressed like a deacon?" "My Lord," replied Tyms, "my dress does not so much vary from that of a deacon, as yours does from that of an apostle." March 21, this gentleman, and the five before mentioned, were brought up to Bonner’s palace for examination, and Tyms in his replies charged Gardiner with having written a book, entitled De vera Obedientia, or Of true Obedience, which inveighed against the falsehood and tyranny of the papal power, and Bonner with having written a preface to that very book. The bishop looked confounded at this incontrovertible fact, and could only justify it on the ground that in Edward’s time they themselves were afraid of persecution, but since they had openly abjured such sentiments. Alas! how poor are such excuses, after voluntarily publishing opinions in support of doctrines which they were never called upon to defend.

Being remanded, March 28, the six were brought up for condemnation in the consistory of St. Paul’s; after which sentence, they were delivered to the sheriff, to be sent to Newgate, where they remained, patiently waiting the Lord’s time for deliverance, which took place about the 23d of April, 1556, in Smithfield. Mr. Tyms wrote several consolatory letters to his friends, to his parishioners (who had kindly taken care of his wife while she
lay-in during his captivity,) and to his sisters, which prove the excellence of his head and heart.

In the same month, perished John Harpole, of Rochester, and Joan Beach, widow, mentioned in p. 329, with Mr. N. Hall. They suffered under Maurice, bishop of Rochester, in whose diocese they lived.

Rev. Mr. John Hullier. This gentleman went from Eton school to King's College, Cambridge, and suffered under Dr. Thirlby, bishop of Ely. Little is known of him but his letters to his congregation to abide steadfastly in the doctrine of the gospel, which prove that he was zealous and earnest in that profession which every man ought to embrace.—He died the 2d of April, 1556.

CHAP. IV.

From Kent we now turn to Colchester in Essex, where six constant professors of the gospel were selected to witness the truth by the sacrifice of their lives. These were, C. Luyster, of Dagenham, husbandman; John Mace, apothecary; John Spencer, weaver; Simon Joyne, lawyer; Richard Nicholson, weaver; and John Hammond, tanner; five of Colchester.

Robert Gasbrooke was also joined to the above, but he shrank from the fiery trial, and secured his life by adjuring his Saviour. The other six were sent, March 28, 1556, by the earl of Oxford, to Bonner's palace at Fulham, where, in the open church, the same articles were propounded to them as had before been offered to Mr. Bartlet Green and others. Absence from their idolatrous churches at Colchester were the first causes of their apprehension, and after condemnation they were returned to Colchester, there (April 28) to display, by patience and rejoicing, that lively faith which could hold with indifference the terrors through which they were to pass to the regions of endless felicity.

Hugh Laverick and John Aprice.

Here we perceive that neither the impotence of age nor the affliction of blindness could turn aside the murdering fangs of the Babylonish monsters. The first of these unfortunates was of the parish of Barking, aged sixty-eight, a painter and a cripple. The other was blind,—dark indeed in his visual faculties, but intellectually illuminated with the radiance of the everlasting gospel of truth. Inoffensive objects like these were informed against by some of the sons of bigotry, and dragged before the prelatical shark of London; where they underwent examination, and replied to the articles propounded to them, as other Christian martyrs had done before. On the 9th of May, in the consistory of St. Paul's, they were entreated to recant, and, upon refusal, were sent to Fulham, where Bonner, by way of a dessert after dinner, condemned them to the agonies of the fire. Being consigned to the secular officers, May 15, 1556, they were taken in a cart from Newgate to Stratford-le-Bow, where they were fastened to the stake. When Hugh Laverick was secured by the chain, having no farther occasion for his crutch, he threw it away, saying to his fellow-martyr, while consoling him, "Be of good cheer, my brother; for my lord of London is our good physician; he will heal us both shortly—thee of thy blindness, and me of my lameness." They sank down in the fire, to rise to immortality!

The day after the above martyrdoms, Catharine Hut, of Bocking, widow; Joan Horns, spinster, of Billericay; Eliz. Thackwelle, spinster, of Great Burstead; suffered death in Smithfield. These three pious women, with Mary Ellis, spinster, who died in Newgate, were sent up by Sir John Mordaunt and Edward Tyrrel, justices, to be examined by Bonner, who, on the 13th of April, brought them to final judgment. Undismayed by his threats, nor seduced by his promises, these four heroic females, after ridiculing the absurdities of popery, heard their sentence of condemnation without emotion. Except Mary Ellis, who died as above, the others received the crown of martyrdom with joy, and were all placed in that mercy-seat from which all impenitent persecutors must ever be rejected!

Thomas Dowry. We have again to record an act of unpitying cruelty, exercised on this, who was a blind lad, mentioned page 308, in
the account of bishop Hooper, who had confirmed him in the Lord and the knowledge of his word.

How long this poor sufferer remained in prison is uncertain. By the testimony of one John Paylor, register of Gloucester, we learn, that when Dowry was brought before Dr. Williams, then chancellor of Gloucester, the usual articles were presented to him for his subscription. From these he disserted; and, upon the doctor's demanding of whom and where he had learned his heresies, the youth replied, "Indeed, Mr. Chancellor, I learned them of you in that very pulpit. On such a day (naming the day) you said, in preaching upon the sacrament, that it was to be exercised spiritually by faith, and not carnally and really, as taught by the papists." Dr. Williams then bid him recant, as he had done; but Dowry had not so learned his duty. "Though you," said he, "can so easily mock God, the world, and your own conscience, yet will I not do so."

PERSECUTIONS IN SUFFOLK.

After the death of the above, the following three persons suffered at Beccles, in Suffolk, May 21, 1556. Thomas Spicer, of Winston, labourer; John Denny, and Edmund Poole.

Spicer was a single man, but nineteen years of age when he was apprehended for not coming to hear mass; he with the other two were sent from Ely (where they had been imprisoned) to Mr. Dunning, the chancellor of Norwich, and Mr. Mings, the register, sitting at the town of Beccles, to be examined. The chancellor in vain endeavoured to reclaim them; and when he found it was impossible to shake their faith, he burst into tears, for they were the first he had condemned; but, to the disgrace of the register, he called upon the chancellor to despatch them out of the way. Being committed to the charge of Sir J. Silliard, high sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk, they were conducted to the fire. Here they repeated the Apostles' creed with an audible voice, and when they pronounced the clause expressing their belief in the Holy Catholic Church, one of their persecutors observed, he was happy to find they believed in the Catholic church.

To this one of the sufferers replied, "We believe not in the pope's church, knowing it does not belong to the church of Christ; and, be assured, it forms no part of our faith!" They resignedly submitted their bodies to the flames, and, in the midst of its rage, praised the blessed Redeemer with their latest breath.

Several persons of property and great respectability were compelled to remove by the tyranny of Sir John Tyrrel.

Preservation of George Crow and his Testament.

This poor man, of Malden, May 26, 1556, put to sea, to lade in Kent with Fuller's earth, but the boat, being driven on land, filled with water, and every thing was washed out of her; Crow, however, saved his Testament, and coveted nothing else. With Crow was a man and a boy, whose awful situation became every minute more alarming, as the boat was useless, and they were ten miles from land, expecting the tide should in a few hours set in upon them. After prayer to God, they got upon the mast, and hung there for the space of ten hours, when the poor boy, overcome by cold and exhaustion, fell off, and was drowned. The tide having abated, Crow proposed to take down the masts, and float upon them, which they did; and at ten o'clock at night they were borne away at the mercy of the waves. On Wednesday, in the night, Crow's companion died through fatigue and hunger, and he was left alone, calling upon God for succour. At length he was picked up by a Captain Morse, bound to Antwerp, who had nearly steered away, taking him for some fisherman's buoy floating in the sea. As soon as Crow was got on board, he put his hand in his bosom, and drew out his Testament, which indeed was wet, but no otherwise injured. At Antwerp he was well received, and the money he had lost was more than made good to him.

June 6, 1556, the following four martyrs suffered at Lewes, in Sussex: J. Harland, of Woodmancote, carpenter; John Oswald, of the same place, husbandman; Thomas Avington, of Ardingly, turner; and Thomas Read.

June 20, at the same place, were burnt the Rev. Thomas Whood, and Thomas Mills. June 24, the Rev. Wm. Alderhall; and June 28, John Clement, wheelwright, died in the
King's Bench prison, and were buried on the dunghill in the backyard. June 21, a young man, the servant of a merchant, was burnt at Leicester.

CHAP. V.

EXECUTIONS AT STRATFORD-LE-BOW.

At this sacrifice, which we are about to detail, no less than thirteen were doomed to the fire, whose names are as follow:

Henry Wye, brewer, of Stratford-le-Bow, aged 32; W. Hallywell, smith, Walthamcross, 24; R. Jackson, servant, of Chipping-Ongar, 25; L. Pernam, smith, of Hoddesdon, 22; J. Derisall, labourer, of Rettingham, Essex, 30; E. Hurst, labourer, of Colchester, 50; T. Bowyer, weaver, of Dunmow, 36; G. Searles, tailor, 21; L. Cawch, merchant, of Flanders, 23; H. Adlington, Sawyer, of Grinstead, 30; J. Routh, labourer, of Wilkes, Essex, 26; Eliz. Pepper, wife of T. Pepper, weaver, of Colchester, 30; and Agnes George, wife of R. George, of Westfarefold, 26.

Each one refusing to subscribe contrary to conscience, they were condemned, and the 27th of June, 1556, was appointed for their execution at Stratford-le-Bow. Their constancy and faith glorified their Redeemer, equally in life and in death.

The Sunday after the above sixteen were condemned, Dr. Fecknam, Dean of St. Paul's, preached at St. Paul's Cross, declaring that they had as many systems of faith as there were persons. To rebut this unjust assertion, the sixteen published their confession of faith, in contradiction to Dr. Fecknam, and thereby exposed the arts to which the papists resorted.

R. Bernard, A. Foster, and P. Lawson.

The first was a labourer, and a single man, of Framsden, Suffolk. He was a shrewd undaunted professor, and fearlessly replied to the Bishop's questions. Adam Foster was a hus bandman, married, aged 26, of Mendlesham, Suffolk. Refusing to go to church, he was sent by Sir J. Tyrrel to Eye-Dungeon, and thence to Bishop Hopton, who condemned him.

R. Lawson, of Bury, linen-weaver, a single man, aged 30, was sent to Eye-dungeon, and after that to Bury, where they suffered in the same fire, praising God, and encouraging others to martyrdom. In speaking of Mr. Fortune, then in bonds for the cause we have to honour his memory, by remarking, that he was a blacksmith of Hintlesham, Suffolk, and naturally acute in understanding: this he verified in the replies he made when under examination by Dr. Parker and Mr. Foster. When before the bishop of Norwich, Fortune asked him whether the pope was a spiritual man. The bishop replied, Yes. "Rather (said Fortune,) a spiteful man, for in seventeen months, there were three popes, and each poisoned the other to get possession of the presumptuous seat of antichrist."

The bishop could only encounter such an antagonist by the sentence of condemnation, which, as usual, was passed upon him;—but whether this martyr died by the fire, was made away with, or it pleased God to call him, does not appear upon record.
BOOK V.

THE HISTORY OF QUEEN MARY CONTINUED TO THE END OF THE FOURTH YEAR OF HER REIGN.

CHAP. I.

REV. JULIUS PALMER.

THIS gentleman's life presents a singular instance of error and conversion. In the time of Edward, he was a rigid and obstinate papist, so averse to godly and sincere preaching, that he was even despised by his own party; that this frame of mind should be changed, and he suffer persecution and death in queen Mary's reign, are among those events of Omnipotence at which we wonder and admire.

Mr. Palmer was born at Coventry, where his father had been mayor. Being afterward removed to Oxford, he became, under Mr. Harley, of Magdalen college, an elegant Latin and Greek scholar. He was fond of useful disputation, possessed of a lively wit, and a strong memory. Indefatigable in private study, he rose at four in the morning, and by this practice qualified himself to become reader in logic in Magdalen college. The times of Edward, however, favouring the reformation, Mr. Palmer became frequently punished for his contempt of prayer and orderly behaviour, and was at length expelled the house.

He then became a private tutor in the family of Sir P. Knolles, in which occupation he continued till the reign of queen Mary, who reinstated him in his former living. During his expulsion, he had been much enlightened by several conversations with pious and learned men who favoured the reformation; but still he had many doubts remaining.—Despising dissimulation in any system of faith, he acted up to this noble principle, through which his troubles both in Edward's and Mary's days arose. Surrounded as he was by catholic priests in his college, he yet became very inquisitive to penetrate into the lives, sufferings, and deaths of the martyrs; and actually sent one of his bachelors to bring him all the circumstances of bishop Hooper's martyrdom.

The tragical scene however was shortly after brought nearer, in the deaths of Ridley and Latimer at Oxford, on which occasion, in a paroxysm of pity he exclaimed, "O raging cruelty, O tyrannical tragedy, and more than barbarous!"

Mr. Palmer's conversion soon began to manifest itself by outward signs; at church he reluctantly made his bowings, turnings to the east and west, strikings on his breast when the host was elevated, &c. Finding at length Dr. Cole, the president, suspected him, he resigned, and being asked at that time by a particular friend whither he would go, he replied, in Latin, "The earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof; let the Lord work, and I will commit myself to the wide world."

Shortly after, throwing up his fellowship in Oxford, he was made schoolmaster, by patent, in the Grammar-school of Reading; here he unsuspiciously admitted to his confidence men who assumed the mask of his sentiments, and who, during his absence one day, rifled his study of writings and papers which severely censured the Romish superstitions and cruelties. To save life, he was cautioned to resign. Unprovided for, he proceeded to Ensham, where his mother dwelt, who held certain legacies in her hands bequeathed to him by his father's last testament; but in her he met a cruel priest-ridden parent, who loaded execrations upon him, and sent him away almost penniless. Like a pious son, he replied only by blessings and a meek justification of the new tenets he had gathered from God's word. Destitute and friendless, he ventured to return secretly to Magdalen college, and obtained letters of recommendation from Dr. Cole (through the interest of one Mr. Cope, a fellow of the college) to a school in Gloucester-
shire. He had partly reached the place, when he was induced to return to Reading, hoping he should be able to obtain a quarter’s salary left unpaid, and to recover his goods.—His entrance into the town, though private, was soon known, and he was brought before the mayor, accused of treason, adultery, supposed murder, &c. but these Mr. Palmer so indisputably repelled that he was cleared of the least criminality in those respects, and, upon his being recommitted to prison, the charge of heresy was substituted, the proof of which was adduced from the writings stolen from him, as well as his own open confessions.

July 15, Dr. Jeffery visited Newbury, to which Mr. Palmer was conveyed, with Thomas Askin, a fellow-prisoner, to undergo examination. Above three hundred persons attended in the choir of the church to hear the replies of this young martyr, who was brought up for final examination the following morning. Sir Richard Abridges, the sheriff, on the preceding afternoon, sent for Mr. Palmer, and offered him a handsome annuity if he would recant. Dr. Jeffery, it is said, also proposed to give him a considerable living. Askin and one John Guin had been sentenced the day before, and Mr. Palmer, on the 16th, was brought up for final judgment. Execution was ordered to follow the sentence, and at five o’clock in the same afternoon, at a place called the Sand-pits, these three martyrs were fastened to a stake. After devoutly praying together, they sang the 31st psalm. Two popish priests now assailed them, exhorting them to recant, and save their souls; but Palmer called upon the people to pray for them that they might persevere to the end, and for Christ’s sake to beware of popish teachers. As he spake this, a servant of one of the bailiffs threw a fagot at his face with such violence, that the blood gushed from several parts, but the sheriff struck the offender down with his staff. When the fire was kindled, and it had seized their bodies, without an appearance of enduring pain, they continued to cry, Lord Jesus, strengthen us! Lord Jesus, receive our souls! till animation was suspended and human suffering was past. It is remarkable, that, when their heads had fallen together in a mass as it were by the force of the flames, and the spectators thought Palmer was lifeless, his tongue and lips again moved, and were heard to pro-

nounce the name of Jesus, to whom be glory and honour for ever!

CHAP. II.

Dreadful Execution in Guernsey.

This narrative may almost claim to be unparalleled in the history of the executions under this reign. It is connected with the following circumstances, which led to it. May 17, 1556, at St. Peter’s Port, in Guernsey, a woman of the name of Gosset having purloined a silver cup from the house of a Mr. Le Couronné, took it to Mrs. Perotine Massey, a respectable woman, and asked to borrow a trifle on the pledge. Perotine gave her what she asked, and knowing the owner, made the latter acquainted with the affair, in consequence of which Gosset was apprehended, and doomed to the pillory, and the loss of her ear. Mrs. Massey, who at that time lived with her mother Catharine Cauches, and her sister Guillemine Gilbert, was summoned before the magistrate on account of some pewter vessels found in her house, but cleared of all imputation of misconduct; but this inquiry led from temporal to spiritual concerns, and it being found that the three women had not attended church, the justices wrote a statement of this to the dean and curate of the said island. Being again brought by order of the justices before them, they confessed themselves willing to be compliant with the ordinances and commandments of the church, though different from what they were under Edward VI. whose laws they had already assented to. Being remanded to prison, the 13th of July, they were condemned, by the dean and the civil power, to be burnt as heretics; from which sentence these poor unfortunate in vain appealed, on the ground that they had not been informed who was their accusers, and that they professed themselves willing to yield all due obedience to the laws then in being.

The day of execution having arrived, three stakes were erected; the middle post was assigned to the mother, the eldest daughter on her right hand, and the younger on the left. They were strangled previous to burning, but the rope breaking before they were dead, the
poor women fell into the fire. Perotine, at the time of her inhuman sentence, was largely pregnant, and now, falling on her side upon the flaming fagots, presented a singular spectacle of horror!—'Torn open by the tremendous pangs she endured, she was delivered of a fine male child, which was rescued from its burning bed by the humanity of one W. House, who tenderly laid it on the grass. The infant was taken to the provost, and by him presented to the bailiff, when the inhuman monster, decreed it to be recast into the fire, that it might perish with its heretical mother! Thus was this innocent baptized in its own blood, to make up the very climax of Romish barbarity; being born and dying at the same time a martyr; and realizing again the days of Herodian cruelty, with circumstances of bigoted malice unknown even to that execrable murderer.

The brother of these poor sufferers, with others of the inhabitants of Guernsey, afterward petitioned queen Elizabeth, and, upon investigation in 1562, the dean was committed to prison, and dispossessed of his livings; but afterward he and his coadjutors were mercifully pardoned, upon a slight acknowledgment.

Their execution took place, July 18, 1556. On the same day were burnt at Grinstead, in Sussex, Thomas Dungate, John Foreman, and Mother Tree; who patiently abided death and torments for the sake of their faith in Christ.

June 26, 1556, at Leicester, was executed Thomas Moor, a servant, aged 24 years, who was taken up for saying that his Saviour was in Paradise, and not in the popish paste or wafer. He was finally examined in St. Margaret's church, Leicester, and suffered the sentence of persecution every where doomed to those who renounced the Roman antichrist.

CHAP. III.

Joan Waste.

THis poor honest woman, blind from her birth, and unmarried, aged 22, was of the parish of Allhallows, Derby. Her father was a barber, and also made ropes for a living: in which she assisted him, and also learned to knit several articles of apparel. Refusing to communicate with those who maintained doctrines contrary to those she had learned in the days of pious Edward, she was called before Dr. Draicot, the chancellor of bishop Blaine, and Peter Finch, official of Derby.

With sophistical arguments and threats they endeavoured to confound the poor girl; but she proffered to yield to the bishop's doctrine, if he would answer for her at the day of judgment, (as pious Dr. Taylor had done in his sermons) that his belief of the real presence in the sacrament was true. The bishop at first answered that he would; but Dr. Draicot reminding him that he might not in any way answer for a heretic, he withdrew his confirmation of his own tenets; and she replied, that if their consciences would not permit them to answer at God's bar for that truth they wished her to subscribe to, she would answer no more questions. Sentence was then adjudged, and Dr. Draicot appointed to preach her condemned sermon, which took place Aug. 1, 1556, the day of her martyrdom. His fulminating discourse being finished, the poor sightless object was taken to a place called Windmill Pitt, near the town, where she for a time held her brother by the hand, and then prepared herself for the fire, calling upon the pitying multitude to pray with her, and upon Christ to have mercy upon her, till the glorious light of the everlasting Sun of Righteousness beamed upon her departed spirit.

Sept. 8, 1556, Edward Sharp, aged 40, was condemned at Bristol. Sept. 24, Thomas Ravendale, a currier, and John Hart, suffered at Mayfield, in Essex; and on the day following, a young man, a carpenter, died at Bristol with joyous constancy. Sept. 27, John Horn and a female martyr suffered at Wooton-under-Edge, Gloucestershire, professing their abjuration of popery.

While speaking of the persecutions in Gloucestershire, we cannot omit an act of singular barbarity which took place at Wooton-under-Edge. William Dangerfield was compelled to leave his wife on account of his faith. On the 4th day after her delivery of their tenth child, conjugal tenderness induced him to visit her and his family privately; this was no sooner known, than he was apprehended, put into jail, and by Dr. Brooks's order fettered in the heaviest chains. The poor woman with her infant was in a few days sent to the felon
side of the prison, and endured, from want and cold, the greatest hardships. While this pious couple was separated, the bishop informed Dangerfield that his wife had recanted; seduced by which misrepresentation, he promised to do the same, and upon this was admitted to see his wife; but the truth was soon made known, and he laid his wife's severe reproaches for his wavering conduct so much to heart, that he died in his way home, after three months' imprisonment. Joan still remained for examination, and when called up for that purpose, her answers not pleasing the bishop, she was ordered back to her dungeon; where the child, pining for want of nutriment and warmth, was sent away, and shortly after died. The mother perished from the same cause soon after liberation. Mr. Dangerfield's aged mother had died of distress during her son's imprisonment, and the eight orphans were thrown unprotected on the world.

We shall follow this article by a similar one of unmerited suffering, which terminated in the death of those proscribed.

Dunning, bishop of Norwich, and Harpsfield, archdeacon of Canterbury, were inferior in severity only to Gardiner and Bonner. In November, fifteen martyrs were imprisoned in Canterbury castle, of whom all were either burnt or famished. Among the latter were J. Clark, D. Chittenden, W. Foster, of Stone, Alice Potkins, and J. Archer, of Cranbrooke, weaver. The two first of these had not received condemnation, but the others were sentenced to the fire. Foster, at his examination, observed, upon the utility of carrying lighted candles about on Candlemas-day, that he might as well carry a pitch-fork; and that a gibbet would have as good an effect as the cross.—It is equally immaterial in the eye of Mercy, whether their lives were taken at the stake, or fell a prey to the slow consuming gnawings of hunger. Such was the miserable end of these poor martyrs, who wrote a statement of their wretched treatment, and threw it out of the castle window, whence the cause of their escaping the fire became known.

The months of September, November, and December, were fatal also to many of the pious reformed in the district of Litchfield and Co-

ventry, through the fanaticism of those inquisituous zealots, Dr. Blaine, bishop of Leicester, and his chancellor Dr. Draicot. The popish method of bearing a fagot, candles, and beads, about in procession, was adjudged to nine persons; eleven ministers were deprived of their livings; and a considerable number examined on suspicion, and temporary injunctions awarded.

Sir John Cheeke, formerly schoolmaster to King Edward, had flown to Germany for safety; but accompanying Sir Peter Carew to Brussels, to see the queen's ambassador, under a passport for safety, he was seized, bound in a cart, and shipped blindfolded for London, where he was accused of heresy, thrown into the Tower, and saved his life by recantation for a short time only, for he died not long after of a broken repenting heart.

We have now brought to a close the sanguinary proscriptions of the merciless Mary in the year 1556, the number of which amounted to above eighty-four!

CHAP. IV.

The beginning of the year 1557 was remarkable for the visit of Cardinal Pole to the University of Cambridge, which seemed to stand in need of much cleansing from heretical preachers and reformed doctrines. One object was also to play the popish farce of trying Martin Bucer and Paulus Phagus, who had been buried about three or four years; for which purpose the churches of St. Mary and St. Michael, where they lay, were interdicted as vile and unholy places, unfit to worship God in until they were perfumed and washed with the Pope's holy water, &c. &c. The trumpery act of citing these dead reformers to appear not having had the least effect upon them, on Jan. 26, sentence of condemnation was passed, part of which ran in this manner, and may serve as a specimen of proceedings of this nature:—"We therefore pronounce the said Martin Bucer and Paulus Phagus excommunicated and anathematized, as well by the common law, as by letters of process; and that their memory be condemned, we also condemn their bodies and bones (which in that wicked time of schism, and other here-
sics flourishing in this kingdom, were rashly buried in holy ground) to be dug up, and cast far from the bodies and bones of the faithful, according to the holy canons; and we command that they and their writings, if any be there found, be publicly burnt; and we interdict all persons whatsoever of this university, town, or places adjacent, who shall read or conceal their heretical books, as well by the common law, as by our letters of process."

After the sentence thus read, the bishop commanded their bodies to be dug out of their graves, and being degraded from holy orders, delivered them into the hands of the secular power; for it was not lawful for such innocent persons as they were, abhorring all bloodshed, and detesting all desire of murder, to put any man to death.

Feb. 6, the bodies, enclosed as they were in chests, were carried into the midst of the market place at Cambridge, accompanied by a vast concourse of people. A great post was set fast in the ground, to which the chests were affixed with a large iron chain, and bound round their centres, in the same manner as if the dead bodies had been alive. When the fire began to ascend, and caught the coffins, a number of condemned books was also launched into the flames, and burnt. Justice, however, was done to the memories of these pious and learned men in queen Elizabeth's reign, when Mr. Ackworth, orator of the university, and Mr. J. Pilkington, pronounced orations in honour of their memory, and in reprobation of their Catholic persecutors.

Cardinal Pole also inflicted his harmless rage upon the dead body of Peter Martyr's wife, who, by his command, was dug out of her grave, and buried on a distant dunghill, partly because her bones lay near St. Frideswide's relics, held once in great esteem in that college, and partly because he wished to purify Oxford of heretical remains as well as Cambridge. In the succeeding reign, however, her remains were restored to their former cemetery, and even intermingled with those of the Catholic saint, to the utter astonishment and mortification of the disciples of his holiness the pope.

Cardinal Pole published a list of fifty-four Articles, containing instructions to the clergy of his diocese of Canterbury, some of which are too ludicrous and puerile to excite any other sentiment than laughter in these days.

CHAP. V.

PERSECUTIONS IN THE DIOCESE OF CANTERBURY.

We have before mentioned that fifteen were imprisoned in the castle of Canterbury, five of whom perished of hunger. We now proceed to the account of the other ten; whose names were—J. Philpot, M. Bradbridge, N. Final, all of Tenterden; W. Waterer and T. Stephens, of Beddington; J. Kempe, of Norgate; W. Hay, of Hethe; T. Hudson, of Saleenge; W. Lowick, of Cranbrooke; and W. Prowting, of Thornham. Of these, Kempe, Waterer, Prowting, Lowick, Hudson, and Hay, were burnt at Canterbury, January 15, 1557: Stephens and Philpot at Wye, about the same time; and Final and Bradbridge at Ashford, on the 16th. They were steadfast and immovable in the faith.

In the month of February was published a severe proclamation, enforcing domestic visits in search of books and writings; and ordering all persons to be sought for, suspected of absenting themselves from idolatrous worship, and, upon the examinations only of three commissioners, to consign them to ecclesiastical jurisdiction, or, in other words, to the flames. Deeply awful and humbled at this time must have appeared the prospects of the followers of the gospel, when a species of persecution was about to be revived, partaking of all the worst fulminations issued against the primitive martyrs. Had these mandates continued in force for a succession of years, what might have been the result, it would perhaps be desponding to say; but He who governs all had determined that his faithful church should not perish, but rise more glorious from its abject state, and the posterity of those who had watered it with their blood enjoy its high privileges, undismayed and undisturbed. Doubtless, if the souls of just men made perfect contemplate the events which have succeeded their martyrdom, the Redeemer has amply rewarded them, in the picture of the fallen state of modern Rome, now contemptible and power
less—to which change they gloriously contributed, by laying the axe to the root of its false doctrine.

The first fruit that followed this sanguinary proclamation was the apprehension of twenty-three prisoners in Essex. The new authority gave them full scope to indulge their inclinations, and the prisons began to be glazed with the denounced and proscribed. Of the above number, one escaped; the remainder, fourteen men and eight women, were marched up to London, the people all the way praying to God to strengthen and deliver them. Before entering the city, they were pinioned, and in that state committed to prison. Their honourable names were as follow:—R. Coleman, of Waldon, labourer; Joan Winesley, of Horsley Magna, spinner; S. Glover, of Rayley; R. Clerke, of Much Holland, mariner; W. Munt, of Much Bentley, Sawyer; Marg. Field, of Ramsey, spinner; R. Bongor, currier; R. Jolley, mariner; Allen Simpson, Helen Ewing, C. Pepper, widow; Alice Walley, (who recanted;) W. Bongor, glazier; all of Colchester; R. Atkin, of Halstead, weaver; R. Barcock, of Wilton, carpenter; R. George, of Westbarthoult, labourer; R. Debnam, of Debenham, weaver; C. Warren, of Cockshall, spinner; Agnes Whitlock, of Dover-court, spinner; Rose Allen, spinner; and T. Ferrens, minor; both of Colchester. These persons were brought before Bonner, who would have immediately sent them to execution, but Cardinal Pole was for more merciful measures, and Bonner, in a letter of his to the cardinal, seems to be sensible that he had displeased him, for he has this expression,—“I thought to have them all hither to Fulham, and to have given sentence against them; nevertheless, perceiving by my last doing that your grace was offended, I thought it my duty, before I proceeded farther, to inform your grace.” This circumstance verifies the account that the cardinal was a humane man; and though a zealous catholic, we, as protestants, are willing to render him that honour which his merciful character deserves. Some of the bitter persecutors denounced him to the pope as a favourer of heretics, and he was summoned to Rome, but queen Mary, by particular entreaty, procured his stay. However, before his latter end, and a little before his last journey from Rome to England, he was strongly suspected of favouring the doctrine of Luther.

But to return to the martyrs, who, after making confession of their faith, drew up a supplication to the judges, requiring that judgment might be given upon them according to the rule of God’s word. This availed little with such men as Bonner; but, with the cardinal and other temperate persons, it was adjudged more humane, as well as political, not to carry the law to its most destructive extent against such a number, but rather to accept a qualified submission, and let them for the present escape. Those who afterward suffered, we shall speak of as they occur.

T. Loseby, H. Ramsey, T. Thirlest, Margaret Hide, and Agnes Stanley.

These persons, accused of absenting themselves from church, were sent up by Lord Rich and other justices to the London slaughter-house, and Jan. 27, were examined before Dr. Darbyshire, Bonner’s chancellor. May 6, they were re-examined, as well as on April 1; and on the 3d, Bonner, finding their constancy not to be shaken, proceeded to sentence. The bishop first called for Loseby, in reading whose articles and answers, when mention was made of the sacrament of the altar, he put off his cap: which induced Loseby to say, “My Lord, when you think proper to pull off your cap, I think it proper to put on mine;” which he immediately did, by which he meant no irreverence to the sacrament, but to that idolatrous transubstantiation which the blind catholics held to be essential to salvation. In like manner, all these martyrs were successively called up, condemned, and delivered over to the sheriffs of London: who, April 12, 1557, conducted them to Smithfield, there to exchange a temporal life for a life eternal with him for whose sake and truth they perished.

W. Morant, S. Gratwick, and —— King.

In May following these three martyrs suffered in St. George’s Fields, Southwark. The case of Gratwick was unjust and irregular. He was summoned before Dr. White, bishop of Winchester, in St. George’s church, and ordered to reply to certain articles; which he dissented from, alleging that the bishop was
not his ordinary, as he (Gratwick) dwelt at Brighthelmstone, in the diocese of the bishop of Chichester. At this juncture entered the bishop of Rochester, and the archdeacon of Canterbury, who jocularly communed together, and then informed him that his own ordinary would soon be present. A person hired by them to counterfeit the real bishop then appeared, who interrogated him a little, and left the rest to the bishop of Winchester, who was in point of argument fairly silenced by his opponent. The bishop now reproached him with glorying in his replies; “by which (said he) you encourage the heresies of the numerous bystanders; therefore let any one (continued the bishop) dare now to exclaim, ‘God strengthen thee!’ as they did last Sunday at St. Mary Overy’s when you reproved me, and I will take care that he shall die the death that thou shalt die!” The counterfeit ordinary now awoke, as from a doze, and said, Read the articles again, and we will take him upon his own words, ‘That which I have said I have said.’ Winchester then said, these words were enough to condemn him, and was proceeding to the Latin condemnation, when a gentleman stepped up, and bid him be cautious of what he did, as he was not legally condemned either by the temporal or spiritual law, inasmuch as he was not sentenced upon written articles, but merely objections of their own making. Nothing however availed; the condemnation was completed, and Gratwick led away to the Marshalsea, to be bound in irons. The bishop highly praised his talents, his knowledge, and person; but the cloven foot of apostacy was palpable to the discernment of Gratwick, who was not to be won from the faith by any worldly inducements. He suffered, like a true disciple of Christ, in company with Morant and King.

CHAP. VI.

EXECUTIONS IN KENT.

Armed with the fiery proclamation, Thornton, suffragan of Dover, and the archdeacon of Canterbury, determined to render themselves more the favourites of the queen, by plunging deeper into the bath of blood. The following seven were arraigned for heresy; Joan Bradbridge, of Staplehurst; W. Appleby, Petronella his wife, and the wife of John Manning, of Maidstone; E. Allin, and his wife Catherine, of Freytenden; and Elizabeth ——, a blind maiden. Their interrogations and condemnations contain nothing more than the usual routine of these religious murders, except Allin; of whom we shall say a few words in honour of his memory. He was a miller, and in a dear year, by selling his corn cheap, he relieved the starving poor, and not only gave them temporal but spiritual bread. John Taylor, parson of Freytenden, committed him and his wife, who, after a time being enlarged, went to Calais, where his conscience accusing him of timidity, and warning him that God had work for him to do in England, he and his wife returned. The sexton soon informed the priest that they did not attend mass, and hence they were committed to jail at Maidstone, an inventory taken of their effects, and himself brought before Sir John Baker, who was but a child in the hands of this scripture-learned layman. To the questions put to him, Who gave him authority to preach, or made him a priest, and whether he did not believe that a priest could bind and remit sins? he replied, “I am persuaded that God has given me authority to do the first. Why are we called Christians, if we do not follow Christ, read his law, and interpret it to those who have less understanding? Shall the scholar be inhibited to preach his precepts? Did not Christ, at twelve years of age, dispute with the Doctors, and interpret the prophet Isaiah? Who gave him a license or degree? Adam was licensed of God, and Abraham was commanded to teach his posterity. Shall ignorance, which is condemned in all sciences, be practised among Christians! Doth not St. Paul expressly forbid any man’s spirit to be quenched? and does he prohibit any man that hath these gifts from the practice of them? Now to the last question, I reply, my sin bindeth me, and my repentance looseth. God only forgives sin, and not the priest. If any be loosed from his sin by exhortation, I am said to loose him; and if he persevere in sin, notwithstanding my exhortation, I am said to bind him. Thus Christ saith, ‘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 sins 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.”

Allin was put in the stocks that night, and some advised him to compromise a little, and go for the form’s sake to mass, which he did next day; but, just before the sacring, as it is termed, he went into the churchyard, and so reasoned with himself upon the absurdity of transubstantiation, that he staid away, and was soon after brought again before Sir John Baker, and condemned for heresy. He was burnt with the six before mentioned at Maidstone, the 18th of June, 1557.

As in the last sacrifice four women did honour to the truth, so in the following auto-de-fe we have the like number of females and males, who suffered June 30, 1557, at Canterbury, and were J. Fishcock, N. White, N. Pardue, Barbara Final, widow; Bradbridge’s widow; Wilson’s wife; and Benden’s wife.

Of this groupe we shall more particularly notice Alice Benden, wife of Edward Benden, of Staplehurst, Kent. She had been taken up in Oct. 1556, for non-attendance, and released upon a strong injunction to mind her conduct. Her husband was a bigoted catholic, and publicly speaking of his wife’s contumacy, she was conveyed to Canterbury castle, where knowing, when she should be removed to the bishop’s prison, she should be almost starved upon three farthings a day, she endeavoured to prepare herself for this suffering by living upon two-pence halfpenny per day.—Jan. 22, 1557, her husband wrote to the bishop, that if his wife’s brother, Roger Hall, were to be kept from consoling and relieving her, she might turn; on this account, she was moved to a prison called Monday’s hole; her brother sought diligently for her, and at the end of five weeks providentially heard her voice in the dungeon, but could no otherwise relieve her than by putting some money in a loaf, and sticking it on a long pole. Dreadful must have been the situation of this poor victim, lying on straw, between stone walls, without a change of apparel, or the meanest requisites of cleanliness, during a period of nine weeks!

March 25, she was summoned before the bishop, who, with rewards, offered her liberty, if she would go home, and be comfortable; but Mrs. Benden had been inured to suffering, and, showing him her contracted limbs and emaciated appearance, refused to swerve from the truth. She was however removed from this Black Hole to the West gate, whence, about the end of April, she was taken out to be condemned, and then committed to the castle prison till the 19th of June, the day of her burning. At the stake, she gave her handkerchief to one John Banks, as a memorial; and from her waist she drew a white lace, desiring him to give it her brother, and tell him, it was the last band that had bound her, except the chain; and to her father she returned a shilling he had sent her.

The whole of these seven martyrs undressed themselves with alacrity, and, being prepared, knelt down, and prayed with an earnestness and Christian spirit that even the enemies of the Cross were affected. After invocation made together, they were secured to the stake, and, being encompassed with the unsparing flames, they yielded their souls into the hands of the living Lord.

Matthew Plaise, weaver, a sincere and shrewd Christian, of Stone, Kent, was brought before Thomas, bishop of Dover, and other inquisitors, whom he ingeniously teased by his indirect answers, of which the following is a specimen.

Dr. Harpsfield. Christ called the bread his body; what dost thou say it is?

Plaise. I do believe it was that which he gave them.

Dr. H. What was that?
P. That which he brake.

Dr. H. What did he break?
P. That which he took.

Dr. H. What did he take?
P. The text saith, “He took bread.”

Dr. H. Well, then, thou sayest it was but bread which the disciples did eat.
P. I say, what he gave them, that did they eat indeed.

A very long disputation followed, in which Plaise was desired to humble himself to the bishop; but this he refused. Whether this zealous person died in prison, was executed, or delivered, history does not mention.
**HISTORY OF THE MARTYRS.**

**CHAP. VII.**

**EXECUTION OF TEN MARTYRS AT LEWES.**

Again we have to record the wholesale sacrifice of Christ's little flock, of whom five were women. On the 22d of June, 1557, the town of Lewes beheld ten persons doomed to perish by fire and persecution. The names of these worthies were, Richard Woodman; G. Stephens, W. Mainard, Alex. Hosman, and Thomasin Wood, servants; Margery Morris, and James Morris, her son; Dennis Burges, Ashdon's wife, and Grove's wife. Mr. Richard Woodman was an iron-founder, aged 30, of Warbleton, Sussex, in the diocese of Chichester. He was apprehended for publicly rebuking a priest named Fairbanke, the curate of his parish. This man in Edward's time was married, and promoted the reformation, but upon the accession of Mary preached the opposite doctrine. But, as Mr. Woodman has very affecting himself written an account of his treatment, and as it may illustrate the conduct used to many other servants of Christ, the minutiae of which our limits will not permit us to enter into, we shall briefly give his own memoir upon the subject.

**Gentle Reader,**

You will here perceive how the Scriptures be partly fulfilled on me, being one of the least of these poor lambs. First, you shall understand, that since I was delivered out of the bishop of London's hands in the year 1555, and the same day that Mr. Philpot was burned, which was the 18th of December, I lay in his Coal-house eight weeks, wanting one day: and before that I was almost a year and a half in the King's Bench after my first apprehension, for reproving a preacher in the pulpit, in the parish of Warbleton, where I dwelt. Wherefore I was at two sessions before I was sent to prison, twice before the bishop of Chichester, and five times before commissioners: and then sent to Bonner's Coal-house, and many times called before him, as it appeareth by my examinations which I wrote.

And it pleased God to deliver me, with four more, out of the butcher's hands, requiring nothing else of us, but that we should be honest men and members of the true Catholic church, that was built upon the prophets and apostles, Christ being the head of the true church; to which we all affirmed, that we were members of the true church, and purposed, by God's help, therein to die. And hereupon we were delivered; but he ordered us many times to speak good of him. And no doubt he was worthy to be praised, because he had been so faithful an aid to his master the devil's business; for he had burnt good Mr. Philpot the same morning, in whose blood his heart was so drunken (as I supposed) that he could not tell what he did, as it appeared to us both before and after. For but two days before he promised us that we should be condemned that same day that we were delivered; yea, and the morning after he had delivered us, he sought for some of us again, yea, and that earnestly.

After I was delivered, the papists said, that I had consented to them, whereof they made themselves glad; which was the least part of my thoughts, (I praise God for it,) as they well perceived, and knew the contrary in a short time. For I went from parish to parish, and talked with them, to the number of thirteen or fourteen, and that of the chiefest in all the country; and I angered them so much, that they, with the commissioners, complained of me to the lord chamberlain that was, then to the queen; Sir John Gage showing him that I baptized children, and married people, with many such lies, to bring me into their hands again.

A few days after, my lord sent three of his men to me, whose names were Dean, Jeffrey, and Francis. I being at plough with my folks, right in the way as they were coming to my house, least mistrusting them of all others, came and spake to them, asking them how they did; and they said they arrested me in the name of the king and queen, and that I must go with them to their master the lord chamberlain; which words made my flesh to tremble and quake, being suddenly surprised. But I answered them that I would go with them. Yet I desired them that they would go with me to my house, that I might break my fast, and put on some other apparel; and they said I should. Then I remembered myself, and said in my heart, Why am I thus afraid? they can lay no evil to my charge. I remembered how I was willing gladly before to die in that quarrel, and so had continued ever
since; and should I now fear to die? God forbid; for then were all my labour vain.

So by and by I was persuaded, I praise God, considering it was but the frailty of my flesh, which was loath to forego my wife and children and goods: for I saw nothing but present death before mine eyes. And as soon as I had determined in my mind to die, I had regard to nothing in this world, but I was as merry and as joyful, I praise God, as ever I was. This agitation lasted not a quarter of an hour; but it was sharper than death itself for the time it lasted.

So after I had my breakfast, I desired them to show me their warrant. And one of them answered, they had not their warrant there. Which words made me astonished, and it was put into my mind by God, that I need not go with them, unless they had their warrant. Then said I to them, It seemeth to me that you come of your own mind to get thanks of your master; wherefore set your hearts at rest, I will not go with you, unless you carry me by force, and if you will do so be it at your peril. And so I rose from the table, and stepped into my chamber, meaning to go from them if I could possibly, seeing God had made the way so open for me. I meant to play Peter’s part with them, but God would not it should be so, but sent a fear among them, that as soon as I was gone into my chamber, before I could come out again, they were gone out of my house.

When I saw that, I knew it was God’s doing to set me at liberty once again. Yet I was compelled to speak to them, and said, if you have a warrant, I desire you for God’s sake to show it me, and I will go with you with all my heart: if not, I desire you in God’s peace and the king’s to depart; for surely I will not go along with you without the order of the law; for I have been too simple in such things already. For before I was sent to prison first, I met the justices at two sessions without any warrant or commandment, but had word by one of their men, and I went justly to them, and they sent me to prison, and kept me there almost a year and three quarters, without all right or equity, as it is openly known, not hearing my cause gently debated. And it seemeth strange to me that I should be thus evil handled; and therefore I will go to none of them at all henceforth, without the extremity of the law.

Then one of them answered me, and said, We have not the warrant here, but it is at home at my house; the worst is, you can but make us fetch it. So I shut my door, and went my way out at the other door. So they got help to watch my house, whilst one of them fetched the constable and many more, thinking to have carried me away with a license; but, as God would have it, I was gone before. Notwithstanding, they sought every corner of my house, but to no purpose. I suspected they would search it that night again, and kept myself abroad; and indeed there came seven of his men, and the constable, and searched my house. And when they found that they could not meet with me, they were ready to rend their clothes, that I had so escaped them, knowing that they should have a check from their master. When I heard that they had so sought for me again, I, perceiving that they were greedy of their prey, came home, and my wife told me all things.

Then I supposed they would search all the country for me, and the sea-coast, because I should not go over, and then I thought that they would not imagine that I would dare to be near home. So I told my wife that I would take my lodging in a wood near my house, as indeed I did, even under a tree, and there had my Bible, my pen and ink, and other necessaries, and there I continued six or seven weeks, my wife bringing me meat daily as I had need. Yea, I thought myself blessed of God, that I was counted worthy to lie in the woods for the name of Christ. Then there came word into the country that I was seen and spoken with in Flanders; whereupon they left lying in wait for me: for they had sought all the country for me, and the sea-coast from Portsmouth to Dover, even as God put it in my mind they would.

So when all was hushed, I went abroad among our friends and brethren, and at length I went beyond the sea both in Flanders and France; but I thought every day seven years whilst I was there; so I came home again, as soon as it was possible. I was there but three weeks, before the priests of Baal discovered me, who procured warrants out against me, causing my house to be searched sometimes twice in a week. This continued from St. James’s tide to the first Sunday in Lent. Sometimes I went privily, at other times
openly; sometimes I went from home a fortnight or three weeks together, living there most commonly and openly, about my ordinary business, and yet all mine enemies could lay no hands on me, till the hour was fully come: and then by the voice of the country, and by manifest proofs, mine own brother as concerning the flesh, delivered me into their hands, because he knew that I was at home.

My father and he had as much of my effects in their hands as would produce £56 a year clear. It was a lordship and an honour, and half an honour that I had delivered into their hands to pay my debts, and the rest to remain with my wife and children. But they had reported that it would not pay my debts; which grieved me sore, for it was £200 better than the goods came to; which caused me to speak to some of my friends, that they would speak to them to come to some sort of reckoning with me, and to take all such money again of me as they were charged with, and to deliver to me such writings and writs as they had of mine again, or to whom I should appoint them.

So it was agreed betwixt my father and me, that I should have it again, and the day was appointed that the reckoning should be made and sent to me the same day that I was taken; my brother supposing that I should have put him out of most of all that he possessed; for it was all mine, in a manner, that he occupied, as all the country can and do well know. Whereupon (as it is reported) he told one Cardilla, my next neighbour, and some of Mr. Gage’s men, or Mr. Gage himself: and so he sent to his brother, and his brother sent twelve of his men (he being sheriff) in the night before I was taken, who lay in the bushes near my house, till about nine o’clock, even the hour that was appointed among themselves; for about the same time they thought to have had me within my house.

They had taken a man of mine and two of my children that were abroad on the land, and kept them with them till their hour was appointed to come in; and then a little girl, one of my children, saw them come together, and came running in, and cried, Mother, mother, yonder comes twenty men. I sitting in my bed, and making of shoe-thongs, heard the words, and suspecting straightway that I was betrayed, I put on my hose, thinking to have gone out of the door before they came. My wife, being amazed at the child’s words, looked out at the door, and they were by. Then she clapped to the door, and barred it fast, even as I came out of my chamber into the hall, and barred the other. They immediately beset the house, and commanded the doors to be opened, or they would break them in pieces.

Then I had no shift, but I must either show myself openly or take some other remedy.

So there was a certain place in my house which was never found out, and which was, at the least, I dare say, searched twenty times, and sometimes almost by twenty men at once, into which place I went. And then my wife opened the door, and they came in. So she lighted a candle, and they sought up and down in every corner that they could find, and had given over, and many of them had gone out of my house into the churchyard, and there talked with my father and with some he had brought with him.

Now when they could not find me, one of them went to my brother who informed them I was at home, and said, we cannot find him. Then he asked them whether they had sought over a window that was in the hall, (as it was known afterward,) for that same place I had told him of myself. For many times when I came home, I would send for him to bear me company; yet as it chanced, I had not told him the way into it. Then they began to search anew. One looked up over the window, and spied a little loft, with three or four chests, and the way went in between two of the chests, but no man could perceive it. Then he asked my wife which was the way into it, saying, here is a place that we have not sought yet. When she thought they would see it by one means or other, she said, the way into it was out of the chamber they were in even now. So she sent them up, and cried, Away, away. Then I knew there was no remedy, but made the best shift for myself that I could. The place was boarded over, and fast nailed; and if I had come out the way that I went in, I must needs come out among them all in the hall. Then I had no shift, but set my shoulders to the boards that were nailed to the rafters to keep out the rain, and brake them in pieces, which made a great noise; and they that were in the other chamber, seeing the way into it, heard
the noise, and looked out of a window, and spied out me, and made an outcry. But yet I got out, and leaped down, having no shoes on. So I took down a lane that was full of sharp cinders, and they came running after with a great cry, with their swords drawn, crying, Strike him, strike him. Which words made me look back, and there was never a one nigh me by a hundred feet: and that was but one, for all the rest were a great way behind. And I turned about hastily to go my way, and stepped upon a great miry hole, and fell down withal, and before I could arise and get away, he was come up with me.

Then they took me and led me home again to put on my shoes, and such clothes as I had need of. At mine own door, I met with my father, who desired me to remember myself. To whom I answered, I praise God, I am well remembered whereabout I go. This way was appointed of God for me to be delivered into the hands of mine enemies, but wo unto him by whom I am betrayed. It had been good for that man that he had never been born, if he repent not with speed. The Scriptures are now fulfilled on me, "For the father shall be against the son, and the brother shall deliver the brother to death," as it is this day come to pass.

There was one George Beching that married one of my sisters, and he thought that I had meant him, that he had betrayed me; and he said, Brother, I would you should not think that I was the cause of your taking. To whom I answered, that I meant him not; I meant one that was nearer of my blood than he was. Then one from Lause said that I had been a gospeller, and stood from them when I was brought to a sessions at Lause; and he said, I thought you would have been an honest man when you were at Lause, and I offered Hussey the sheriff to be bound for you, that you should go home to your wife, and come to him again. Then I remembered what he was, and said, Be you the pewterer? And he said, Yea. Then said I, It has happened to you according to the proverb, as St. Peter saith, "The dog is turned to his vomit again, and the sow that is washed to wallow in the mire," and the end of all such will be worse than the beginning. Then his mouth was stopped, so that he had nothing to say.

All this time I stood on the outside of my door; for they would not let me go in. So I put on my shoes and my clothes; then they put a harness about my arms made of a dog's slip, which rejoiced my heart that I was counted worthy to be bound for the name of God. So I took my leave of my wife and children my father, and other of my friends, never expecting to see them any more in this world. For it was so thought by all the country, that I should not live six days after my apprehension; for they had so reported. But yet I knew it was not as they would, unless God would grant it; I know what God can do; but what he will do I know not: but I am sure he will work all things for the best to them that love and fear him. So we drank and went our way, and came to Firle about three o'clock."

It would be beyond the limits of this work to enter into all the long examinations which Mr. Woodman underwent, and in which the clearness of his head as well as the integrity of his heart were eminently conspicuous. His first examination was before Dr. Christopherson, bishop of Chichester, Dr. Story, &c. on April 12, 1557. This was followed by five others: in the last of these we shall quote Mr. Woodman's replies upon the articles of eating and drinking the Lord's body unworthily.

BISHOP. Well, how say you? will you confess that Judas received the body of Christ unworthily? Tell me plainly.

WOON. My lord, if you, or any of you all, can prove before all this audience, in all the Bible, that any man ever ate the body of Christ unworthily, then I will be with you in all things that you will demand of me; of which matter I desire all this people to be witness.

PRIEST. Will you so? Then we shall agree well enough: St. Paul saith so.

W. I pray you where saith he so? Rehearse the words.

P. In the 11th chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians, St. Paul saith, "Whoso eateth of this bread, and drinketh of this cup unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own damnation, because he makes no difference of the Lord's body."

W. Do these words prove that Judas ate the body of Christ unworthily? I pray you let me see them. They were contented. Then said I, these be the words even that you said: good people, hearken well to them: "Whoso
I am no heretic: I take heaven and earth to witness, I defy all heretics, and if you condemn me, you will be damned, if you repent not. But God give you all grace to repent, if it be his will; and so he read forth the sentence in Latin, but what he said, God knoweth, and not I. God be judge between them and me. When he had done, I would have talked my mind to them, but they cried, Away with him. So I was carried to the Marshalsea again, where I am, and shall be as long as it shall please God; and I praise God most heartily, that ever he hath elected and predestinated me to come to such high dignity, as to bear rebuke for his name's sake; his name be praised therefore, for ever and ever. Amen.

Throughout all the examinations of this blessed Mr. Woodman, or rather Goodman, will appear not only the great grace and wisdom of God in that man, but also the gross ignorance and barbarous cruelty of his adversaries, especially of Dr. White, bishop of Winchester.

The following letter we are induced to give largely, not only on account of its genuine piety, but also for the edification of every good Christian.

From Mr. Woodman to Mrs. Roberts, of Hawkhurst.

Grace, mercy, and peace, from God the Father, and from his Son our only Saviour Jesus Christ, by the operation of the Holy Ghost, be multiplied plenteously upon you, dear sister Roberts, that you may the more joyfully bear the cross of Christ that you are under, unto the end, to your only comfort and consolation, and to all our brethren and sisters that are round about you, both now and ever. Amen.

In my most humble wise I commend me unto you, and to all our brethren and sisters in those parts, that love our Lord unfeignedly, certify you, that I and all my brethren with me are merry and joyful, we praise God, looking daily to be dissolved from these our mortal bodies, according to the good pleasure of our heavenly Father, praising God also for your constancy and gentle benevolence, that you have showed unto God's elect people, in this troublesome time of persecution, which may be a sure pledge and token of God's good will and favour towards you, and to all others that hear thereof. For blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy. Wherefore the fruits declare always what the tree is; for a good man or woman, out of the good treasure of their heart, brings forth good things.

Wherefore, dear sister, it is not as many affirm in these days (the more to be lamented) that say, God asketh but a man's heart; which is the highest injury that can be devised against God and his word. For St. James saith, Show me thy faith without deeds, and I will show thee my faith by my deeds; saying, the devils believe and tremble with fear, and yet shall be but devils still, because their minds were never to do good. Let us not therefore be like them, but let our faith be made manifest to the whole world by our deeds, and in the midst of a crooked and perverse nation, as St. Paul saith, let our light shine as in a dark place.

O dear hearts, now is the gospel of God overwhelmed with many black and troublesome clouds of persecution, for which cause very few go about to have their eyes made clear by the true light of the gospel, for fear of losing their treasures of this world, which are but vain, and shall perish.

Let not us therefore be like unto them who light their candle, and put it under a bushel; but let us set our candle upon a candlestick, that it may give light unto all them that are in the house; that is to say, let all the people of the household of God see our good works, in
suffering all things patiently that shall be laid upon us for the gospel’s sake, if it be death itself. For Christ died for us, leaving us an example, that we should follow his steps; and as he hath given his life for us, so ought we to give our lives for the defence of the gospel, to the comfort of our brethren.

Now is the Lord come with his feet in his hand, to try the wheat from the chaff. The wheat will be gathered into his barn, and the chaff he will burn as aforesaid. Now is the time come that we must go to meet the bridegroom with lamps. We are also bidden to the feast, let us make no excuses. Yea, our master hath delivered his talents unto us, God give us grace to occupy them well, that at his coming he may receive his own with advantage. Yea, now is the Lord come to see if there be any fruit upon his trees; so that if the Lord come and find none, he will serve us as he did the wild fig-tree, that is, never fruit grow on us more; also, if we go to meet the bridegroom without oil in our lamps, and should go to buy, the doubt is, we should be served as were the foolish virgins; that was, God said to them, Depart, I know you not. Or if we would make excuses to come to the feast, others shall be bidden in our room; if we occupy not our talents well, they shall be taken from us and given to others, and all such unprofitable servants shall be cast into prison in hell, where shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.

But my trust is, that all the people of God will be ruled by the counsel of St. John, saying, My sheep will hear my voice, strangers they will not hear; meaning thereby, that ye should not believe strangers, counting them strangers that go about to subvert the gospel. Wherefore mark them well what they be, and try them well before you give credit to them, according to St. John’s counsel in his epistle, saying: Believe not every spirit, but try the spirits whether they be of God, or not; meaning thereby, that they that be not of God, will speak good of none but of them that be as they be. Wherefore, dear sister, be of good cheer, and give no credit to such people, whatsoever you hear them say. For I have no mistrust, by God’s help, but that all the world shall see and know that my blood shall not be dear in mine own sight, whensoever it shall please God to give my adversaries leave to shed it. I do earnestly believe that God, who hath begun this good work in me, will perform it to the end, as he hath given me grace, and will always, to bear this easy yoke and light burden; which I have always found, I praise my Lord God.

For when I have been in prison, wearing sometimes bolts, sometimes shackles, sometimes lying on the bare ground, sometimes sitting in the stocks, sometimes bound with cords that all my body hath been swollen, much like to be overcome with the pain that hath been in my flesh, sometimes fain to lie abroad in the woods and fields, wandering to and fro, few, I say, that durst keep my company for fear of the rulers, sometimes brought before the justices, sheriffs, lords, doctors, and bishops; sometimes called dog, sometimes devil, heretic, whoremonger, traitor, thief, deceiver, with divers others such like; yea, and even they that did eat of my bread, that should have been more my friends by nature, have betrayed me: yet for all this I praise my Lord God that hath separated me from my mother’s womb; all this that happened unto me hath been easy, light, and most delectable and joyful of any treasure that ever I possessed; for I praise God they are not able to prove one jot or tittle of their sayings true. By that way that they call heresy, I serve my Lord God, and at all times before whomsoever I have been taken, God hath given me mouth and wisdom, which all my adversaries have not been able to resist; I praise God therefore.

Wherefore, dear sister, be of good comfort, with all your brethren and sisters, and take no thought what you shall say, for it shall be given you the same hour, according to the promises, as I have always found, and as you and all other of God’s elect shall well find, when the time is full come. And whereas I and many others have hoped, that this persecution would have been at an end before this time, now I perceive God will have a further trial to root out all dissemblers, and that no man should rejoice in himself, but he that rejoiceth, shall rejoice in God.

Wherefore, if prophecy should fail, and tongues should cease, yet love must endure. For fear hath painfulness, but perfect love casteth out all fear; which love I have no mistrust but God hath poured it upon you so abundantly, that nothing in the world shall be able to separate you from God. Neither high nor
low, rich nor poor, life nor death, shall be able to put you from Christ; but by him I trust you shall enter into the new Jerusalem, there to live for ever, beholding the glory of God with the same eyes that you now have, and all other faithful people that continue to the end. Give all honour and glory to God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, three persons and one God, to be honoured now and ever. Amen.

Richard Woodman.

Thus have we brought to a conclusion the life of this zealous disciple of Christ, whose repeated examinations had no other effect than for a time to suspend his fate. The other nine persons were taken a few days only before their judgment, and suffered with Mr. Woodman at Lewes, in Sussex, June 22, 1557. Of these, eight were prematurely executed, inasmuch as the writ from London could not have arrived for their burning. A person named Ambrose died in Maidstone prison about this time.

Having in a previous page mentioned the Rev. Mr. John Hullier, we add the following particulars respecting him. He was brought up at Eton college, and in process of time became curate of Babram, three miles from Cambridge, and went afterward to Lynn; where, opposing the superstition of the papists, he was carried before Dr. Thirlby, bishop of Ely, and sent to Cambridge castle: here he lay for a time, and was then sent to the Tolbooth prison, where, after three months, he was brought to St. Mary's church, and condemned by Dr. Fuller. On Maundy Thursday he was brought to the stake: while undressing, he told the people to bear witness that he was about to suffer in a just cause, and exhorted them to believe that there was no other rock than Jesus Christ to build upon. A priest, named Boyes, then desired the mayor to silence him. After praying, he went meekly to the stake, and being bound with a chain, and placed in a pitch barrel, fire was applied to the reeds and wood; but the wind drove the fire directly to his back, which caused him under the severe agony to pray the more fervently. His friends directed the executioner to fire the pile to windward of his face, which was immediately done. A quantity of books were now thrown into the fire, one of which (the Communion Service) he caught, opened it, and joyfully continued to read in it till the fire and smoke deprived him of sight; then even, in earnest prayer, he pressed the book to his heart, thanking God for bestowing on him in his last moments this precious gift. The day being hot, the fire burnt fiercely; and at a time when the spectators supposed he was no more, he suddenly exclaimed, Lord Jesus, receive my spirit! and meekly resigned his life. He was burnt on Jesus Green, not far from Jesus college. He had gunpowder given him, but he was dead before it became ignited. This pious sufferer afforded a singular spectacle; for his flesh was so burnt from the bones, which continued erect, that he presented the idea of a skeleton figure chained to the stake. His remains were eagerly seized by the multitude, and venerated by all who admired his piety or detested inhuman bigotry.
BOOK VI.
THE HISTORY OF QUEEN MARY CONTINUED TO THE END OF THE FIFTH YEAR OF HER REIGN.

CHAP. I.

SIMON MILLER AND ELIZ. COOPER.

IN the following month of July, these two persons received the crown of martyrdom.—Miller dwelt at Lynn, and came to Norwich, where, planting himself at the door of one of the churches, as the people came out, he requested to know of them where he could go to receive the communion—For this a priest brought him before Dr. Dunning, who committed him to ward; but he was suffered to go home, and arrange his affairs; after which he returned to the bishop’s house, and to his prison, where he remained till the 13th of July, the day of his burning.

Eliz. Cooper, wife of a pewterer, of St. Andrew’s, Norwich, had recanted; but, tortured for what she had done by the worm which dieth not, she shortly after voluntarily entered her parish church during the time of the popish service, and standing up, audibly proclaimed that she revoked her former recantation, and cautioned the people to avoid her unworthy example. She was taken from her own house by Mr. Sutton the sheriff, who very reluctantly complied with the letter of the law, as they had been servants and in friendship together. At the stake, the poor sufferer, feeling the fire, uttered the cry of Oh! upon which Miller, putting his hand behind him towards her, desired her to be of good courage, “for (said he) good sister, we shall have a joyful and a sweet supper.” Encouraged by his example and exhortation, she stood the fiery ordeal without flinching, and, with him, proved the power of faith over the flesh.

EXECUTIONS AT COLCHESTER.

IT was before mentioned that twenty-two persons had been sent up from Colchester, who, upon a slight submission, were afterward released.—Of these, Wm. Munt, of Much-Bentley, husbandman, with Alice, his wife, and Rose Allin, her daughter, upon their return home, abstained from church, which induced the bigoted priest of the parish secretly to write to Bonner. For a short time they abscended, but returning again, March 7th, one Mr. Edmund Tyrrel, (a relation of the Tyrrel who murdered King Edward V. and his brother) with the officers, entered the house while Munt and his wife were in bed, and informed them that they must go to Colchester Castle. Mrs. Munt, at that time very ill, requested which for her daughter to get her some drink; leave being permitted, Rose took a candle and a mug; and in returning through the house was met by Tyrrel, who cautioned her to advise her parents to become good catholics. Rose briefly informed him that they had the Holy Ghost for their adviser; and that she was ready to lay down her own life for the same cause. Turning to his company, he remarked that she was willing to burn; and one of them told him to prove her, and see what she would do by and by. The unfeeling wretch immediately executed this project; and, seizing the young woman by the wrist, he held the lighted candle under her hand, burning it crosswise on the back, till the tendons divided from the flesh, during which he loaded her with many opprobrious epithets. She endured his rage unmoved, and then, when he had ceased the torture, she asked him to begin at her feet or head, for he need not fear that his employer would one day repay him. After this she took the drink to her mother.

This cruel act of torture does not stand alone on record. Bonner had served a poor blind harper in nearly the same manner, who
had steadily maintained a hope that if every joint of him were to be burnt, he should not fly from the faith. Bonner, upon this, privately made a signal to his men, to bring a burning coal, which they placed in the poor man’s hand, and then by force held it closed, till it burnt into the flesh deeply. But to return:—

In searching Munt’s house, John Thurston and Margaret his wife were found, and conveyed to Colchester Castle; where lay J. Johnson, of Thorp, Essex, aged 34, widower, with his three young children, all indicted for heresy.

The following lay in the Mote-hall, or town prison: Wm. Bongeor, of St. Nicholas, in Colchester; Thomas Penold, Colchester, tallow-chandler; W. Purcas, of Bocking, Essex, fuller, 20; Agnes Silverside, Colchester, widow, 70; Helen Ewring, wife of John Ewring, miller, of Colchester, 45; and Eliz. Folks, a servant, Colchester. They each underwent several examinations before sentence. Agnes Silverside thought the bread and wine was made rather worse than better by the priest’s consecration of it; and Eliz. Folks, when questioned upon the substantiality and reality of Christ’s presence in the sacrament, replied, that it was a substantial and real lie. When Chadsey pronounced sentence on the last, he shed tears, while, on the contrary, the devoted girl knelt down, and with hands and eyes lifted towards heaven, gave God thanks that she was selected as one to suffer for the testimony of Christ. This zealous young martyr the day before was examined only upon this one article, whether she believed there was a catholic church of Christ or not? to which she replied in the affirmative. Being asked nothing more, she was delivered to her uncle Holt, who took her to his house, where she might easily have escaped; but, hearing it was rumoured that she had submitted to the pope, her mind became troubled, and presenting herself before the papistical tribunal at the White-Hart inn, Colchester, she defied both them and their doctrine, whence she received the reward assigned the faithful.

Shortly after their condemnation, Bonner’s writ arrived for their execution, which was fixed for the 2d of August, 1557. About seven o’clock in the morning, the town prisoners in the Mote-hall were brought to a plot of ground on the outside of the town wall, where the stake was erected, surrounded by fagots and fuel. Having prayed, and prepared themselves for the fiery torment, Elizabeth Folks, as she was standing at the stake, received a dreadful blow on the shoulder from the stroke of a hammer, which was aimed at the staple that secured the chain. This, however, in no wise discomposed her, but, turning her head round, she continued to pray and exhort the people. Fire being put to the pile, these martyrs died amidst the prayers and commiseration of thousands who came to be witnesses of their fortitude and their faith.

In the same manner, in the afternoon, the county prisoners from Colchester castle were brought out, and executed, at different stakes, on the same spot; praising God, and exhorting the people to avoid idolatry and the church of Rome.

John Thurston, of whom mention was made before, died in May, in Colchester castle.

George Eagles, tailor, was an unlettered man, but intellectually gifted in the knowledge of the gospel, and applied himself zealously to the promotion of Christ’s kingdom. In the time of Edward VI. he preached fearlessly, and even when the true church was in affliction, he boldly uttered his mind, wandering to considerable distances, lying in the fields and woods, and living upon the most hard and frugal fare. He was particularly active about Colchester, and hence a reward of twenty pounds (a large sum at that time) was offered for him dead or alive. Pursued one day out of the fair of Colchester, he took refuge in a cornfield, where he was so well concealed, that his pursuers gave over the search, except one man, who climbed a tree, to see if any one lay concealed in the corn. When Eagles thought the pursuit was over, he rose upon his knees to thank God, and in this attitude was easily seen and captured by his vigilant enemy, who conveyed him to Colchester castle; thence he was carried before Bonner at London, and after remaining imprisoned some time, was brought to Chelmsford, to the session, to take his trial for treason. This poor man was indicted for having prayed that “God would turn queen Mary’s heart, or take her away;” the ostensible cause of his death was his religion, for treason could hardly be imagined in praying for the reformation of such an execrable
soul as that of Mary. Being condemned for this crime, he was drawn to the place of execution upon a sledge, with two robbers, who were executed with him. After Eagles had mounted the ladder, and been turned off a short time, he was cut down, before he was at all insensible; a bailiff, named Wm. Swallow, then dragged him to the sledge, and with a common blunt cleaver, hacked off the head: in a manner equally clumsy and cruel, he opened his body, and tore out the heart.

In all this suffering, the poor martyr repined not, but to the last called upon his Saviour. The fury of these bigots did not end here; the intestines were burnt, and the body was quartered, the four-parts being sent to Colchester, Harwich, Chelmsford, and St. Rouse’s.—Chelmsford had the honour of retaining his head, which was affixed to a long pole in the market-place. In time it was blown down, and lay several days in the street, till it was buried at night in the churchyard. God’s judgment not long after fell upon Swallow, who in his old age became a beggar, and affected with a leprosy that made him obnoxious even to the animal creation; nor did Richard Potts, who troubled Eagles in his dying moments, escape the visiting hand of God.

About this time, Richard Crashfield, of Wymundham, suffered at Norwich; he was a godly young man, and first examined before Chancellor Dunning, and afterward by Dr. Bridges. —He had been excommunicated two years before his condemnation, for not coming to church; he wrote all his examinations, and in them testified a fearless enlightened mind. He endured the fire with the greatest Christian heroism. One Thomas Carman was apprehended at this sacrifice. Nearly about this time a person named Fryer, and the sister of George Eagles, suffered martyrdom.

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CHAP. II.

Mrs. Joyce Lewes.

This lady was the wife of Mr. T. Lewes, of Manchester. She had received the Romish religion as true, till the burning of that pious martyr, the Rev. Mr. Saunders, at Coventry. Understanding that his death arose from a refusal to receive the mass, she began to inquire into the ground of his refusal, and her conscience, as it began to be enlightened, became restless and alarmed. In this inquietude, she resorted to Mr. John Glover, who lived near, and requested that he would unfold those rich sources of Gospel knowledge he possessed, particularly upon the subject of transubstantiation. He easily succeeded in convincing her that the mummeries of popery and the mass were at variance with God’s most holy word, and honestly reproved her for following too much the vanities of a wicked world. It was to her indeed a word in season, for she soon became weary of her former sinful life, and resolved to abandon the mass and idolatrous worship. Though compelled by her husband’s violence to go to church, her contempt of the holy water and other ceremonies were so manifest, that she was accused before the bishop for despising the sacramentals.

A citation, addressed to her, immediately followed, which was given to Mr. Lewes, who, in a fit of passion, held a dagger to the throat of the officer, and made him eat it, after which he caused him to drink it down, and then sent him away. But for this the bishop summoned Mr. Lewes before him as well as his wife; the former readily submitted, but the latter resolutely affirmed, that, in refusing holy water, she neither offended God, nor any part of his laws. She was sent home for a month, her husband being bound for her reappearance, during which time Mr. Glover impressed upon her the necessity of doing what she did, not from self-vanity, but for the honour and glory of God.

Mr. Glover and others earnestly exhorted Lewes to forfeit the money he was bound in, rather than subject his wife to certain death; but he was deaf to the voice of humanity, and delivered her over to the bishop, who soon found sufficient cause to consign her to a loathsome prison, whence she was several times brought up for examination. At the last time the bishop reasoned with her upon the fitness of her coming to mass, and receiving as sacred the sacrament and sacramentals of the Holy Ghost. “If these things were in the
word of God," said Mrs. Lewes, "I would with all my heart receive, believe, and esteem them." The bishop, with the most ignorant and impious effrontery, replied, "If thou wilt believe no more than what is warranted by Scripture, thou art in a state of damnation!" Astonished at such a declaration, this worthy sufferer ably rejoined, "that his words were as impure, as they were profane."

After condemnation, she lay a twelvemonth in prison, the sheriff not being willing to put her to death in his time, though he had been but just chosen. When her death-warrant came from London, she sent for some friends, whom she consulted in what manner her death might be more glorious to the name of God, and injurious to the cause of God's enemies. Smilingly, she said, "As for death, I think but lightly of. When I know that I shall behold the amiable countenance of Christ my dear Saviour, the ugly face of death does not much trouble me." The evening before she suffered, two priests were anxious to visit her, but she refused both their confession and absolution, when she could hold a better communication with the High Priest of souls. About three o'clock in the morning, Satan began to shoot his fiery darts, by putting into her mind to doubt whether she was chosen to eternal life, and Christ died for her. Her friends readily pointed out to her those consolatory passages of Scripture which comfort the fainting heart, and treat of the Redeemer who taketh away the sins of the world.

About eight o'clock the sheriff announced to her that she had but an hour to live; she was at first cast down, but this soon passed away, and she thanked God that her life was about to be devoted to his service. The sheriff granted permission for two friends to accompany her to the stake—an indulgence for which she was afterward severely handled. Mr. Reiger and Mr. Bernher led her to the place of execution; in going to which, from its distance, her great weakness, and the press of the people, she had nearly fainted. Three times she prayed fervently that God would deliver the land from popery and the idolatrous mass; and the people for the most part, as well as the sheriff, said Amen.

When she had prayed, she took the cup, (which had been filled with water to refresh her,) and said, I drink to all them that un-

feignedly love the gospel of Christ, and wish for the abolition of popery. Her friends, and a great many women of the place, drank with her, for which most of them afterward were enjoined penance.

When chained to the stake, her countenance was cheerful, and the roses of her cheeks were not abated. Her hands were extended towards heaven till the fire rendered them powerless, when her soul was received into the arms of its Creator. The duration of her agony was but short, as the under-sheriff at the request of her friends had prepared such excellent fuel that she was in a few minutes overwhelmed with smoke and flame. The case of this lady drew a tear of pity from every one who had a heart not callous to humanity.

**CHAP. III.**

**EXECUTIONS AT ISLINGTON.**

About the 17th of Sept. suffered at Islington the following four professors of Christ: Ralph Allerton, James Austoo, Margery Austoo, and Richard Roth. The first was brought before Lord Darcey, of Colchester, charged with seducing the people from the popish faith; indeed he confessed that he had exhorted the people in his own parish of Bentley to meditate upon the word of God, and after prayer he had read them a chapter out of the New Testament: this exercise he continued for some time, till he was forbidden, not being in orders. He was afterward taken up for reading in the parish of Welling; and, after wandering about in solitary places, and secreting himself in barns, he was taken, and sent to Bonner, who induced him to recant; but it happened with him as with many other apostates, when he forsook his Redeemer, God hid his face from him for a time. His despondency rendered life miserable, till it pleased the Father of mercies to raise him up again, and give him not only an unfeigned contrition for his apostacy, but a boldness to avow and glory openly in the gospel. Thomas Tye, a recanting bigoted priest, before mentioned in the case of Mr. Munt and his wife, again sent him up to the Catholic leviathan, before whom
he was examined April 8; and, not being able to obtain ink, he wrote his examinations with his blood. Tye the priest accused him at his examination, stating, that he openly opposed him in the time of service, quoting many opposite texts of Scripture for his purpose, and bidding the people beware of the Catholic blood-thirsty dogs. Though Tye, for this bold conduct, caused him to be seized by the constable, the latter let him go, when he repaired to Suffolk, and was diligently employed in warring the Reformation. He was remanded, called up again three different times, and Sept. 10, with the three martyrs first mentioned, was brought to Bonner's private chapel at Fulham, where they were condemned, and remanded to prison.

James Austoo and his wife, of St. Allhallows, Barking, London, were sentenced for not believing in the presence. Richard Roth rejected the seven sacraments, and was accused of comforting the heretics by the following letter written in his own blood, and intended to have been sent 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 blood-thirsty tyrant thus far! And no doubt he that hath begun that good work in you, will fulfill 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 by day, and in the night I lie in the Coal-house, apart 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 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 Saviour, who 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."

This letter, so justly denouncing Bonner the "blood-thirsty tyrant," was not likely to excite his compassion. Roth accused him of bringing them to secret examination by night, because he was afraid of the people by day. Resisting every temptation to recant, he was condemned, and, Sept. 17, 1557, these four martyrs perished at Islington, for the testimony of the Lamb, who was slain that they might be of the redeemed of God.

CHAP. IV.

Agnes Bengeor and Margaret Thurston.

In speaking of the ten Colchester martyrs before, it was observed that these two pious women should have suffered with them; but
their execution was delayed. Mrs. Thurston had gone into a corner to pray on the morning of the above martyrs’ deaths, and she was overlooked by the jailer. The other was resented, on account of her name being spelt in the writ Bower instead of Bengeor, until the error was rectified. These females were committed to the Castle prison, and such was the pious wrestling of Mrs. Bengeor, that she grieved deeply that God had not suffered her to give up her life with those with whom she had been imprisoned; for she had loosened herself from all earthly ties, having taken a tender farewell of her friends, and the dear infant then hanging at her bosom.

Mrs. Thurston had recanted some time back, but the Spirit had made her truly repent for her backsliding, and now her steadfastness was immoveable. Refusing every kind of torture, she, with her companion in tribulation, was doomed to the fire at Colchester, Sept. 17, 1557. Humbly they knelt to pray, and joyfully they arose to be chained to the stake, uttering invocations and hallelujahs, till the surrounding flames mounted to the seat of life, and their spirits ascended to the Almighty Saviour of all who truly believe!

About this time suffered, at Northampton, John Kurde, shoemaker, of Syrsam, Northampton.

John Noyes.

This martyr was a shoemaker, of Laxfield, Suffolk. Inquiry being made by the justices sitting at Hoxton, Suffolk, of those who absented themselves from church, Mr. Noyes was presented by some time-serving persons, and cast into Eye-dungeon, where he lay for a short time, previous to his being removed to Norwich, to undergo examination by the bishop, who condemned him for heresy. From Norwich he was retaken to Eye, and at midnight, Sept. 21, 1557, he was brought from Eye to Laxfield to be burned. On the following morning he was led to the stake, and all things being prepared for the horrid sacrifice, Mr. Noyes, on coming to the fatal spot, knelt down, prayed, and rehearsed the 50th Psalm. When the chain enveloped him, he said, “Fear not them that kill the body, but fear him that can kill both body and soul, and cast it into everlasting fire!”—As one Cadman placed a fagot against him, he blessed the hour in which he was born to die for the truth; and while trusting only upon the all-sufficient merits of the Redeemer, fire was set to the pile, and the blazing fagots in a short time stifled his last words, Lord, have mercy on me!—Christ, have mercy upon me!—The ashes of the body were buried in a pit, and with them one of his feet, whole to the ankle, with the stocking on.

During the burning, one John Jarvis exclaimed, “Good Lord! how the sinews of his arms shrink up!”—For these pitying words he was taken up, accused of saying, “What villainous wretches are these!” and sentenced to be set in the stocks the next day, and whipped about the market naked!

Mrs. Cicely Ormes

This young martyr, aged twenty-two, was the wife of Mr. Edmund Ormes, worsted weaver of St. Lawrence, Norwich. At the death of Miller and Elizabeth Cooper, before mentioned, she had said that she would pledge them of the same cup they drank of. For these words she was brought to the chancellor, who would have discharged her upon promising to go to church, and to keep her belief to herself. As she would not consent to this, the chancellor urged that he had shown more lenity to her than any other person, and was unwilling to condemn her, because she was an ignorant foolish woman; to this she replied, (perhaps with more shrewdness than he expected,) that, “however great his desire might be to spare her sinful flesh, it could not equal her inclination to surrender it up in so great a quarrel.” The chancellor then pronounced the fiery sentence, and, Sept. 23, 1557, she was brought to the stake, at eight o’clock in the morning. After declaring her faith to the people, she laid her hand on the stake, and said, “Welcome, thou cross of Christ.” Her hand was sooted in doing this, (for it was the same stake at which Miller and Cooper were burnt,) and she at first wiped it; but directly after again welcomed and embraced it as the “sweet cross of Christ.” After the tormentors had kindled the fire, she said, “My soul doth magnify the Lord, and my spirit doth rejoice in God my Saviour.”—Then crossing her hands upon her breast, and looking upwards with the utmost serenity, she stood the fiery furnace. Her
hands continued gradually to rise, till the sinews were dried, and then they fell. She uttered no sigh of pain, but yielded her life, an emblem of that celestial paradise in which is the presence of God, blessed for ever.

It might be contended, that this martyr voluntarily sought her own death, as the chancellor scarcely exacted any other pence of her than to keep her belief to herself; yet it should seem in this instance as if God had chosen her to be a shining light, for, a twelve-month before she was taken, she had recanted; but she was wretched till the chancellor was informed, by letter, that she repented of her recantation from the bottom of her heart. As if to compensate for her former apostacy, and to convince the Catholics that she meant no more to compromise for her personal security, she boldly refused his friendly offer of permitting her to temporize. Her courage in such a cause deserves commendation—the cause of Him who has said, Whoever is ashamed of me on earth, of such will I be ashamed in heaven.

In November, Thomas Spurdance, one of queen Mary’s servants, was brought before the Chancellor of Norwich, who, among his interrogations, was severely reprimanded upon by the prisoner. “I do not go to church, (said Mr. Spurdance,) because its ceremonies are contrary to God’s law, which opinion you yourself formerly taught, though now you hold it good: if affairs were to take a turn to-morrow, you would say that was false which you hold to-day; well may I therefore say there is no truth in you.” To a farther charge of the bishop, that if he would do good service, he would be obedient to the laws of the realm, he replied, “I am obedient. No man, I thank God, can justly accuse me of being disobedient to the civil laws. But you must consider, my lord, that I have a soul and body; that soul is none of the queen’s, but my body and goods are hers. To God I must give my soul, and all that belongeth to it, that is, I must do the laws commanded by God; and whoever commands laws contrary to those of God, it is not permitted me to obey them at the loss of my soul, but rather I must obey God than man.” This good man was taken by two of his fellow-servants, dwelling at Codman, in Suffolk. He was sent to Bury, where he remained some time in prison, and in November, 1557, braved the fiery indignation of the enemies of Christ with Christian fortitude and resignation.

J. Hallingdale, W. Sparrow, and R. Gibson, suffered in Smithfield, Nov. 18th, 1557. The first of these was accused for absenting himself from church, neither hearing matins, mass, nor vespers, for not caring about confession or the Latin prayers; for causing his child to be christened in English, and resolving that it should not be confirmed by a Roman bishop. The Protestant reader, upon the enumeration of such frivolous charges as these, which doomed the accused by the most exquisite torture to the loss of life, and his children to beggary, must contemplate with astonishment the supineness of moral feeling, which could suffer individuals to be led to the stake for mere matters, not of fact, but of opinion. Hallingdale confessed that all those heads were true, and that he accounted those heretics who dissented from the bishops Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, and Hooper, who were no heretics at all, inasmuch as they preached the gospel, by which all the standards of faith and works were to be tried. Bishop Bonner could not model this zealous reasoner into the least respect for the pope or his principles, and hence he was set aside for an auto-de-fe.

Wm. Sparrow was accused of having submitted to his ordinary, and abjured the reformed doctrines, which he confessed with deep contrition of heart he had done, and that it was the worst deed he ever did. Among his other heresies, he was charged with selling songs of a heretical tendency. Bonner condemned him to augment the sacrifice, and soon added another.

Mr. Richard Gibson was in the Poultry Compter for debt, at the time information was laid against him for neither confessing nor receiving at the popish altar. After his first examination, he lay from May to November, when he was brought before the final judiciary, and underwent several examinations. The last was held by Bonner in his consistory court, when one of the chief charges against him was, that men said he was an evil man. Gibson replied, “I may say that men say so of you;” and indeed, had the opinions of all good men been the criterion of judgment be-
between the two, Gibson would have been esteemed, and his miscreant judge execrated—but God, in his all-wise councils, had not then so bestowed the power. After Gibson had boldly affirmed his enmity to popery, and regretted that he had hitherto stifled that sentiment out of fear of the law, he was handed over as an incorrigible heretic to the secular power, and worthy only of death.

There being a sufficient number to make a sacrifice, the three martyrs were burnt in Smithfield, Nov. 13th, being twelve days after their condemnation. After prayer made, the awful preparations were completed, and the fire penetrated the heart-springs of life. Their deaths were glorious, and worthy the righteous cause for which they perished.

CHAP. V.

Rev. John Rough.

This pious martyr was a Scotchman: at the age of 17, he entered himself as one of the order of Black Friars, at Stirling, in Scotland. He had been kept out of an inheritance by his friends, and he took this step in revenge for their conduct to him. After being there sixteen years, Lord Hamilton, Earl of Arran, taking a liking to him, the archbishop of St. Andrew's induced the provincial of the house to dispense with his habit and order; and he thus became the Earl's chaplain. He remained in this spiritual employment a year, and in that time God wrought in him a saving knowledge of the truth; for which reason the Earl sent him to preach in the freedom of Ayr, where he remained four years; but finding danger there from the religious complexion of the times, and learning that there was much gospel freedom in England, he travelled up to the duke of Somerset, then Lord Protector of England, who gave him a yearly salary of twenty pounds, and authorized him to preach at Carlisle, Berwick, and Newcastle, where he married. He was afterward removed to a benefice at Hull, in which he remained till the death of Edward VI.

In consequence of the tide of persecution then setting in, he fled with his wife to Friesland, and at Norden they followed the occupation of knitting hose, caps, &c. for subsistence. Impeded in his business by the want of yarn, he came over to England to procure a quantity, and on Nov. 10th arrived in London, where he soon heard of a secret society of the faithful, to whom he joined himself, and was in a short time elected their minister and preacher, in which occupation he strengthened them in every good resolution. Dec. 12th, through the information of one Taylor, a member of the society, Mr. Rough, with Cuthbert Symson and others, was taken up in the Saracen's Head, Islington, where, under the pretext of coming to see a play, their religious exercises were helden. The queen's vice-chamberlain conducted Rough and Symson before the council, in whose presence they were charged with meeting to celebrate the communion. The council wrote to Bonner, and Bonner lost no time in this affair of blood. In three days he had him up, and on the next (the 20th) resolved to condemn him. The charges laid against him were, that he, being a priest, was married, and that he had rejected the service in the Latin tongue. Rough wanted not arguments to reply to these flimsy tenets. In short, he was degraded and condemned.

Mr. Rough, it should be noticed, when in the north, in Edward the VIth's reign, had saved Dr. Watson's life, who afterward sat with bishop Bonner on the bench. This ungrateful prelate, in return for the kind act he had received, boldly accused Mr. Rough of being the most pernicious heretic in the country. The godly minister reproved him for his malicious spirit; he affirmed that, during the thirty years he had lived, he had never bowed the knee to Baal; and that twice at Rome he had seen the pope borne about on men's shoulders with the false-named sacrament carried before him, presenting a true picture of the very antichrist; yet was more reverence shown to him than to the wafer which they accounted to be their God. “Ah!” said Bonner, rising up, and making towards him, as if he would have torn his garment, “hast thou been at Rome, and seen our holy father the pope, and dost thou blaspheme him after this sort?” This said, he fell upon him, tore off a piece of his beard, and, that the day might begin to
his own satisfaction, he ordered the object of his rage to be burnt by half past five the following morning.

Margaret Mearing was executed with Mr. Rough. The bishop having no private charges against her, on the 13th of December objected to her the general list of articles. Her answers being registered, they were propounded to her on the 20th, and it was demanded if she would maintain her answers? “I will stand to them unto death,” said she; “for the very angels do laugh you to scorn, to see the abominations which you use in the church.” The bishop pronounced sentence, and delivered her to the sheriff, who took her to Newgate. Dec. 22, 1557, she and Mr. Rough were led to Smithfield, where the utmost malice of their enemies was laughed to scorn by their unshrinking and glorious martyrdom.

Cuthbert Symson.

Few professors of Christ possessed more activity and zeal than this excellent person. He not only laboured to preserve his friends from the contagion of popery, but to guard them against the terrors of persecution. He was deacon of the little congregation over which Mr. Rough presided as minister.

Mr. Rough, just before his own caption, had a singular dream respecting Mr. Symson. He thought he saw two of the guards leading him away, and with him had the book containing the names of the congregation. He awoke, expressed to his wife his uneasiness respecting his friend Symson, and after a time fell asleep. Again the same dream occurred, and when he awoke, in a voice of anxiety, he told his wife that he feared Cuthbert was gone. Mr. Rough then arose, and was just going out to visit his friend, when the latter entered with the book containing the names of the congregation, which Mr. Rough advised him no more to carry about with him. At length, with much entreaty, he was persuaded to leave the book with Mr. Rough’s wife, by which providential interference the names of the little flock were kept from being disclosed. Mr. Rough had another dream, indicative of the treatment which he should receive from Bonner; in this, Bonner seized him by the beard, plucked part of it off, and threw it into the fire, saying, now can I say that I have had a piece of a heretic burnt in my house. This was almost literally fulfilled, when Mr. Rough was brought before that mitred monster.

Mr. Symson has written an account of his own sufferings, which we cannot detail better than in his own words.

“On the 13th of December, 1557, I was committed by the council to the tower of London. On the following Thursday, I was called into the wareroom, before the constable of the tower, and the recorder of London, Mr. Cholmley, who commanded me to inform them of the names of those who came to the English service. I answered, that I would declare nothing; in consequence of my refusal, I was set upon a rack of iron, as I judge for the space of three hours!

“They then asked me if I would confess: I answered as before. After being unbound, I was carried back to my lodging. The Sunday after I was brought to the same place again, before the lieutenant and recorder of London, and they examined me. As I had answered before, so I answered now. Then the lieutenant swore by God that I should tell; after which my two fore-fingers were bound together, and a small arrow being placed between them, they drew it through so fast that the blood followed, and the arrow brake.

“After enduring the rack twice again, I was retaken to my lodging, and ten days after the lieutenant asked me if I would not now confess that which they had before asked of me. I answered, that I had already said as much as I would. Three weeks after I was sent to the priest, where I was greatly assaulted, and at whose hand I received the pope’s curse, for bearing witness of the resurrection of Christ. And thus I commend you to God, and to the word of his grace, with all those who unfeignedly call upon the name of Jesus; desiring God of his endless mercy, through the merits of his dear Son Jesus Christ, to bring us all to his everlasting kingdom, Amen. I praise God for his great mercy shown upon us. Sing Hosanna to the Highest with me, Cuthbert Symson. God forgive my sins!—I ask forgiveness of all the world, and I forgive all the world, and thus I leave the world, in the hope of a joyful resurrection!”

If this account be duly considered, what a picture of repeated torture does it present!
But, even the cruelty of the narration is exceeded by the patient meekness with which it was endured. Here are no expressions of malice, no invocations even of God's retributive justice, not a complaint of suffering wrongfully! On the contrary, praise to God, forgiveness of sin, and a forgiving all the world, concludes this unaffected interesting narrative.

Bonner's admiration was excited by the steadfast coolness of this martyr. Speaking of Mr. Symson in the consistory, he said, "You see what a personable man he is; and then of his patience, I affirm, that, if he were not a heretic, he is a man of the greatest patience that ever came before me. Thrice in one day has he been racked in the tower; in my house also he has felt sorrow, and yet never have I seen his patience broken."

The day before this pious deacon was to be condemned, while in the stocks in the bishop's coal-house, he had the vision of a glorified form, which much encouraged him. This he certainly attested to his wife, Mr. Austen, and others, before his death; but Mr. Fox, in reciting this article, leaves it to the reader's judgment, to consider it either as a natural or supernatural circumstance.

With this ornament of the Christian reformation were apprehended Mr. Hugh Foxe and John Devenish; the three were brought before Bonner, March 19, 1558, and the papistical articles tendered. They rejected them, and were all condemned. As they worshipped together in the same society, at Islington, so they suffered together in Smithfield, March 28; in whose death the God of Grace was glorified, and true believers confirmed!

William Nichol, of Haverfordwest, Wales, was a person of humble estate, and very simple in intellect; yet, lightly gifted as he was, he knew the necessity of holding fast the blessed hope of everlasting life, and that the path to this blessed possession lay through the gospel. He was taken up for reprobating the practice of the worshippers of antichrist, and April 9, 1558, bore testimony to the truth at Haverfordwest, in Wales, by enduring the fire.

Had the sanguinary bigots of Rome possessed the least bowels of compassion, the imbecility of this martyr might have stepped in to save him. Unlike the Redeemer, who came into the world to save, their delight was to destroy. Should the Deity mete out to them, at the bar of judgment, the measure they have bestowed on the persecuted protestants, then will the distinction be realized which Dives experienced when in hell he lift up his eyes, and beheld Lazarus afar off in Abraham's bosom—"Now is he comforted, but thou art tormented!"

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CHAP. VI.

Thomas Hudson, Thomas Carman, and William Seaman.

The last of these Christian persons was a husbandman, aged 26 years, dwelling at Mendlesham, Suffolk. That persecutor, Sir John Tyrrel, had for some time eagerly sought for him, and he was taken by one of his own servants, named Baulding, whose ingratitude to William Seaman, who had been his intimate friend, was justly requited, in his pining away from this time till he died, occasioned by a glaring meteor that appeared in the heavens, as he conducted him privately by night. When Tyrrel asked him why he refused the mass, he answered, "Because it is idolatrous." He was conducted to the Bishop of Norwich, and condemned. He left behind a wife and three children, who, after his death, were driven from Mendlesham, and all their little property was seized!

Thomas Carman was apprehended for saying he would pledge Richard Crashfield at his burning, and was sentenced at the same time with Seaman.

Thomas Hudson, of Aylesbury, Norfolk, was a glover, an industrious man, aged 30.—Just before Mary's reign, his earnestness to know the truth had induced him with much diligence to learn to read. Here it may be remarked, that the catholics, looking upon Latin and Greek as essential to salvation, made no distinction between want of learning and want of understanding; their priesthood always holding it out that their qualifications were indispensably necessary to expound the oracles of God; but, blessed be the principles of the reformation, which put the sacred volume into the hand of every one, and directs
HISTORY OF THE MARTYRS.

all to read and judge for themselves. There is an old adage particularly, just with respect to the catholic priesthood, “an ounce of mother-wit (natural good-sense) is worth a pound of clergy.” Hudson possessed the little ounce, the “still small voice,” and with it was more than equal to the weight of his opponents.

Disliking the superstitious ceremonies introduced by queen Mary, he absented himself from his church and home, and wandered about from place to place; till at length, anxious to see his children, he returned to the bosom of his afflicted family. The better to secure his person from the officers, he and his wife constructed a hollow place among a quantity of fagots, to which, for greater security, he retired; here he remained six months, waited upon by his wife with the utmost affection, while he employed his time in reading and prayer. Mr. Berry, the vicar of the town, anxious for the sacrifice of the pious man, now came to his wife, and threatened her with the fate designed for her husband, if she did not disclose the place of his retreat; but Hudson’s zeal increasing with the danger, and perhaps solicitous that his wife should not suffer on his account, he received visits from those friends who resorted to him for comfort and instruction. From this, he ventured openly abroad, by day declaimed against themummary and idolatry of popery, and at night sung and prayed. His next-door neighbour, Crouch, laid an information against him, and April 22, 1558, he was taken. When the constables entered, he said, “Welcome, friends, welcome! Now mine hour is come; for you are they who shall lead me to life in Christ. I thank God for it, and the Lord strengthen me for his mercy’s sake.” He was brought before the vicar, who was also a commissary, and asked, “Where he had kept his church for four years before?” Hudson’s reply was to the point: “Where I am, there is the church; as for your sacrament of the altar, it is worms’ meat, a patched monster, and a disguised puppet.” His plainness of speech enraged the vicar, who sent him bound to the bishop of Norwich, whither he went rejoicing, and after a month’s imprisonment was condemned, with Seaman and Carman, on the 19th of May, 1558.

The spot of execution was called Lollard’s pit, without Bishopsgate, at Norwich. After joining together in humble petition to the throne of grace, they arose, went to the stake, and were encircled with their chains. To the great surprise of the spectators, Hudson slipped from under his chain, and came forward. A great opinion prevailed that he was about to recant; others thought that he wanted further time. In the meantime, his companions at the stake urged every promise and exhortation to support him. The hopes of the enemies of the cross, however, were disappointed: the good man, far from fearing the smallest personal terror at the approaching pangs of death, was only alarmed, that his Saviour’s face seemed to be hidden from him. Falling upon his knees, his spirit wrestled with God, and God verified the words of his Son, “Ask, and it shall be given.” The martyr rose in an ecstacy of joy, and exclaimed, “Now, I thank God, I am strong! and care not what man can do to me! With an unruffled countenance he replaced himself under the chain, joined his fellow-sufferers, and with them suffered death, to the comfort of the godly, and the confusion of antichrist.

Berry, unsatiated with this demoniacal act, summoned up two hundred persons in the town of Aylesham, whom he compelled to kneel to the cross at Pentecost, and inflicted other punishments. He struck a poor man, for a trifling word, with a flail, which proved fatal to the unoffending object. He also gave a woman, named Alice Oxes, so heavy a blow with his fist, as she met him entering the hall when he was in an ill humour, that she died with the violence. This priest was rich, and possessed great authority; he was a reprobate, and, like the priesthood, abstained from marriage, to enjoy the more a debauched and licentious life. The Sunday after the death of queen Mary, he was revelling with one of his concubines, before vespers; he then went to church, administered baptism, and in his return to his lascivious pastime, he was smitten by the hand of God. Without a moment given for repentance, he fell to the ground, and a groan was the only articulation permitted him. In him we may behold the difference between the end of a martyr and a persecutor.

In the month of May, William Harris, Richard Day, and Christiana George, suffered at Colchester, and there humbly made an offering of themselves to God. Fixed to
their posts by chains, they needed not these
to render them firm and immoveable; God
supported them with a mighty hand, to whom
be glory for ever and ever!

Richard George’s first wife, Agnes, was
burnt, as has been stated, at Stratford-le-bow.
After the death of his second wife, Christiana,
he married again. Shortly after this last wife
and he were sent into prison, where they lay
till the death of the sanguinary Mary.

In the month of June, a strong proclama-
tion was issued against all books of a hereti-
cal tendency.

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CHAP. VII.

APPREHENSIONS AT ISLINGTON.

In a retired close, near a field, in Islington,
a company of decent persons had assembled,
to the number of forty. While they religiously
engaged in praying and expounding the Scrip-
ture, twenty-seven of them were carried by
the constables before Sir Roger Cholmley.
Some of the women made their escape; twen-
ty-two were committed to Newgate, who con-
tinued in prison seven weeks. Previous to
their examination, they were informed by the
keeper, (Alexander,) that nothing more was
requisite to procure their discharge, than to
hear mass. Easy as this condition may seem,
these martyrs valued their purity of conscience
more than loss of life or property; hence, thir-
teen were burnt, seven in Smithfield, and six
at Brentford; two died in prison, and the other
seven were providentially preserved. The
names of the seven who suffered were, H.
Pond, R. Eastland, R. Southain, M. Ricarby,
J. Floyd, J. Holiday, and R. Holland. They
They were sent to Newgate June 16, 1558,
and executed on the 27th.

The story of Roger Holland is the only one
of these martyrs which has been handed down
to us. He was first an apprentice to one Mr.
Kempton, at the Black Boy, Watling-street.
He was in every sense of the word licentious,
a lover of bad company, and, more than all,
a stubborn determined papist—one of whom
it might be said that a miracle only could ef-
fect his conversion. Dissipated as he was,
his master had the imprudent confidence to
trust him with money; and, having received
thirty pounds on his master’s account, he lost
it at the gaming-table. Knowing it was im-
possible to regain his character, he determined
to withdraw to France or Flanders. With
this resolution, he called early in the morning
on a discreet servant in the house, named Eliza-
beth, who professed the gospel, and lived a
life that did honour to her profession. To her
he revealed the loss his folly had occasioned,
regretted that he had not followed her advice,
and begged her to give his master a note of
hand from him acknowledging the debt, which
he would repay if ever it were in his power; he
also entreated his disgraceful conduct might
be kept secret, lest it would bring the gray
hairs of his father with sorrow to a premature
grave.

The maid, with a generosity and Christian
principle rarely surpassed, conscious that his
imprudence might be his ruin, brought him
the thirty pounds, which was part of a sum of
money recently left her by legacy. “Here,”
said she, “is the sum requisite: you shall take
the money, and I will keep the note; but ex-
pressly on this condition, that you abandon all
lewd and vicious company; that you neither
swear nor talk immodestly, and game no more;
for, should I learn that you do, I will imme-
diately show this note to your master. I also
require, that you shall promise me to attend
the daily lecture at Althallows, and the sermon
at St. Paul’s every Sunday; that you cast
away all your books of popery, and in their
place substitute the Testament and the Book
of Service, and that you read the Scriptures
with reverence and fear, calling upon God for
his grace to direct you in his truth. Pray also
fervently to God, to pardon your former offen-
ces, and not to remember the sins of your
youth, and would you obtain his favour, ever
dread to break his laws or offend his majesty.
So shall God have you in his keeping, and
grant you your heart’s desire.” We must
honour the memory of this excellent domestic,
whose pious endeavours were equally directed
to benefit the thoughtless youth in this life and
that which is to come. May her example be
followed by the present generation of servants,
who seek rather to seduce by vain dress and
loose manners the youth who are associated
in servitude with them!—God did not suffer
the wish of this excellent domestic to be thrown
upon a barren soil; within half a year after the licentious Holland became a zealous professor of the gospel, and was an instrument of conversion to his father and others, whom he visited in Lancashire, to their spiritual comfort and reformation from popery.

His father, pleased with his change of conduct, gave him forty pounds to commence business with in London. Upon his return, like an honest man, he paid the debt of gratitude, and, rightly judging that she who had proved so excellent a friend and counsellor, would be no less amiable as a wife, he tendered her his hand. They were married in the first year of Mary, and a child was the fruit of their union, which Mr. Holland caused to be baptized by Mr. Rose in his own house. For this offence he was obliged to fly, and Bonner, with his accustomed implacability, seized his goods, and ill-treated his wife. After this, he remained secretly among the congregations of the faithful, till the last year of queen Mary, when he, with six others, was taken not far from St. John's Wood, and brought to Newgate upon May-day, 1558.

He was called before the bishop, Dr. Chedsey, the Harpsfields, &c. Dr. Chedsey expressed much affection for him, and promised he should not want any favour that he or his friends could procure, if he would not follow his conceit. This was seconded by squire Eaglestone, a gentleman of Lancashire, and a near kinsman of Holland's, who said, "I am sure your honour means good to my cousin. I beseech God he may have the grace to follow your counsel." Holland directly replied, "Sir, you crave of God you know not what. I beseech of God to open your eyes to see the light of his blessed word." After some private communication among the commissioners, Bonner said, "I perceive, Roger, you will not be ruled by any counsel that I or my friends can give."

The following speech of Mr. Holland we are induced to give unabridged, as it contains a pointed charge, founded on the sins resulting from false doctrines; and, besides, is in itself a well-digested and just attack upon the tenets of popery.

"I may say to you, my lord, as Paul said to Felix and to the Jews, in the 22d of the Acts, and in the 15th of the first epistle to the Corinthians. It is not unknown to my master, to whom I was apprenticed, that I was of your blind religion—that which now is taught, and that I obstinately and wilfully remained in it, till the latter end of king Edward. Having liberty under your auricular confession, I made no conscience of sin, but trusted in the priest's absolution, who for money did also some penance for me; which after I had given, I cared no farther what offences I did, no more than he did after he had my money, whether he tasted bread and water for me, or not: 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. Though I could not in conscience eat flesh upon the Friday, yet I made no conscience at all of swearing, drinking, or gaming all night long: thus I was brought up, and herein I have continued till now of late, when God hath opened the light of his word, and called me by his grace to repent 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, who 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. Yea, I know some priests, very devout, my lord, yet such have six or seven children by four or five sundry women.

"Mr. Doctor, as 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 with; but the truth I trust I have, which needs no painted colours to set her forth. The antiquity of our church is not from pope Nicholas, nor 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 all the holy fathers that were from the beginning unto the birth of our Saviour Christ. All who believed these promises were of the church, though the number was oftentimes but few and small, as in..."
Christendom besides, never received your service in an unknown tongue, but in their own natural language, which all the people understand; neither your transsubstantiation, your receiving in one kind, your purgatory, your images, &c.

“As for the unity which is in your church, what is it 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 was not suffered to proceed. The bishop said his words were blasphemous, and ordered the keeper to take him away. Bonner observing, on his second examination, that Holland said, he was willing to be instructed by the church, (meaning the true church,) he ordered the keeper to let him want for nothing, not even for money, by which conduct he hoped to inveigle him from the truth. This, however, upon his last examination did not produce the intended effect. Bonner spoke very handsomely to him, and assured him that his former hasty answers should not operate against him, as he himself (the bishop) was sometimes too hasty, but it was soon over; he further said, that he should have consigned him to his own ordinary for examination, but for the particular interest he took in his welfare, for his and his friends’ sake. From this exordium he proceeded to the touchstone question of the real presence in the mass.

“Do you not believe, that, after the priest hath spoken the words of consecration, there remains the body of Christ, really and corporally 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 replied, “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 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, finding no impression could be made upon his firmness, and that he himself could not endure to hear the mass, transub-
stantiation, and the worshipping the sacrament, denominated impious and horrid idolatry, pronounced the condemnatory sentence, adjudging him to be burnt.

During this fulmination, Holland stood very quiet, and when he was about to depart, he begged permission to speak a few words. The bishop would not hear him, but, at the intercession of a friend, he was permitted. In the following speech, there is a spirit of prophecy which entitles it to particular attention; they were not the words of a random enthusiast, but of one to whom God seems to have given an assurance, that the present abject state of his faithful people should shortly be altered.

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.

In reply, Bonner said, "Roger, thou art, I perceive, as mad in these thy heresies as ever was Joan Butcher. 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 Holland began to exhort his friends to repentance, and to think well of them that suffered for the testimony of the gospel, upon which the bishop came back, charging the Keeper that no man should speak to them without his license; if they did, they should be committed to prison. In the mean time, Henry Pond and Holland spake to the people, exhorting them to stand firm in the truth; adding, that God would shorten these cruel and evil days for his elect's sake.

The day they suffered, a proclamation was made, prohibiting every one from speaking or talking to, or receiving any thing from them, or touching them, upon pain of imprisonment, without either bail or mainprize. Notwithstanding, the people cried out, "God strengthen them!" They also prayed for the people, and the restoration of his word. Embracing the stake and the reeds, Holland 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." Thus he ended his life, looking towards heaven, praying to, and praising God, with the rest of his fellow-saints. These seven martyrs were consumed, June 27, 1558.

The names of the six martyrs taken in company with those who were apprehended in the close, near Islington, were R. Mills, S. Cotton, R. Dynes, S. Wright, J. Slade, and W. Pikes, tanner. They were condemned by Bonner's chancellor in one day, and the next day a writ was sent to Brentford for their execution, which took place, July 14, 1558.—At the stake, they undressed themselves fearlessly, were bound without sigh or murmur, and in the fiery furnace yielded up their lives and spirits into the hands of their omnipotent Creator. Wm. Pikes was a very devout person, and so anxious to lay down his life for Christ's cause, that he constantly prayed, that he might glorify his Redeemer at the stake, at a time when extreme illness in Newgate had brought him to the verge of the grave.
BOOK VII.

THE HISTORY OF QUEEN MARY CONTINUED TO HER DEATH, AND OF VARIOUS PERSECUTIONS IN ENGLAND DURING HER REIGN.

CHAP. I.

FLAGELLATIONS BY BONNER.

When this catholic hyena found that neither persuasions, threats, nor imprisonment, could produce any alteration in the mind of a youth named Thomas Hinshaw, he sent him to Fulham, and during the first night set him in the stocks, with no other allowance than bread and water. The following morning he came to see if this punishment had worked any change in his mind, and finding none, he sent Dr. Harpsfield, his archdeacon, to converse with him. The doctor was soon out of humour at his replies, called him peevish boy, and asked if he thought he went about to damn his soul? "I am persuaded," said Thomas, "that you labour to promote the dark kingdom of the devil, not for the love of the truth." These words the doctor conveyed to the bishop, who, in a passion that almost prevented articulation came to Thomas, and said, "Dost thou answer my archdeacon thus, thou naughty boy! But I'll soon handle thee well enough for it, be assured!" Two willow twigs were then brought him, and causing the resisting youth to kneel against a long bench, in an armour in his garden, he scourged him till he was compelled to cease for want of breath and fatigue, being of a punchy and full-bellied make. One of the rods was worn quite away.

Many other conflicts did Hinshaw undergo from the bishop; who, at length, to remove him effectually, procured false witnesses to lay articles against him, all of which the young man denied, and, in short, refused to answer to any interrogatories administered to him. A fortnight after this, the young man was attacked by a burning ague, and at the request of his master, Mr. Pugson, of St. Paul's churchyard, he was removed, the bishop not doubting that he had given him his death in the natural way; he however remained ill above a year, and in the mean time queen Mary died, by which act of providence he escaped Bonner's rage.

John Willes was another faithful person, on whom the scourging hand of Bonner fell. He was the brother of Richard Willes, before mentioned, burnt at Brentford. Hinshaw and Willes were confined in Bonner's coal-house together, and afterward removed to Fulham, where he and Hinshaw remained during eight or ten days, in the stocks. Bonner's persecuting spirit displayed itself in his treatment of Willes during his examinations, often striking him on the head with a stick, seizing him by the ears, and flippering him under the chin, saying he held down his head like a thief. This producing no signs of recantation, he took him into his orchard, and in a small armour there he flogged him first with a willow rod, and then with birch, till he was exhausted. This cruel ferocity arose from the answer of the poor sufferer, who, upon being asked how long it was since he had crept to the cross, replied, "Not since he had come to years of discretion, nor would he, though he should be torn to pieces by wild horses." Bonner then bade him make the sign of the cross on his forehead, which he refused to do, and thus was led to the orchard.

The communications that took place between Bonner and Willes are too tedious to give in detail. The reader would smile to read the infatuated simple reasons with which the bishop endeavoured to delude the ignorant. He strongly urged to Willis the impropriety of his meddling with matters of Scripture; adding, "If thou wilt believe Luther, Zuinglius, and other protestant authors, thou canst not go right; but in believing me, there
can be no error!—and, if there be, thy blood will be required at our hands. In following Luther and the heretics of latter days, how wilt thou come to the place thou askest for?—They will lead thee to destruction, and burn thy body and soul in hell, like all those who have been burnt in Smithfield."

The bishop continued to afflict him in his examinations, in which, among other things, he said, "They call me bloody Bonner!—A vengeance on you all! I would fain be rid of you, but you have a delight in burning. Could I have my will, I would sew up your mouths, put you in sacks, and drown you!"

What a sanguinary speech was this, to proceed from the mouth of one who professed to be a minister of the gospel of peace, and a servant of the Lamb of God!—Can we have an assurance that the same spirit does not reign now, which reigned in this mitred Catholic?

One day, when in the stocks, Bonner asked him how he liked his lodging and fare. "Well enough," said Willes, "might I have a little straw to sit or lie upon." Just at this time came in Willes’s wife, then largely pregnant, and entreated the bishop for her husband, boldly declaring that she would be delivered in the house, if he were not suffered to go with her. To get rid of the good wife’s importunity, and the trouble of a lying-in woman in his palace, he bade Willes make the sign of the cross, and say, In nomine Patris, et Fili, et Spiritus Sancti, Amen. Willes omitted the sign, and repeated the words, "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen." Bonner would have the words repeated in Latin, to which Willes made no objection, knowing the meaning of the words. He was then permitted to go home with his wife, his kinsman Robert Rouze being charged to bring him to St. Paul’s the next day, whether he himself went, and, subscribing to a Latin instrument of little importance, was liberated. This is the last of the twenty-two taken at Islington.

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**CHAP. II.**

*Rev. Richard Yeoman.*

This devout aged person was curate to Dr. Taylor, at Hadley, and eminently qualified for his sacred function. Dr. Taylor left him the curacy at his departure, but no sooner had Mr. Newall gotten the benefice, than he removed Mr. Yeoman, and substituted a Romish priest. After this 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 lay wait for him, he went into Kent, and with a little packet of laces, pins, points, &c. he travelled from village to village, selling such things, and in this manner subsisted himself, his wife, and children.

At last Justice Moile, 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. Coming secretly again to Hadley, he tarried with his poor wife, who kept him privately, in a chamber of the town-house, commonly called the Guildhall, more than a year. During this time the good old father abode in a chamber locked up all the day, spending his time in devout prayer, in reading the Scriptures, and in carding the wool which his wife spun. His wife also begged bread for herself and her children, by which precarious means they supported themselves. Thus the saints of God sustained hunger and misery, while the prophets of Baal lived in festivity, and were costily pampered at Jezebel’s table.

Information being at length given to Newall, that Yeoman was secreted by his wife, he came, attended by the constables, and broke into the room where the object of his search lay in bed with his wife. He reproached the poor woman with being a whore, and would have indecently pulled the clothes off, but Yeoman resisted both this act of violence and the attack upon his wife’s character, adding that he defied the pope and popery. He was then taken out, and set in the stocks till day.

In the cage also with him was an old man, named John Dale, who had sat there three or four days, for exhorting the people during the time service was performing by Newall and his curate. His words were, "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 the martyrs nothing mollify your stony stomachs! O obdurate, hard-hearted, perverse, and crooked generation! to whom nothing can do good."

These 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, where he was kept till Sir Henry Doile, a justice, came to Hadley.

When Yeoman was taken, the parson called earnestly upon Sir Henry Doile to send them both to prison. Sir Henry Doile as 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 proposed to let them be punished a day or two and to dismiss them, at least John Dale, who was no priest: and therefore, as he had so long sat in the cage, he thought it punishment enough for this time. When the parson heard this, he was exceedingly mad, and in a great rage called them pestilent heretics, unfit to live in the commonwealth of Christians. Sir Henry, fearing to appear too merciful, Yeoman and Dale were pinioned, bound like thieves with their legs under the horses’ bellies, and carried to Bury jail, where they were laid in irons; and because they continually rebuked popery, they were cast into the lowest dungeon, where John Dale, through the jail-sickness and evil-keeping, died soon after: his body was thrown out, and buried in the fields. He was a man of sixty-six years of age, a weaver by occupation, well learned in the holy Scriptures, steadfast in his confession of the true doctrine of Christ as set forth in king Edward’s time; for which he joyfully suffered prison and chains, and from this worldly dungeon he departed in Christ to eternal glory, and the blessed paradise of everlasting felicity.

After Dale’s death, Yeoman was removed to Norwich prison, where, after strict and evil keeping, he was examined upon his faith and religion, and required to submit himself to his holy father the pope. "I defy him, (quoth he,) and all his detestable abominations: I will in no wise have to do with him." The chief articles objected to him, were his marriage and the mass sacrifice. Finding he continued steadfast in the truth, he was condemned, degraded, and not only burnt, but most cruelly tormented in the fire. Thus he ended this poor and miserable life, and entered into the blessed bosom of Abraham, enjoying with Lazarus that rest which God has prepared for his elect.

CHAP. III.

John Alcock.

This martyr was a sheerman, and another victim to the bigotry of parson Newall. Coming to Hadley to seek work, and being in the church one Sunday when there was a procession, with Newall in it, he ran behind the font to avoid paying homage to it. Newall saw this, ran up to him, and gave him in custody to a constable, whose name was Rolfe, and was Alcock’s master. The parson vehemently insisted that he should be put in the stocks, but Rolfe as warmly maintained that he would bail him, and that he should be forthcoming without being put in the stocks. Then the parson proceeded with his mass.

The parson, upon examination, having declared that he was a stout heretic, because he would not admit that bread and water were flesh and blood, committed him to prison, and afterward took him up to London, where, after several examinations, he was driven into the deepest dungeon of Newgate. He fell a sacrifice to the ill treatment and neglect he experienced. His body was thrown upon a dunghill, and denied Christian burial; but, doubtless, his soul was precious in the eyes of Him for whose cause he suffered.

Thomas Benbridge.

Mr. Benbridge was a single gentleman, in the diocese of Winchester. He might have lived a gentleman’s life, in the wealthy possessions of this world; but he chose rather to enter through the strait gate of persecution to the heavenly possession of life in the Lord’s kingdom, than to enjoy present pleasure with disquietude of conscience. Manfully standing against the papists for the defence of the sincere doctrine of Christ’s gospel, he was apprehended as an adversary to the Romish re-
HISTORY OF THE MARTYRS.

ligion, and led for examination before the bishop of Winchester, where he underwent several conflicts for the truth against the bishop and his colleague; for 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, by way of fee. His jerkin was trimmed with gold lace, which he gave to Sir Richard Pecksal, the high sheriff. His cap of velvet he took from his head, and threw away. Then, lifting his mind to the Lord, he engaged in prayer.

When fastened to the stake Dr. Seaton begged him to recant, and he should have his pardon; but when he saw that nothing availed, he told the people not to pray for him unless he would recant, no more than they would pray for a dog.

Mr. Benbridge, standing at the stake with his hands together in such manner as the priest holds his hands in his Memento, Dr. Seaton came to him again, and exhorted him to recant, to whom he said, “Away, Babylon, away!” One that stood by, said, Sir, cut his tongue out; another, a temporal man, railed at him worse than Dr. Seaton had done.

When they saw he would not yield, that they bade the tormentors to light the pile, before he was in any way covered with faggots. The fire first took away a piece of his beard, at which he did not shrink. Then it came on the other side and took his legs, and the other stockings of his hose being leather, they made the fire pierce the sharper, so that the intolerable heat made him exclaim “I recant!” and suddenly he thrust the fire from him. Two or three of his friends being by wished to save him; they stepped to the fire, and helped to remove it, for which kindness they were sent to jail. The sheriff also of his own authority took him from the stake, and remitted him to prison, for which he was sent to the Fleet, and lay there some time. Before, however, he was taken from the stake, Dr. Seaton wrote articles for him to subscribe to. To these Mr. Benbridge made so many objections, that Dr. Seaton ordered them to set fire again to the pile. Then with much pain and grief of heart he subscribed to them upon a man’s back.

This done, his gown was given him again, and he was led to prison. While there, he wrote a letter to Dr. Seaton, recanting those words he spake at the stake, and the articles which he had subscribed; for he was grieved that he had ever signed them. The same day se’ennight he was again brought to the stake, where the vile tormentors rather broiled than burnt him. The Lord give his enemies repentance!

Not long before the sickness of queen Mary, in the beginning of August, 1558, four offensive humble martyrs were burnt at St. Edmundsbury with very little examination. Neglect in attending the popish service at mass, which in vain they pleaded as a matter of conscience, was the cause of their untimely sufferings and deaths. Their heroic names were J. Cooke, sawyer; R. Miles, alias Plummer, sheerman; A. Lane, wheelwright; and J. Ashley, a bachelor.

CHAP. IV.

Alexander Gouch and Alice Driver.

These godly persons were apprehended by Mr. Noone, a justice in Suffolk. Mr. Gouch, weaver, aged 36, of Woodbridge, and Mrs. Driver, married, aged 30, of Gosborough, being both at the latter place, not far from Noone’s house, he went in pursuit of them, and the fugitives were compelled to take refuge in a hay loft, whither their persecutors searched for them, and by thrusting with their pitchforks among the hay, they at length were found and secured. For some time they lay in Melton jail, and were thence carried to the Bury assizes, where they boldly confessed Christ crucified, and defended their opinions against the drossy gilding of popery. Alice Driver did not hesitate to compare Mary in her persecution to Jezebel; for which comparison Sir Clement Higham, the judge then presiding, ordered her ears immediately to be cut off! This she joyfully submitted to, accounting the glory of Christ of more importance than the pain of suffering. After the termination of the Bury assize, they were carried again to Melton, where they remained for some time, and were then removed to Ipswich, at which town the following examination took place.
We are induced to give it, from the strength of mind and argument which Mrs. Driver displayed, when contrasted with the weakness of her spiritual interrogators, Dr. Spencer, chancellor of Norwich, and Dr. Gascoign. The serenity of her countenance, which wore a placid smile, attracting the notice of the chancellor, he said, “Why, woman, dost thou laugh us to scorn?”

Mrs. Driver. Whether I do or no, I might well enough, to see what fools ye are.

Then the chancellor asked her why she was brought before him, and was laid in prison.

Mrs. D. Wherefore? I think I need not tell you; for you know it better than I.

Spencer. No, by my troth, woman, I know not why.

Mrs. D. Then have you done me much wrong, thus to imprison me, and know no cause why.

S. 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 these words made no answer. A great-headed priest who stood by then spake, and asked her why she did not answer the chancellor. Driver’s wife, having looked at him austerely, 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! The priest being silenced, the chancellor bid her answer what he had demanded of her.

Mrs. D. Sir, pardon me if I make no answer, since I cannot tell what you mean; for in all my life I never heard nor read of any such sacrament in Scripture.

S. Why, what Scriptures have you read, I pray you?

Mrs. D. I have, I thank God, read God’s book.

S. Why, what manner of book do you call God’s book?

Mrs. D. The Old and New Testament.—What call you it?

S. That is God’s book indeed, I cannot deny.

Mrs. D. That same book I have read throughout, but yet never found any such sacrament there; and for that cause I cannot make you answer to that thing I know not. Notwithstanding, 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.

S. It is a sign.—And one Dr. Gascoign being by confirmed the same, that it was a sign of a holy thing.

Mrs. D. 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 agree; for I have granted your own saying.

Then Dr. Gascoign made an oration, at the end of which 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; I do believe that God is almighty, and able to perform what he spake and promised.

Gascoign. Very well. Then he said to his disciples, “Take, eat, this is my body.” Therefore, it was his body, for he was able to perform that he spake, and God does not lie.

Mrs. D. I pray you did he ever make any such promise to his disciples, that he would make the bread his body?

G. Those be his words. Can you deny it?

Mrs. D. No; they be the very words indeed, I cannot deny it; but I pray you, was it not bread that he gave unto them?

G. No, it was his body.

Mrs. D. Then was it his body that they did eat over night?

G. It was his body.

Mrs. D. What body was it then that was crucified the next day?

G. It was Christ’s body.

Mrs. D. How could this 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 a doctrine! Are 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, I 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.
Dr. Gascoign, ashamed of his argument, made her no answer; but the chancellor, lifting up his head from his cushion, commanded the jailer to take her away.

The next day she came before them again, when the chancellor asked her, what she said to the blessed sacrament of the altar?

Mrs. D. I will say nothing to it: for you will neither believe me nor yourselves. Yesterday I asked you what a sacrament was, and you said, it was a sign; 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.

S. Thou liest, naughty woman; we did not say that it was a sign.

Mrs. D. 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?

Dr. Gascoign now stood up, and said, she was deceived; for there are three churches, the malignant church, the church militant, and the church triumphant. This was irrelevant, but she wished to shift the argument, as he could not maintain it.

Mrs. D. Sir, is there mention made of so many churches in the Scripture?

G. Yea.

Mrs. D. I pray you where find you this word (church) written in the Scripture?

G. It is written in the New Testament.

Mrs. D. I pray you, Sir, show the place where it is written.

G. I cannot tell the place, but there it is. Upon this she desired him to look in his Testament: but he fumbled and sought about without success; indeed, he knew there was none, though he seemed to search for it. At last she said, Have you none here, Sir?

G. No.

Mrs. D. I thought, 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? These words put Dr. Gascoign out of countenance, and he asked if she had one.

Mrs. D. No.

G. I am as good a doctor as you then

Mrs. D. 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 hot 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.

Mrs. D. Have you no more to say? God be honoured. You are not able to resist the spirit of God in me, a poor woman. I was an honest poor man’s daughter, not brought up in the university as you have been, but have driven the plough 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 the 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 and glorifying the name of God.

The examination of Gouch contained the usual questions and answers, and produced the general result of such investigation,—that is, condemnation and death. Ipswich was the place of execution, and the day of sacrifice was Nov. 4, 1558.

They were brought to the stake at seven o’clock in the morning, notwithstanding they had come from Melton jail, six miles off. The sheriff, Sir Henry Dowell, was much dissatisfied with the time they took in prayer, and sent one of his men to bid them to make an end. Gouch earnestly entreated for a little time, urging that they had but a little while to live; but the sheriff would grant no indulgence, and ordered the numerous friends who came to take the last farewell of them as they stood chained to the stake, to be forcibly torn away, and threatened them with arrest; but the indignation of the spectators made him revoke this order. They endured the terrific conflagration, and honoured God equally in their lives and deaths.

In the same month were executed at Bury, P. Humphrey, and J. and H. David, brothers.
Sir Clement Higham, about a fortnight before the queen’s death, issued out a warrant for their sacrifice, notwithstanding the queen’s illness at that time rendered her incapable of signing the order for their execution.

CHAP. V.

Mrs. Prest.

From the number condemned in this fanatical reign, it is almost impossible to obtain the name of every martyr, or to embellish the history of all with anecdotes and exemplifications of Christian conduct. Thanks be to Providence, our cruel task begins to draw towards a conclusion, with the end of the reign of Papal terror and bloodshed. Monarchs, who sit upon thrones possessed by hereditary right, should, of all others, consider that the laws of nature are the laws of God, and hence that the first law of nature is the preservation of their subjects. Maxims of persecution, of torture, and of death, they should leave to those who have effected sovereignty by fraud or the sword; but where, except among a few miscreant emperors of Rome, and the Roman pontiffs, shall we find one whose memory is so “damed to everlasting fame” as that of queen Mary!—Nations bewail the hour which separates them for ever from a beloved governor, but, with respect to that of Mary, it was the most blessed time of her whole reign. Heaven has ordained three great scourges for national sins—plague, pestilence, and famine.—It was the will of God in Mary’s reign to bring a fourth upon this kingdom, under the form of Papistical Persecution. It was sharp, but glorious; the fire which consumed the martyrs has undermined the Popedom; and the Catholic states, at present the most bigoted and unenlightened, are those which are sunk lowest in the scale of moral dignity and political consequence. May they remain so, till the pure light of the gospel shall dissipate the darkness of fanaticism and superstition! But to return.

Mrs. Prest for some time lived about Cornwall, where she had a husband and children, whose rigid bigotry compelled her to frequent the abominations of the church of Rome. Resolving to act as her conscience dictated, she quitted them, and gained a living by spinning. After some time, returning home, she was accused by her neighbours, and brought to Exeter, to be examined before Dr. Troubleville, and his chancellor Blackston. As this martyr was accounted of very inferior intellects, we shall put her in competition with the bishop, and let the reader judge which possessed the most of that knowledge conducive to everlasting life. The bishop having brought the question to issue, respecting the bread and wine being flesh and blood, Mrs. Prest said, “I will demand of you, whether you can deny your creed, which says, 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 one offering he made all perfect, why do you with a false offering make all imperfect? If he be to be worshipped in spirit and in truth, why do you worship a piece of bread? If he be eaten and drunken 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 do as you do, I would live no longer. I have said, Sir.

Bishop. I promise you, you are a jolly Protestant. I pray you in what school have you been brought up?

Mrs. Prest. 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.

B. O foolish woman, who will waste his breath upon thee, or such as thou art? But how chanceth it that thou westest 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.

Mrs. P. Sir, I laboured for my living; and as my master Christ counselleth me, when I was persecuted in one city, I fled into another.

B. Who persecuted thee!

Mrs. P. My husband and my children. For
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 wheresover I was, as oft as I could, upon Sundays and holydays, I made excuses not to go to the popish church.

B. Belike then you are a good housewife, to fly from your husband and the church.

Mrs. P. My housewifery is but small; but God gave me grace to go to the true church.

B. The true church, what dost thou mean?

Mrs. P. 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.

B. 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.

Mrs. P. No, I have but one husband, who is here already in this city, and in prison with me, from whom I will never depart.

Some persons present endeavouring to convince the bishop she was not in her right senses, she was permitted to depart. The keeper of the bishop’s prison took her into his house, where she either spun, worked as a servant, or walked about the city, discoursing upon the sacrament of the altar. Her husband was sent for to take her home, but this she refused while the cause of religion could be served. She was too active to be idle, and her conversation, simple as they affected to think her, excited the attention of several catholic priests and friars. They teazed her with questions, till she answered them angrily, and this excited a laugh at her warmth.

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. To which she replied, What profit ariseth by you, that teach nothing but lies for truth? how save you souls, when you preach nothing but lies, and destroy souls?

How provest thou that? said they.

Do you not destroy your souls, 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 yours cars, and say they will be damned if they confess not all; when God’s word saith, Who can number his sins? Do you not promise them torrents 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 imaginations? Do you not altogether act 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 do 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.

During the liberty granted her by the bishop, before mentioned, she went into St. Peter’s church, and there found a skilful Dutchman, who was affixing new noses to certain fine images which had been disfigured in King Edward’s time; to whom she said, What a madman art thou, to make them new noses, which within a few days shall all lose their heads? The Dutchman accused her, and laid it hard to her charge. And she said unto him, Thou art accursed, and so are thy images. He called her a whore. Nay, said she, thy images are whores, and thou art a whore-hunter; for doth not God say, You go a whoring after strange gods, figures of your own making!—and thou art one of them. After this she was ordered to be confined, and had no more liberty.

During the time of her imprisonment, many visited her, some sent by the bishop, and some of their own will; among these was one Daniel, a great preacher of the gospel, in the days of king Edward, about Cornwall and Devonshire, but who, through the grievous persecution he had sustained, had fallen off. Earnestly did she exhort him to repent with
Peter, and to be more constant in his profession.

Mrs. Walter Rauley and Mr. Wm. and John Kede, persons of great respectability, bore ample testimony of her godly conversation, declaring that unless God were with her, it were impossible she could have so ably defended the cause of Christ. Indeed, to sum up the character of this poor woman, she united the serpent and the dove, abounding in the highest wisdom, joined to the greatest simplicity. She endured imprisonment, threatenings, taunts, and the vilest epithets, but nothing could induce her to swerve: her heart was fixed; she had cast anchor; nor could all the wounds of persecution remove her from the rock on which her hopes of felicity were built.

Such was her memory, that, without learning, she could tell in what chapter any text of Scripture was contained; on account of this singular property, one Gregory Basset, a rank papist, said she was deranged, and talked as a parrot, wild, without meaning. At length, having tried every manner without effect to make her nominally a catholic, they condemned her. After this one exhorted her to leave her opinions, and go home to her family, as she was poor and illiterate. "True, (said she) though I am not learned, I am content to be a witness of Christ's death; and I pray you make no longer delay with me; for my heart is fixed, and I will never say otherwise, nor turn to your superstitious doing.

To the disgrace of Mr. Blackston, treasurer of the church, he would often send for this poor martyr from prison to make sport for him and a woman whom he kept; putting religious questions to her, and turning her answers into ridicule. This done, he sent her back to her wretched dungeon, while he batten upon the good things of this world.

There was perhaps something simply ludicrous in the form of Mrs. Prest, as she was of a very short stature, thick set, and about 54 years of age; but her countenance was cheerful and lively, as if prepared for the day of her marriage with the Lamb. To mock at her form was an indirect accusation of her Creator, who framed her after the fashion he liked best, and gave her a mind that far excelled the transient endowments of perishable flesh. When she was offered money, she rejected it, "because (said she) I am going to a city where money bears no mystery, and while I am here God has promised to feed me."

When sentence was read, condemning her to the flames, she lifted up her voice, and praised God, adding, "This day have I found that which I have long sought." When they tempted her to recant, "That will I not, (said she,) God forbid that I should lose the life eternal, for this carnal and short life. I will never turn from my heavenly husband to my earthly husband; from the fellowship of angels to mortal children; and if my husband and children be faithful, then am I theirs. God is my father, God is my mother, God is my sister, my brother, my kinsman; God is my friend, most faithful."

Being delivered to the sheriff, she was led by the officer to the place of execution, without the walls of Exeter, called Sothenheey, where again the superstitious priests assaulted her. While they were tying her to the stake, she continued earnestly to exclain, "God be merciful to me, a sinner!" Patiently enduring the devouring conflagration, she was consumed to ashes, and thus ended a life which, in unshaken fidelity to the cause of Christ, was not surpassed by that of any preceding martyr.

Richard Sharpe, Thomas Banton, and Thomas Hale.

Mr. Sharpe, weaver, of Bristol, was brought the 9th day of March, 1556, before Mr. Dalby, chancellor of the city of Bristol, and after examination concerning the sacrament of the altar, was persuaded to recant; and on the 29th he was enjoined to make his recantation in the parish church. But, scarcely had he publicly avowed his backsliding, before he felt in his conscience such a tormenting fiend, that he was unable to work at his occupation; hence, shortly after, one Sunday, he came into the parish church, called Temple, and after high mass, stood up in the choir door, and said with a loud voice, "Neighbours, bear me record that yonder idol (pointing to the altar) is the greatest and most abominable that ever was; and I am sorry that ever I denied my Lord God!" Notwithstanding the constables were ordered to apprehend him, he was
suffered to go out of the church; but at night he was apprehended and carried to Newgate. Shortly after, before the chancellor denying the sacrament of the altar to be the body and blood of Christ, he was condemned to be burned by Mr. Dalby. He was burnt the 7th of May, 1558, and died godly, patiently, and constantly, confessing the protestant articles of faith.

With him suffered Thomas Hale, shoemaker, of Bristol, who was condemned by chancellor Dalby. These martyrs were bound back to back.

Thomas Bandon, a weaver, at the commandment of the commissioners, was brought the 13th day of August, 1558, before Mr. Dalby, who committed him to prison for saying there was nothing but bread in the sacrament. August the 20th, he was condemned to be burnt for denying five of their sacraments, and admitting but two, the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, and the sacrament of baptism. He was burnt on Aug. 27th of the same year, and died for the sake of the evangelical cause of his Saviour.

CHAP. VI.

1. Corneford, of Wortham; C. Browne, of Maidstone; J. Herst, of Ashford; Alice Snoth, and Catherine Knight, an aged woman.

With pleasure we have to record that these five martyrs were the last who suffered in the reign of Mary for the sake of the protestant cause; but the malice of the papists was conspicuous in hastening their martyrdom, which might have been delayed till the event of the queen's illness was decided. It is reported that the archdeacon of Canterbury, judging that the sudden death of the queen would suspend the execution, travelled post from London to have the satisfaction of adding another page to the black list of papistical sacrifices.

The articles against them were, as usual, the sacramental elements and the idolatry of bending to images. They quoted St. John's words, "Beware of images!" and respecting the real presence, they urged, according to St. Paul, "the things that be seen are temporal."

When sentence was about to be read against them, and excommunication take place in the regular form, John Corneford, illuminated by the Holy Spirit, awfully turned the latter proceeding against themselves, and in a solemn impressive manner, recriminated their excommunication in the following words: "In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of the most mighty God, and by the power of his holy Spirit, and the authority of his holy catholic and apostolic church, we do here give into the hands of Satan to be destroyed, the bodies of all those blasphemers and heretics that maintain any error against his most holy word, or do condemn his most holy truth for heresy, to the maintenance of any false church or foreign religion, so that by this thy just judgment, O most mighty God, against thy adversaries, thy true religion may be known to thy great glory and our comfort, and to the edifying of all our nation. Good Lord, so be it. Amen."

This sentence was openly pronounced and registered, and, as if Providence had awarded that it should not be delivered in vain, within six days after queen Mary died, detested by all good men, and accused of God!—Though acquainted with these circumstances, the archdeacon's implacability exceeded that of his great exemplary Bonner, who, though he had several persons at that time under his fiery grasp, did not urge their deaths hastily, by which delay he certainly afforded them an opportunity of escape. Father Lining and his wife, with several others, thus saved their lives, who, had they been under the barbarous archdeacon, must inevitably have perished.—At the queen's decease, many were in bonds: some just taken, some examined, and others condemned. The writs indeed were issued for several burnings, but by the death of the three instigators of protestant murder,—the chancellor, the bishop, and the queen, who fell nearly together, the condemned sheep were liberated, and lived many years to praise God for their happy deliverance.

These five martyrs, when at the stake, earnestly prayed that their blood might be the last shed, nor did they pray in vain. They died gloriously, and perfected the number God had selected to bear witness of the truth in this dreadful reign, whose names are re-
corded in the Book of Life;—though last, not least among the saints made meet for immortality through the redeeming blood of the Lamb!

Catherine Finlay, alias Knight, was first converted by her son’s expounding the Scriptures to her, which wrought in her a perfect work that terminated in martyrdom. Alice Sooth at the stake sent for her godmothers and godfather, and rehearsed to them the articles of her faith, and the commandments of God, thereby convincing the world that she knew her duty. She died calling upon the spectators to bear witness that she was a Christian woman, and suffered joyfully for the testimony of Christ’s gospel.

Richard White and John Hunt, imprisoned at Salisbury, were among those for whose execution the writs were made out, but who escaped. They had been imprisoned two years, during which White was examined before Dr. Brookes, bishop of Gloucester, and Dr. Jeffery, the chancellor of Salisbury,—for whom he was too hard in argument. Indeed, when on examination before Dr. Blackston, chancellor of Exeter, his rebukes respecting the patch-work explanations they gave from the fathers, had such an effect on that prelate, that he trembled, was forced to stoop down, and support his body with his arms resting on his knees.

Being condemned, these martyrs were delivered to the high sheriff, Sir Ant. Hungerford, whose son-in-law, Mr. Clifford, of Boses, counselled him by no means to meddle with the death of these two innocent persons; and if the chancellor should be urgent upon him, to require first the writ De Comburendo for his discharge. With this advice he consulted a justice; who told him that without a writ from the superior powers he could not be discharged, and if the writ were sent down from London, he must by law do his charge. The sheriff was thus informed of the law, and having no such writ, left them alone, and took his journey far from home.

The chancellor wondered at the sheriff’s delay, yet disdained to go to him, because he expected the sheriff to come to him; but hearing he was gone from home, he took horse, rode after him, and overtaking him, inquired wherefore he had not executed the condemned prisoners committed to him! The sheriff, seeing him fiercely urgent, told him he was no babe to be taught by him. If he had the writ, he knew what he was to do. “Why, (said the chancellor,) did not I give you a writ with my hand, and eight more of the close unto it?” “If you have no other writ but that (said the sheriff) I tell you I will neither burn them for you, nor any of you all.” Upon this rebuke he went away so grieved, that he fell sick, and within four days died. Soon after that discourse, the writ was sent down, which being delivered to the under-sheriff, Mr. Mitchell, a godly man, he told them, he would not be guilty of these men’s blood, and so burnt the writ and departed. The chancellor dying, and the bishop being dead a little before, they remained in prison till the reign of Elizabeth, who set them and many more at liberty.

The scrupulous conduct of this worthy sheriff gives a very strong reason to suppose that numbers of the martyrs were executed prematurely, through the incircumspect negligence of the sheriffs, who did not wait for the necessary form of law.—Had Sir Anthony acted thus, these two worthies would have suffered; hence it is a Christian as well as a political duty, to watch the steps of tyrannical power, and to use every hindrance that legal impediment may present to such unjust and bigoted persecution.

It may here be properly noted, that the hypocrisy of the papists is manifest in the letter and spirit of their condemnatory sentence which urges, in a petition to the secular power, that, in the wounds of Jesus Christ, the rigour of the law may be mitigated, and that life may be spared! Such is the letter, but their practice displays what is their spirit—seeking for the officers of justice, urging them to speedy executions, accusing them in turn if they showed the least symptoms of humanity, and denying to the suffering victims the last consolations in dying.

Richard Hunter and John White, after the death of the chancellor, preceded not long before by that of the bishop, continued in prison till the happy commencement of queen Elizabeth’s reign, when they were set at liberty.
CHAP. VII.

William Fetty Scourged to Death.

Among the numberless enormities committed by the merciless and unfeeling Bonner, the murder of this innocent and unoffending child may be ranked as the most horrid. His father, John Fetty, of the parish of Clerkenwell, by trade a tailor, and only twenty-four years of age, had made a blessed election; he was fixed secure in eternal hope, and depended on Him who so builds his church that the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. But, alas! the very wife of his bosom, whose heart was hardened against the truth, and whose mind was influenced by the teachers of false doctrine, became his accuser. Brokenbry, a creature of the pope, and parson of the parish, received the information of this wedded Delilah, in consequence of which the poor man was apprehended. But here the awful judgment of an ever-righteous God, "who is of purer eyes than to behold iniquity," fell upon this stone-hearted and perfidious woman; for no sooner was the injured husband captured by her wicked contriving, than she also was suddenly seized with madness, and exhibited an awful and awakening instance of God’s power to punish the evil doer.”

This dreadful circumstance had some effect upon the hearts of the ungodly hunters who had eagerly grasped their prey; but, in a relenting moment, they suffered him to remain with his unworthy wife, to return her good for evil, and to comfort two children, who, on his being sent to prison, would have been left without a protector, or have become a burden to the parish. As bad men act from little motives, we may place the indulgence shown him to the latter account.

We have noticed in the former part of our narratives of the martyrs, some whose affection would have led them even to sacrifice their own lives, to preserve their husbands; but here, agreeable to Scripture language, a mother proves, indeed, a monster in nature! Neither conjugal nor maternal affection could impress the heart of this disgraceful woman.

Although our afflicted Christian had experienced so much cruelty and falsehood from the woman who was bound to him by every tie, both human and divine, yet, with a mild and forbearing spirit, he overlooked her misdeeds, during her calamity endeavouring all he could to procure relief for her malady, and soothing her by every possible expression of tenderness: thus she became in a few weeks nearly restored to her senses. But, alas! she returned again to her sin, “as the dog returneth to his vomit.” Malice against the saints of the Most High was seated in her heart too firmly to be removed; and as her strength returned, her inclination to work wickedness returned with it. Her heart was hardened by the prince of darkness; and to her may be applied these afflicting and soul-harrowing words, “Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his spots? then will they do good who are accustomed to do evil.” Weighing this text duly with another, “I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy,” how shall we presume to refine away the sovereignty of God, by arraigning Jehovah at the bar of human reason, which, in religious matters, is too often opposed by infinite wisdom? “Broad is the way which leadeth to death, and many tread therein. Narrow is the way which leadeth to life, and few there be who find it.” The ways of heaven are indeed inscrutable, and it is our bounden duty to walk ever dependent on God, looking up to him with humble confidence, and hope in his goodness, and ever confess his justice; and where we “cannot unravel, there learn to trust.” This wretched woman, pursuing the horrid dictates of a heart hardened and depraved, was scarcely confirmed in her recovery, when, stifling the dictates of honour, gratitude, and every natural affection, she again accused her husband, who was once more apprehended, and taken before Sir John Mordon, Knight, and one of queen Mary’s commissioners.

Upon examination, his judge finding him steadfast in opinions which militated against those nursed by superstition and maintained by cruelty, he was sentenced to confinement and torture in Lollard’s Tower. “Here (says honest Fox) he was put into the painful stocks, and had a dish of water set by him, with a stone put into it; to what purpose God knew, except it were to show that he should look for little other subsistence: which is credible enough, if we consider their like practices upon divers before mentioned in this history; as, among others, upon Richard Smith, who died
through their cruel imprisonment; touching whom, when a godly woman came to Dr. Story to have leave that she might bury him, he asked her if he had any straw or blood in his mouth; but what he means thereby, I leave to the judgment of the wise.

On the first day of the third week of our martyr’s sufferings, an object presented itself to his view, which made him indeed feel his tortures with all their force, and to execrate, with bitterness only short of cursing, the author of his misery. To mark and punish the proceedings of his tormentors, remained with the Most High, who noteth even the fall of a sparrow, and in whose sacred word it is written, “Vengeance is mine, and I will repay.” This object was his own son, a child of the tender age of eight years. For fifteen days had its hapless father been suspended by his tormentor by the right arm and left leg, and sometimes by both, shifting his positions for the purpose of giving him strength to bear and to lengthen the date of his sufferings. When the unoffending innocent, desirous of seeing and speaking to its parent, applied to Bonner for permission so to do, the poor child being asked by the bishop’s chaplain the purport of his errand, he replied, he wished to see his father. “Who is thy father?” said the chaplain. “John Fetty,” returned the boy, at the same time pointing to the place where he was confined. The interrogating miscreant on this said, “Why, thy father is a heretic.” The little champion again rejoined, with energy sufficient to raise admiration in any breast, except that of this unprincipled and unfeeling wretch—this miscreant, eager to execute the behests of a remorseless queen—“My father is no heretic: for you have Balaam’s mark.”

Irritated by reproach so aptly applied, the indignant and mortified priest concealed his resentment for a moment, and took the undaunted boy into the house, where, having him secure, he presented him to others, whose baseness and cruelty being equal to his own, they stripped him to the skin, and applied their scourges to so violent a degree, that, fainting beneath the stripes inflicted on his tender frame, and covered with the blood that flowed from them, the victim of their ungodly wrath was ready to expire under his heavy and unmerited punishment.

In this bleeding and helpless state was the suffering infant, covered only with his shirt, taken to his father by one of the actors in the horrid tragedy, who, while he exhibited the heart-rending spectacle, made use of the vilest taunts, and exulted in what he had done. The dutiful child, as if recovering strength at the sight of his father, on his knees implored his blessing. “Alas! Will,” said the afflicted parent in trembling amazement, “who hath done this to thee?!” The artless innocent related the circumstances that led to the merciless correction which had been so basely inflicted on him; but when he repeated the reproof bestowed on the chaplain, and which was prompted by an undaunted spirit, he was torn from his weeping parent, and conveyed again to the house, where he remained a close prisoner.

Bonner, somewhat fearful that what had been done could not be justified even among the bloodhounds of his own voracious pack, concluded, in his dark and wicked mind, to release John Fetty, for a time at least, from the severities he was enduring in the glorious cause of everlasting truth! whose bright rewards are fixed beyond the boundaries of time, within the confines of eternity; where the arrow of the wicked cannot wound, even “where there shall be no more sorrowing for the blessed, who in the mansions of eternal bliss shall glorify the Lamb for ever and ever.” He was accordingly, by order of Bonner, (how disgraceful to all dignity, to say Bishop!) liberated from painful bonds, and led from Lollard’s Tower to the chamber of that ungodly and infamous butcher, where, says Fox, “he found the bishop bathing himself before a great fire; and at his first entering the chamber, Fetty said, ’God be here and peace!’ ’God be here and peace, (said Bonner) that is neither God speed nor good morrow!’ ’If ye kick against this peace, (said Fetty) then this is not the place that I seek for.’

A chaplain of the bishop, standing by, turned the poor man about, and thinking to abash him, said, in mocking wise, “What have we here—a player?” While Fetty was thus standing in the bishop’s chamber, he espied, hanging about the bishop’s bed, a pair of great black beads; whereupon he said, “My Lord, I think the hangman is not far off; for the halter (pointing to the beads) is here already!” At which words the bishop was in a marvellous rage.
Then he immediately after espied also, standing in the bishop’s chamber, in the window, a little crucifix. Then he asked the bishop what it was; and he answered, that it was Christ. “Was he handled as cruelly as he is here pictured?” said Fettie. “Yea, that he was,” said the bishop. “And even so cruelly will you handle such as come before you; for you are unto God’s people as Caiaphas was unto Christ!” The bishop, being in a great fury, said, “Thou art a vile heretic, and I will burn thee, or else I will spend all I have, unto my gown!” “Nay, my lord, (said Fettie) you were better to give it to some poor body, that he may pray for you.” Bonner, notwithstanding his passion, which was raised to the utmost by the calm and pointed remarks of this observing Christian, thought it most prudent to dismiss the father, on account of the nearly murdered child. His coward soul trembled for the consequences which might ensue; fear is inseparable from little minds; and this dastardly pampered priest experienced its effects so far as to induce him to assume the appearance of that he was an utter stranger to, namely, mercy.

The father, on being dismissed by the tyrant Bonner, went home with a heavy heart, with his dying child, who did not survive many days the cruelties which had been inflicted on him. How contrary to the will of our great King and Prophet, who mildly taught his followers, was the conduct of this sanguinary and false teacher, this vile apostate from his God to Satan! But the arch-fiend had taken entire possession of his heart, and guided every action of the sinner he had hardened: who, given up to terrible destruction, was running the race of the wicked, marking his footsteps with the blood of the saints, as if eager to arrive at the goal of eternal death.

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CHAP. VIII.

FLAGELLATIONS OF VARIOUS PERSONS.

We shall now proceed to treat of those persons who were scourged, or otherwise ill-treated, for the cause of religion, but who escaped death. There is little reason to doubt that all these would have willingly laid down their lives, had it pleased God to have required this sacrifice at their hands.

The first of these sufferers were Richard Wilmot and Thomas Fairfax, who were punished about the same time as Anne Askew.

Dr. Crone, having preached a sermon at the Mercers’ chapel, in which he ably proved that Christ was the only and sufficient sacrifice to God the Father for the sins of the world, was brought before Gardiner, and ordered to recant this doctrine openly at St. Paul’s cross. He did indeed preach a sermon, but not to the satisfaction of the catholic bishop, who commanded him to make a more full abjuration of his heresy on the following Sunday. One of the guards coming into the shop where Wilmot was at work, rejoiced very much that the old heretic, as he termed Dr. Crone, was brought into this dilemma. Wilmot defended the doctrine of Dr. Crone, and a debate was carried on between them with much heat of argument, till Lewis violently exclaimed, “By God’s blood, if you were my servant, I would set you about your business, and not suffer you to see any books, and so would your master, if he were wise.” At this juncture his master entered, with a young man named Thomas Fairfax, a servant to Mr. Daunbey, in Walling-street. When Lewis had related the cause of the dispute, Wilmot’s master fell into a violent rage with him for his opinions, which were as zealously defended by Fairfax. For this they were examined before Sir Roger Cholmley and the lord mayor, who reported their offence to Gardiner. The first sentence against them was that they should be tied to a cart’s tail, and be whipped three days through the city. This, at the instance of the Drapers’ company, and at the cost of £100, was remitted to a private whipping in their hall, as they were servants of the company. Mr. Brookes, the master, after having signified to them that they deserved death, bid them prepare for punishment. They were successively stripped, fastened to an iron ring, and flogged by two men in masks, till the blood descended in torrents from their lacerated backs. Wilmot could not lie in bed for six nights after, and from the severity of the punishment and fear, never after perfectly recovered his health.
Thomas Green, a printer, was brought before Dr. Story by his master, for having a book in his possession called Antichrist, which he affirmed contained both treason and heresy. For many days Green remained in the stocks in Bonner's coal-house, and his persecutors expressed great anxiety, but in vain, to learn the name of the parties who had given him this book. In one of these interrogations, Dr. Story's words were a brief elucidation of the amiable features of papal mercy—with a great oath he swore, "It were a good deed to put a hundred or two of these heretic knaves into a house, and I myself would set it on fire." After several hearings, Green was remanded to the coal-house, where, in the course of one week, fourteen persons were brought in. Green was kept alone in a part called the Salt-house, his leg bolted and fettered, and his hands manacled, in which manner for ten days he lay on the stones or on a board. He was after this removed to Lollard's Tower, where he found two prisoners, one of whom was a protestant Frenchman. Here Green was kept in the stocks more than a month. As he would not confess of whom he had the book, he was threatened with the rack, and committed again to endure the misery of the stocks in Lollard's Tower. By order of the commissioners, the keeper Cluny gave him the correction of thieves and vagabonds in Christ's Hospital, and then he was sent to a dungeon for a month. Dr. Story after this had him tied up to one of the pillars, by two of the beaddles, and one of Green's friends, hearing the doctor call for whips, threw in a bundle of rods, and the use of these satisfied his ferocity. It was Story's intention he should have received a hundred lashes, but some friends interfered, and mitigated the number, much against this humane prelate's inclination, who declared that, with his will, he would cut his tongue out! After paying his fees, this poor sufferer was dismissed.

Stephen Cotton was another who suffered severely by flagellation, being twice flogged, and under Bonner's threats that he would himself inflict the punishment. Whether he afterward was discharged is not on record.

James Harris, of Billericay, Essex, aged seventeen years, was sent up to London, and several times closely examined by Bonner, who persuaded him to go to confession. When before the priest, he stood still, and said nothing. "Why do you not confess?" said the priest. "Because," replied Harris, "my sins are so many, they cannot be numbered." The priest related this answer to Bonner, who took the lad into his garden, and, with the rod of a cherry-tree, whipped him in the most unmerciful manner. Robert Williams, a smith, also was cruelly scourged in the same place, and, upon his promise to be obedient, was suffered to depart. Pursuing however the path of the true faith, he was diligently sought after, and died in his concealment, to the great disappointment of the enemies of the cross of Christ.

A poor harmless beggar was whipped at Salisbury by Dr. Jeffery's order, because he would not receive the sacrament at Easter. This punishment was inflicted by two bailiffs, and excited the commiseration of every bosom that was not steeled by bigotry and a thirst of blood. It would be tedious to enumerate all who were torn, mangled, and almost literally flayed, for the sake of the truth: their names are entered in a higher tribunal than that of men, and will one day become the accusing spirits of their merciless persecutors.

CHAP. IX.

SOME VERY REMARKABLE PRESERVATIONS AND ESCAPES.

When William Living was taken, some of his books were in the custody of John Lithal, which caused the latter to be apprehended, and brought before Dr. Darbyshire, who, after a short examination, ordered him to kneel before the cross, and to say a pater-noster, which Lithal declined doing, as a species of idolatrous worship. Then the keeper and another endeavoured to force him to obedience, but their strength was inadequate. He was then taken to Lollard's Tower, and placed three days and nights in the stocks, till he had nearly lost the use of his limbs. When brought before the chancellor, he would have liberated him upon two of his neighbours being bound for his silence in future; but Lithal
would not consent to being restricted in his faith or practice; quoting to him the words of Christ, "Whoso offendeth one of these little ones, &c. of whom," continued Litchal, "I am assured by his Holy Spirit I am one. For which reason, rely upon it, that such mercy as you show unto me, shall be showed to you again." Dr. Darbyshire however let him escape upon the sureties of his friends, an act of kindness which is only to be accounted for from the altered circumstances of the times, queen Mary's expected death doing more in relaxing their fiery persecution than any other motive of humanity.

Wm. Brown, parson of Little-Stanham, Suffolk, for preaching a sermon hostile to the catholics, was persecuted by one Roger Bloomfield, a constable, but a wealthy man. From Stanham Mr. Brown was taken to Ipswich jail, thence to Bury jail, and lastly to the Fleet in London, where he was suffered to depart with a quiet conscience. When he returned to his native town, because he would not go to mass, his living was taken away, and he and his wife compelled to wander about secretly. Of Bloomfield it may be remarked, that God's judgment followed him: just after Mr. Brown's apprehension, he fell dangerously ill, his eldest son died, and his wife pined in sickness till she died. After his second marriage, he was constantly afflicted, and died hard in heart and deranged in his circumstances.

Elizabeth Young was the person who gave the book called Antichrist, mentioned before in the scourging of Thomas Green. She had come from Embden, and was active in dispersing pious books among the protestant brethren, for which she was at length apprehended, and underwent no less than thirteen examinations before the catholic inquisitors. Mrs. Young possessed great triteness, courage, and acuteness, in her replies, of which her first examination before Mr. Hussy will give an entertaining instance.

Hussy. Where were you born, and who was your father and mother?
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.

H. Wherefore wentest thou out of the realm?
Y. To keep my conscience clean.
H. When wast thou at mass?
Y. Not these three years.
H. Then wast thou not there three years before that?
Y. No, Sir, nor yet three years before that: for if I were, I had had evil luck.
H. How old art thou?
Y. Forty and upwards.
H. Twenty of those years you went to mass?
Y. Yea, and twenty more I may, and yet come home as wise as I went thither first, for I understand it not.

H. Why wilt thou not go to the mass?
Y. Sir, my conscience will not suffer me; for I had rather all the world should accuse me, than my own conscience.

H. What if an insect stick upon thy skin, and bite thy flesh; thou must make a conscience of taking it off; is there not a conscience in it?
Y. 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.

H. But why wilt thou not swear upon the Evangelists before a judge?
Y. Because I know not what a book oath is.
Her second examination was before Dr. Martin, who accused her of bringing traitorous and heretical books from the continent, and ordered her to confess who had printed, translated, and sent them over.

Y. Sir, you have my confession, and more than that I cannot say.

M. Thou must say more, and shalt say more. Dost thou think that we will be fully answered by this confession thou hast made? Thou rebellious whore, 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 whore and heretic. 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 liest, and every place thou hast been in: dost thou think thou hast fools in hand?
Y. No, Sir, you are too wise for me; for I cannot 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.

M. Thou rebel and traitorous whore, thou shalt be so racked and tormented, that thou shalt be an example to all such traitorous whores 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 in spite of thy blood.

Y. Here is my carease; do with it what you will, and more than that you cannot have. Mr. Martin, you can have no more than my blood.

M. to the keeper. 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.

Y. If you take away my meat, I trust that God will take away my hunger. The Doctor then departed, saying, that was too good for her; and she was shut up under two locks in the Clink, where she was before.

Upon the third examination of Mrs. Young, before Dr. Martin, he ordered her to the rack, when he found she would not confess; but this was not inflicted, as there is reason to think he privately instructed the jailer not to proceed to that extremity. Upon the fourth examination, Dr. Lock had the brutal indelicacy to question her sex, and, when she affirmed she was the mother of children, he replied, “Thou art an ill-favoured whore!” She voluntarily rehearsed all the articles of her belief, and was not put out of temper by the illiberal epithets bestowed on her. Her next presentment was to be questioned on the sacramental presence, and her sixth inquiry was upon the number of the sacraments, before the bishop’s chancellor, who remarked that she had but the skimmings of Scripture, that the reformers were libidinous bishops and schismatics, adding, where are all those hedge knaves now, that they do not come to answer?

Y. Answer, Sir? Why, they have answered both with the Scriptures, and also with their blood; and then where were you that you came not forth to answer in their times? I never knew any of you that were troubled, but two, and that was not for God’s word, but for their disobedience.

Ch. No, I pray you! Do you not know that we were killed, hanged, burned, and beheaded?

Y. Sir, I never knew that any of you ever was either hanged, killed, burned, or beheaded.

Ch. No! Did you never hear that the bishop of Rochester lost his head for the supremacy of the bishop of Rome?

Y. Then he died not for God’s word.

At the conclusion of the examination, the Doctor said, “Thou art one of the rankest heretics that ever I heard; for thou believest nothing but what is in the Scripture; and therefore thou art damned!” To which she replied, “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, and shall I be damned because I will not believe an untruth?”

She was remitted to the stock-house, where she lay some days, with both hands manacled in one iron, and was afterward removed to Lollard’s Tower, where she remained with both feet ironed in the stocks till the next examination. At Mrs. Young’s last appearance, her play upon the questions of the Dean of London are remarkable and ingenious.

Dean. Art thou a fool now, as thou wert before?

Y. Sir, I have learnt but little wisdom since.

D. Dost thou think that I am better learned than thou?

Y. Yes, Sir, I do.

D. Thinkest thou that I can do thee good?

Y. Yes, Sir; and, if it please God, that you will.

D. Then will I 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?

Y. Sir, that which his disciples did receive.

D. What did they receive?

Y. Sir, what Christ gave them, they did receive.

D. What answer is this? Was Christ there present?

Y. Sir, he was there present; for he instituted his own sacrament.

D. He took bread, and he 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?

Y. Sir, when I receive, I believe that through faith I do receive Christ.
D. Dost thou believe that Christ is there?
Y. Sir, I believe that he is there to me, and by faith I do receive him. I believe Christ not to be absent from his own sacrament.

D. How long wilt thou continue in that belief?
Y. Sir, as long as I do live, by the help of God; for it is and hath been my belief.

D. Then I dare deliver thee. Why, thou calf, why wouldst thou not say so to-day?
Y. Sir, you asked me no such question.

D. Take heed you dabble no more in Scripture.

The dean afterward accepted two female friends as sureties for her appearance when called upon again, and thus this undaunted defender of the gospel was at length discharged.

Eliza†th Lawson, of Bedfield, Suffolk, aged sixty years, was condemned at Norwich to be burnt. She remained in irons at times nearly three years, in which period her son and many of her friends were burnt. In her distress she was maintained by the congregation, and though the accession of queen Elizabeth removed the expectation of death, she died in prison before the necessary steps could be legally effected to liberate her.

T. Christenmas, and W. Watts, of Tunbridge, travelled for the greater security of their persons from place to place daily. They had a narrow escape at Rochester; for, asking a child, who were known as heretics in the town, she mentioned a certain innkeeper there. Providence, however, instructed them to cross-question the child further, and then they found this landlord was a most persecuting fanatic. Watts had been seized by the constables, but they falling asleep with drinking, he was induced to escape. Scarcely had he got home, and been persuaded to go out of doors, and hide himself in a large holly bush, before the officers entered, and pierced every place in search of him, but by God's pleasure he effectually baffled their malice.

Mr. Dabney had been brought before bishop Bonner, and was waiting with others to be examined. Just at that juncture, the bishop's presence was required in a procession, and he going away, Dabney walked down to the outward court next the gate, and the porter, thinking he was a gentleman waiting to go out, let him through. When the bishop returned, Dabney was gone. His wife afterward secured his safety by a bribe of fifteen crowns to the officer who came in search of him.

Alexander Wimhurst was at first a papist and a priest, but afterward a bitter enemy to Antichrist. He was presented to Bonner's notice, and afterward carried before commissioners Story and Cook, who sent him to prison. Being brought into Cluny the keeper's house, the latter was so occupied, that he had not leisure to lock up his prisoner. A woman sitting in the hall, whose husband was in trouble for religion, judging that Wimhurst was brought there for a like reason, exhorted him not to lose a moment in escaping, which he thus fortunately effected.

One John Davis, a boy of twelve years, endured considerable persecutions for many months, on account of reading in the Testament and other pious books. He was put in the Freeman's prison in Worcester, his hand was held over a candle to give him a taste of burning, and his legs were heavily ironed; his bed was the ground, without the least covering. The death of Henry VIII. prevented his trial and condemnation. Nevertheless the judges sentenced him to whipping, but Mr. Bourne, a papist, declared he had received whipping enough. After lying a week longer in prison, he was taken by Mr. Bourne to his own house, who thought to convert him: not being able to effect this, he put him away, lest he should imbibe heresy into his son. Davis became in due time a zealous profitable minister.

CHAP. X.

REMARKABLE ESCAPES.

The goodness of the Lord was visible in the protection frequently displayed to his persecuted people, the most valiant of whom scarcely any thing short of miraculous interference could have preserved. This protect-
ing power was manifest in the preservation of the Congregation in London, consisting of from 40 to 200 persons, who existed through all Mary's reign, assembling together to celebrate assembly-worship, and corresponding with others of the brethren in the various parts of town and country.

In Blackfriars, their place of meeting was for one time fixed at Sir Thomas Carden's house; private watch was laid for them, but not one was taken. At Aldgate also a like escape was effected, by Mr. Symson, their deacon, perceiving in time that spies were lurking about; whence the brethren had dispersed when the constables arrived.

Having assembled at a brother's house in Thames-street, in the night, they were soon surrounded with enemies, and every prospect of escape seemed lost; but, at this crisis, a mariner swam to the nearest boat in the river, and, placing his companions in the boat, he rowed them across, using his shoes instead of oars. Thus God's fatherly care protected them that time.

In Pudding-lane a providential interference occurred at a cooper's house, when John Ayles, the constable, entered the house, conversed with the master, and then departed, without once interrupting the brethren.

Between Ratcliffe and Rotherhithe, there lay a ship called Jesus, on board of which the faithful met to perform divine service: prayer, preaching, and communion, were frequently in exercise, but, through divine Providence, the brethren, though seen in their passage to and from the ship, returned safe and unharmed. The like protection they found in a vessel off Billingsgate, owned by a pious man at Leith: here they often openly assembled, and were not interrupted.

We have before spoken of the great danger, when Mr. Rough their minister, Mr. Symson their deacon, and twenty-two of the congregation, were taken. Mr. Symson carried about him the names of all the congregation, of which dangerous circumstance Mr. Rough was warned in a dream. At the persuasion of the latter, Mr. Symson left the book at home that day, and thus the little flock were preserved. The number of this church was at first about forty; near the end of Mary's reign it had increased to two hundred. Mr. Scamier was their first minister; after him, Mr. Rough, who was burnt: then Mr. Aug. Bernher; at last, Mr. Bentham, afterward elevated to the bishopric of Litchfield and Coventry, of whose singular escape we must take notice.

At the execution of seven martyrs in Smithfield, Mr. Bentham, regardless of the strong proclamation read, forbidding any one to commune with or pray for the prisoners as they came to the stake, boldly disregarded this act of papal barbarity. Upon fire being set to the martyrs, he turned to the spectators, and said, "We know they are the people of God, and therefore we cannot resist saying, May God strengthen them!" at the same time audibly exclaiming, "Almighty God, for Christ's sake strengthen them!" All the people approved of Mr. Bentham's conduct, and with one voice, as it were, added, "Amen, amen!"

Called one time to sit upon a jury, held upon the body of a man found drowned, the coroner presented him a book to swear upon, which Mr. Bentham opened, and perceived to be a popish primer. He refused to swear upon such a book, and the coroner remarked that they had a heretic among them; hence after some debate, Mr. Bentham was given in charge to an officer. Suddenly however the coroner of the admiralty came, dissolved the proceedings of that inquest, and dismissed all the jury, by which happy event Mr. Bentham escaped their hands.

Jeffery Hurst, brother-in-law to George Marsh, martyr, was the eldest of eleven children, and dwelt in his father's house, at Shakerley, Lancashire. Mr. Lelond, a justice, residing at Morless, hearing of the heretical disposition of this young man, came to search for books, and for him. Hurst, forewarned of his danger, concealed himself, with the Bible, Tindal's Translation of the New Testament, the communion book, and some others, under a vat, leaving also a little book and a translation of Tindal's Testament in his window, to try what would be the result. The Justice found only Latin grammars, &c. till they discovered the books in Hurst's window, which were sufficient to condemn the family in the loss of their chattels and bodily imprisonment. Mrs. Hurst, the mother, and John Hurst, bro-
ther of Jeffery, were bound in heavy penalties, for the appearance of the latter with his sister. After being brought before the justice, they were licensed to depart under sureties to appear again within three weeks. The rumour of the queen’s death being current just at the expiration of the time, Hurst’s books were returned, and nothing farther was said. Not long after it pleased God to take Jeffery Hurst to himself, and Lelond, the persecuting justice, was himself called to God’s bar suddenly; he was talking with a friend, when he fell lifeless on the floor.

A congregation of women was remarkably preserved at Stoke, in Suffolk. Some of their husbands were extremely bigoted; particularly one Fox’s wife, whose husband conspired with the curate to compel her to come and say mass. On the day appointed, she attended the pious sisters, who joined with her in earnest prayer to God for the reformation of her husband. Their prayers were answered; the next day the husband came, expressed much contrition for his rigid behaviour, prayed them to forgive him, and promised in future to be kind to her.

William Wood, baker, of Kent, was examined before Dr. Kendall, chancellor of the diocese of Rochester, and Dr. Chedsey. The examination was as usual; but towards the latter end, the doctors disagreed upon the real presence; Chedsey maintained that Christ was under the form of bread, but not in quantity nor quality. Kendall contradicted him on these points, and asserted he could prove the contrary. The dispute ran so high, that the doctors rose up in a great passion, left their seats, and Dr. Kendall quitted the church.

Wood could not avoid addressing the people on this subject, nor is it to be wondered at, that the people should laugh when they saw the doctors ready to persecute each other! No one being left on the bench, Wood went away and escaped.

The Duchess of Suffolk, and her husband Mr. Berty, were among the distinguished persons whom Gardiner persecuted with implacable enmity. Without any other adequate reason than mere malice, Mr. Berty was by his order brought up from Lancashire to London, and first charged with not readily obeying the two first subpoenas sent by his lordship. This Mr. Berty repelled, and then Gardiner ordered him to pay down immediately £4000, due to the queen’s father by Duke Charles, late husband of the duchess, his wife. Mr. Berty showed that this was settled to be paid by instalments, and that every instalment had been duly paid. Foiled in this, the bishop turned the charge upon his lady, who had offended this mitred wolf upon a former occasion, by remarking, when he, (Gardiner) was in the tower, “That it was merry with the lambs now the wolf was shut up.” Another instance also of her contempt of him was not forgotten, which he stated to Mr. Berty. Invited with a party to dine at the duke’s house, the latter desired every lady to be seated by the person she preferred. The duke not being inclined that his lady should sit by him, she replied, “Since I cannot sit down with my lord, whom I love best, I shall choose him whom I love worst.” Respecting her abolition of the mass, Mr. Berty ably replied, “If she outwardly displays what she inwardly abhors, she will be false to Christ, and deceitful to her prince. You know, my lord, that any one reformed by judgment is worth a thousand temporizers. To force a confession of religion from the lips contrary to that in the heart worketh damnation where salvation is pretended.” The bishop replied, that deliberation would be proper, if the duchess were required to change from an old religion to a new. “As to that, my lord,” said Mr. Berty, “not long since she answered a friend of hers, using your lordship’s speech, that religion went not by age, but by truth; and therefore she was to be turned by persuasion, and not by commandments.” The bishop at length released Mr. Berty with a command to persuade his wife, the duchess, to abjure her opinions.

Understanding from private communications that it was the bishop’s intention to call the duchess before him, Mr. Berty thought it prudent to withdraw with his lady from the land. He obtained the queen’s leave to pass the seas, but the duchess was compelled to quit her house in the night, and assume the disguise of a mean tradesman’s wife. With a few trusty servants, she reached Lion-key, took water, and arrived at Leigh, near which place lived a Mr. Gosling, a merchant, who secreted her under the name of Mrs. White,
till she could secretly take ship. After great peril, she landed in Brabant, and, joining her husband, they marched on foot from the town of Santon to Wesel, in the midst of a sudden thaw, for the greater security of their persons. At Wesel they met with protection from Mr. Perusell, a minister who had at a former time received courtesy from the dutchess. This kindness they felt the more, as every inn in the town had refused them a lodging, and they, with their infant, were in danger of perishing with cold and hunger, and had actually taken up their night's abode in the porch of the great church of the town, till, by chance speaking to two boys who came that way, they conducted Mr. Borty to the house of his friend. He afterward removed to Frankfort, and experienced many dangers till his arrival in Poland, in which country he was hospitably entertained by the king, and made earl of a district called Crozau, where he continued to live in prosperity and honour till the death of queen Mary, when he and his family returned to their native land, grateful to God for his providential goodness, and rejoicing in the assurance of worshipping him in spirit and in truth.

The Rev. Thomas Rose was born at Ernemouth, and was by the Rev. Mr. Fabian placed in Hadleigh, in Suffolk, where he zealously inveighed against purgatory, images, and confessions; the success of his preaching stirred up the children of Belial to counteract him. Four persons, convinced by the power of his arguments, ventured to destroy the holy rood, or cross, of the court of Dover, three of whom suffered death, and were hung in chains, because they would not accuse Mr. Rose of being their instigator, who having part of this idol wood sent to him, burnt it, without its working any miracle for its preservation.

Two brothers in Hadleigh, of the name of Clerk, were the means of Mr. Rose being brought before the council, charged with being privy to the burning of the rood at Dover court. For this he was committed to prison in the bishop of Lincoln's house, in Holborn, where he remained often in the stocks from Shrovetide to Whitsuntide.

The stocks were so high, that day and night he lay with his back on the ground, upon a little straw; from the elevation of his heels, the blood ceased to flow into his feet, and they became almost dead. An illness, in which his life was despaired of, was the result of this brutal treatment; the keeper, moved by the groans he uttered from extremity of pain, went to the bishop, and frankly said, that he would not keep him to perish under such treatment, which remonstrance procured the sufferer a greater portion of ease and liberty. At this time his mother came from Hadleigh to see him, but the unfeeling bishop turned her away, bidding her go home again and pray.

In the first year of Dr. Cranmer's consecration, Mr. Rose's deliverance was effected, but yet he was bound not to come within twenty miles of Hadleigh. After this he came to London, and preached for half a year, till he obtained permission to go to Stratford, three miles from Hadleigh; here he was inhibited from preaching by the bishop of Norwich; but flying to London, Lord Cromwell made him his chaplain, obtained the king's license for him to preach, and sent him into Yorkshire and Lincolnshire.

So strongly did Mr. Rose preach up the doctrines of the reformation, that the duke of Norfolk, an enemy of the truth, endeavoured to arrest him at every port, and commanded that any one, meeting with him, should hang him on the next tree. Providence, however, interfered to preserve him; certain friends conveyed him into Flanders, where Mr. Bullinger gave him an asylum. Coming over to England, upon a false report that the good Dr. Barnes was to be bishop of Norwich, he was again in imminent danger, and if the provident hand of God had not directed him to the same boatman, boat, and boy, who had been concerned in his escape before, he could not have got away then. He lived at Barrow three years, and after this setting sail with his wife and infant for England, they endured a violent storm, and were next taken prisoners, and carried to Dieppe in France, where they were redeemed by Mr. Young, who had a commission there to redeem prisoners. He took them to his house at Rye, and thence by stealth they came to London. The earl of Sussex, hearing of Mr. Rose's perils, sent for him, his wife, and child, and took them to his seat at Attleborough, where he remained till the earl could no longer safely protect him. London again afforded him a secret asylum, till the death of king Henry, and the coming in of Edward,
who gave him the benefice of Westham. At the death of the latter prince, he was deprived of all, and again forced into concealment; he was not inactive in the Lord's vineyard during this time of trial: he administered to the secret congregation in London, during the first year of Mary's reign, but at last he and five and thirty more were arrested at a house in Bow churchyard, by one of their own society turning informer. He was brought before Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, who examined him at St. Mary Overy's church, and sent him for farther investigation to Norwich, to be questioned by Dr. Hopkins, the bishop, who had long been his enemy. After two other examinations before him, the earl of Sussex, with Sir William Woodhouse, persuaded Mr. Rose to yield all he could, without wounding his conscience; hence, in his last examination, he was willing to concede, that "Christ was present in the lawful use and right distribution of the sacrament." The papists readily interpreted this to be a recantation, and the bishop, taking him by the hand, said, "Father Rose, you may be a worthy instrument in God's church, and we will see to you at our coming home." Mr. Rose might not easily have escaped their toils, had not queen Mary's supposed pregnancy at that time excited a considerable interest in the public mind. Sir W. Woodhouse was ordered to have Mr. Rose in charge, but as there was no order given to bring him any more, he let him go. The bishop was very much disappointed at this kind act of Sir William, and, as before, he prescribed Mr. Rose at every sea-port and place, but without effect. The latter, however, lay concealed till the rumour had subsided, and then went on ship-board for the continent, where he lived in exile till the death of the murderous Mary.

CHAP. XI.

DELIVERANCE OF DR. SANDS.

This eminent prelate, vice-chancellor of Cambridge, at the request of the duke of Northumberland, when he came down to Cambridge in support of Lady Jane Grey's claim to the throne, undertook at a few hours notice to preach before the duke and the university. The text he took was such as presented itself on opening the Bible, and a more appropriate one he could not have chosen, namely, the three last verses of Joshua. As God gave him the text, so he gave him also such order and utterance, that it excited the most lively emotions in his numerous auditors. The sermon was about to be sent to London to be printed, when news arrived that the duke had returned, and queen Mary was proclaimed.

The duke was immediately arrested, and Dr. Sands was compelled by the university to give up his office. He was arrested by the queen's order, and when Mr. Mildmay wondered that so learned a man could wilfully incur danger, and speak against so good a princess as Mary, the doctor replied, "If I would do as Mr. Mildmay has done, I need not fear bonds. He came down armed against queen Mary; before a traitor—now a great friend. I cannot with one mouth blow hot and cold in this manner." A general plunder of Dr. Sands's property ensued, and he was brought to London upon a wretched horse. Various insults he met on the way from the bigoted catholics, and as he passed through Bishopsgate-street, a stone struck him to the ground. He was the first prisoner that entered the Tower, in that day, on a religious account; his man was admitted with his Bible, but his shirts and other articles were taken from him.

On Mary's coronation-day, the doors of the dungeons were so laxly guarded, that it was easy to escape. A Mr. Mitchell, like a true friend came to him, afforded him his own clothes as a disguise, and was willing to abide the consequence of being found in his place. This was a rare friendship; but he refused the offer, saying, "I know no cause why I should be in prison. To do thus were to make myself guilty. I will expect God's good will, yet do I think myself much obliged to you;" and so Mr. Mitchell departed.

With Dr. Sands was imprisoned Mr. Bradford; they were kept close in prison twenty-nine weeks. John Fowler, their keeper, was a perverse papist, yet, by often persuading him, at length he began to favour the gospel, and was so persuaded in the true religion, that on a Sunday, when they had mass in the chapel, Dr. Sands administered the communion to Bradford and to Fowler. Thus Fowler was
their son begotten in bonds. To make room for Wyat and his accomplices, Dr. Sands and nine other preachers were sent to the Marshalsea.

The keeper of the Marshalsea appointed to every preacher a man to lead him in the street; he caused them to go on before, and he and Dr. Sands followed conversing together. By this time popery began to be unsavoury. After they had passed the bridge, the keeper said to Dr. Sands, “I perceive the vain people would set you forward to the fire. You are as vain as they, if you, being a young man, will stand in your own conceit, and prefer your own judgment before that of so many worthy prelates, ancient, learned, and grave men as be in this realm. If you so do, you shall find me a severe keeper, and one that utterly dislikes 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: may God make you one! if not, I trust he will give me strength and patience to bear your hard usage.” Then said the keeper, “Are you resolved to stand to your religion?” “Yes,” quoth the doctor, “by God’s grace!” “Truly,” said the keeper, “I love you the better for it; I did but tempt you: what favour I can show you, you shall be sure of; and I shall think myself happy if I might die at the stake with you.” He was as good as his word, for he trusted the doctor to walk in the fields alone, where he met with Mr. Bradford, who was also a prisoner in the King’s Bench, and had found the same favour from his keeper. At his request, he put Mr. Saunders in along with him, to be his bed-fellow, and the communion was administered to a great number of communicants.

When Wyat with his army came to Southwark, he offered to liberate all the imprisoned protestants, but Dr. Sands and the rest of the preachers refused to accept freedom on such terms.

After Dr. Sands had been nine weeks prisoner in the Marshalsea, by the mediation of Sir Thomas Holcroft, knight marshal, he was set at liberty. Though Mr. Holcroft had the queen’s warrant, the bishop commanded him not to set Dr. Sands at liberty, until he had taken sureties of two gentlemen 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 for him.

After dinner, the same day, Sir Thomas Holcroft sent for Dr. Sands to his lodging at Westminster, to communicate to him all he had done. Dr. Sands answered, “I give God thanks, who hath moved your heart to mind me so well, that I think myself most bound unto you. God shall requite you, nor shall I ever be found unthankful. But as you have dealt friendly with me, I will also deal plainly with you. I came a freeman into prison; I will not go forth a bondman. As I cannot benefit my friends, so will I not hurt them. And if I be set at liberty, I will not tarry six days in this realm, if I may get out. If therefore I may not get free forth, send me to the Marshalsea again, and there you shall be sure of me.

This answer Mr. Holcroft much disapproved of; but like a true friend he replied, “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 lither, for this may undo me.”

Dr. Sands having taken an affectionate farewell of him, and his other friends in bonds, departed. He went by Winchester 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 went to another friend’s house, and there he heard that strict search was making for him, by Gardiner’s express order.

Dr. Sands now conveyed himself by night to one Mr. Berty’s house, a stranger who was in the Marshalsea prison with him a while; he was a good protestant and dwelt in Mark-lane. There he was six days, and then removed to one of his acquaintances in Cornhill; he caused his man Quinton to provide two geldings for him, resolved on the morrow to ride into Essex, to Mr. Sands, his father-in-law, where his wife was, which after a narrow escape, he effected. He had not been
there two hours, before Mr. Sands was told
that two of the guards would that night apprehend
Dr. Sands.

That night Dr. Sands was guided to an honest farmer's
near the sea, where he tarried two days and two nights in a
chamber without company. After that he removed to one
James Mower's, a shipmaster, who dwelt at Milton-Shore,
where he waited for a wind to 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 rather than he
should be apprehended.

The sixth of May, Sunday, the wind served.
In taking leave of his hostess, who had been
married eight years without having a child, he gave her a fine handkerchief and an old royal
of gold, and said, "Be of good comfort; before
that one whole year he past, God shall
give you a child, a boy." This came to pass,
for, that day twelvemonth, wanting one day,
God gave her a son.

Scarce he had arrived at Antwerp, when
he learned that King Philip had sent to apprehend him. He next flew 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 was sick of a flux nine
months, and had a child which died of the
plague. His amiable wife at length fell into
a consumption, and died in his arms. When
his wife was dead, he went to Zurich, and
there was in Peter Martyr's house for the space
of five weeks. As they sat at dinner one day,
word was suddenly brought that queen Mary
was dead, and Dr. Sands was sent for by his
friends at Strasburgh, where he preached.
Mr. Grindall and he came over to England,
and arrived in London the same day that
queen Elizabeth was crowned. This faithful
servant of Christ, under queen Elizabeth, rose
to the highest distinctions in the church, being
successively bishop of Worcester, bishop of
London, and archbishop of York.

CHAP. XII.

Queen Mary's Treatment of her Sister the Princess
Elizabeth.

The preservation of the princess Elizabeth
may be reckoned a remarkable instance of the
watchful eye which Christ had over his church.
The bigotry of Mary regarded not the ties of
consanguinity, of natural affection, of national
succession. Her mind, physically morose, was
under the dominion of men who possessed not
the milk of human kindness, and whose principles
were sanctioned and enjoined by the idolatrous tenets of the Romish pontiff. Could
they have foreseen the short date of Mary's
reign, they would have imbrued their hands
in the protestant blood of Elizabeth, and, as a
Sine qua non of the queen's salvation, have
compelled her to bequeath the kingdom to
some catholic prince. The contest might have
been attended with the horrors incidental to a
religious civil war, and calamities might have
been felt in England similar to those under
Henry the Great in France, whom queen Eli-
babeth assisted in opposing his priest-ridden
catholic subjects. As if Providence had the
perpetual establishment of the protestant faith
in view, the difference of the durations of the
two reigns is worthy of notice. Mary might
have reigned many years in the course of na-
ture, but the course of grace had willed it
otherwise. Five years and four months was
the time of persecution allotted to this weak
disgraceful reign, while that of Elizabeth
reckoned a number of years among the high-
est of those who have sat on the English
throne, almost nine times that of her merciless
sister!

Before Mary attained the crown, she treated
her with a sisterly kindness, but from that pe-
riod her conduct was altered, and the most
imperious distance substituted. Though Eli-
babeth had no concern in the rebellion of Sir
Thomas Wyat, yet she was apprehended, and
treated as a culprit in that commotion. The
manner too of her arrest was similar to the
mind that dictated it: the three cabinet mem-
bers, whom she deputed to see the arrest ex-
cuted, rudely entered the chamber of the prin-
cess at ten o'clock at night, and, though she
was extremely ill, they could scarcely be in-
duced to let her remain till the following morn-
ing. Her enfeebled state permitted her to be
moved only by short stages in a journey of
such length to London; but the princess,
though afflicted in person, had a consolation
in mind which her sister never could purchase:
the people, through whom she passed on her
way, pitied her, and put up their prayers for
her preservation. Arrived at court, she was made a close prisoner for a fortnight, without knowing who was her accuser, or seeing any one who could console or advise her. The charge however was at length unmasked by Gardiner, who, with nineteen of the council, accused her of abetting Wyat's conspiracy, which she religiously affirmed to be false. Failing in this, they placed against her the transactions of Sir Peter Carew in the west, in which they were as unsuccessful as in the former. The queen now signified, it was her pleasure she should be committed to the Tower, a step which overawed the princess with the greatest alarm and uneasiness. In vain she hoped the queen's majesty would not commit her to such a place; but there was no lenity to be expected; her attendants were limited, and a hundred northern soldiers appointed to guard her day and night.

On Palm-Sunday she was conducted to the Tower. When she came into the palace garden, she cast her eyes towards the windows, eagerly anxious to meet those of the queen, but she was disappointed. A strict order was given in London that every one should go to church, and carry palms, that she might be conveyed without clamour or commiseration to her prison.

At the time of passing under London-bridge the fall of tide made it very dangerous, and the barge some time stuck fast against the starlings. To mortify her the more, she was landed at Traitors' stairs. As it rained fast, and she was obliged to step in the water to land, she hesitated; but this excited no complaisance in the lord in waiting. When she set her foot on the steps, she exclaimed, "Here lands as true a subject, being prisoner, as ever landed at these stairs; and before thee, O God, I speak it, having no friend but thee alone!"

A large number of the wardens and servants of the Tower were arranged in order, between whom the princess had to pass. Upon inquiring the use of this parade, she was informed it was customary to do so. "If," said she, "it is on account of me, I beseech you that they may be dismissed." On this the poor men knelt down, and prayed that God would preserve her grace, for which they were the next day turned out of their employments. The tragic scene must have been deeply interesting, to see an amiable and irreproachable princess sent like a lamb to languish in expectation of cruelty and death; against whom there was no other charge than her superiority in Christian virtues and acquired endowments. Her attendants openly wept as she proceeded with a dignified step to the frowning battlements of her destination. "Alas!" said Elizabeth, "what do you mean? I took you to comfort, not to dismay me; for my truth is such, that no one shall have cause to weep for me."

The next step of her enemies was to procure evidence by means which, in the present day, are accounted detestable. Many poor prisoners were racked, to extract, if possible, any matters of accusation which might affect her life, and thereby gratify Gardiner's sanguinary disposition. He himself came to examine her, respecting her removal from her house at Ashbridge to Dunnington-castle a long while before. The princess had quite forgotten this trivial circumstance, and lord Arundel, after the investigation, kneeling down, apologized for having troubled her in such a frivolous matter. "You sift me narrowly," replied the princess, "but of this I am assured, that God has appointed a limit to your proceedings; and so God forgive you all."

Her own gentlemen, who ought to have been her purveyors, and served her provision, were compelled to give place to the common soldiery, at the command of the constable of the Tower, who was in every respect a servile tool of Gardiner's;—her grace's friends however procured an order of council which regulated this petty tyranny more to her satisfaction.

After having been a whole month in close confinement, she sent for the lord Chamberlain and lord Chandois, to whom she represented the ill state of her health from a want of proper air and exercise. Application being made to the council, Elizabeth was with some difficulty admitted to walk in the queen's lodgings, and afterward in the garden, at which time the prisoners on that side were attended by their keepers, and not suffered to look down upon her. Their jealousy was excited by a child of four years old, who daily brought flowers to the princess. The child was threatened with a whipping, and the father ordered to keep him from the princess's chambers.

On the 5th of May the constable was dis-
charged from his office, and Sir Henry Beni- 

field appointed in his room, accompanied by a 

hundred ruffian-looking soldiers in blue. This 

measure created considerable alarm in the 

mind of the princess, who imagined it was 

preparatory to her undergoing the same fate 

as lady Jane Grey, upon the same block. As 

sured that this project was not in agitation, 

she entertained an idea that the new keeper 

of the Tower was commissioned to make away 

with her privately, as his equivocal character 

was in conformity with the ferocious inclina-

tions of those by whom he was appointed. 

A report now obtained that her grace was 

to be taken away by the new constable and 

his soldiers, which in the sequel proved to 

be true. An order of council was made for 

her removal to the manor of Woodstock, which 

took place on Trinity Sunday, May 13, under 

the authority of Sir Henry Benifield and Lord 

Tame. The ostensible cause of her removal 

was to make room for other prisoners. Rich-

mond was the first place they stopped at, and 

here the princess slept; not however without 

much alarm at first, as her own servants were 

superseded by the soldiers, who were placed 

as guards at her chamber-door. Upon repre-

sentation, Lord Tame overruled this indecent 

stretch of power, and granted her perfect safety 

while under his custody.

In passing through Windsor, she saw seve-

ral of her poor deserted servants waiting to 

see her. "Go to them," said she, to one of 

her attendants, "and say these words from 

me, TANQUAM OVIS, that is, like a sheep to 

the slaughter.

The next night her grace lodged at the 

house of a Mr. Dormer, in her way to which 

the people manifested such tokens of loyal 

affection, that Sir Henry was indignant, and 

bestowed on them very liberally the names of 

rebels and traitors. In some villages they rang 

the bells for joy, imagining the princess's ar-

rival among them was from a very different 

cause; but this harmless demonstration of 

gladness was sufficient with the persecuting 

Benifield to order his soldiers to seize and set 

these humble persons in the stocks.

The day following her grace arrived at Lord 

Tame's house, where she staid all night, and 

was most nobly entertained. This excited Sir 

Henry's indignation, and made him caution 

Lord Tame to look well to his proceedings; 

but the humanity of Lord Tame was not to be 

frightened, and he returned a suitable reply. 

At another time, this official prodigal, to show 

his consequence and disregard of good man-

ners, went up into a chamber, where was ap-

pointed for her grace a chair, two cushions, 

and a foot carpet, wherein he presumptuously 

sat, and called his man to pull off his boots. 

As soon as it was known to the ladies and 

gentlemen, they laughed him to scorn. When 

supper was done, he called to his lordship, and 
directed that all the gentlemen and ladies 

should withdraw home, marvelling much that 

he would permit such a large company, con-

sidering the great charge he had committed 

to him. "Sir Henry," said his lordship, "con-

tent yourself; all shall be avoided, your men 

and all." "Nay, but my soldiers," replied Sir 

Henry, "shall watch all night." Lord Tame 

answered, "There is no need." "Well," said 

he, "need or need not, they shall so do."

The next day her grace took her journey 

from thence to Woodstock, where she was en-

closed, as before in the Tower of London, the 

soldiers keeping guard within and without the 

walls, every day, to the number of sixty; and 

in the night, without the walls were forty, 

during all the time of her imprisonment.

At length she was permitted to walk in the 

gardens, but under the most severe restrictions, 

Sir Henry keeping the keys himself, and plac-

ing her always under many bolts and locks, 

whence she was induced to call him her jailer, 

at which he felt offended, and begged her to 

substitute the word officer. After much ear-

nest entreaty to the council, she obtained per-

mission to write to the queen; but the jailer, 

who brought her pen, ink, and paper, stood by 

her while she wrote, and, when she left off, he 

carried the things away till they were wanted 

again. He also insisted upon carrying it him-

self to the queen, but Elizabeth would not 
suffer him to be the bearer, and it was pre-

sented by one of her gentlemen.

After the letter, Doctors Owen and Wendy 

went to the princess, as the state of her health 

rendered medical assistance necessary. They 

staid with her five or six days, in which time 

she grew much better: they then returned to 

the queen, and spoke flatteringly of the prin-

cess's submission and humility, at which the 

queen seemed moved; but the bishops wanted 
a concession that she had offended her majes-
HISTORY OF THE MARTYRS.

Elizabeth spurned this indirect mode of acknowledging herself guilty. "If I have offended," said she, "and am guilty, I crave no mercy but the law, which I am certain I should have had ere this, if any thing could have been proved against me. I wish I were as clear from the peril of my enemies; then should I not be thus bolted and locked up within walls and doors."

Much question arose at this time respecting the propriety of uniting the princess to some foreigner, that she might quit the realm with a suitable portion. One of the council had the brutality to urge the necessity of beheading her, if the king (Philip) meant to keep the realm in peace; but the Spaniards, detesting such a base thought, replied, "God forbid that our king and master should consent to such an infamous proceeding!" Stimulated by a noble principle, the Spaniards from this time repeatedly urged to the king that it would do him the highest honour to liberate the lady Elizabeth, nor was the king impervious to their solicitation. He took her out of prison, and shortly after she was sent for to Hampton-court. It may be remarked in this place, that the fallacy of human reasoning is shown in every moment. The barbarian who suggested the policy of beheading Elizabeth little contemplated the change of condition which his speech would bring about. In her journey from Woodstock, Benifield treated her with the same severity as before; removing her on a stormy day, and not suffering her old servant, who had come to Colnbrook, where she slept, to speak to her.

She remained a fortnight strictly guarded and watched, before any one dared to speak with her; at length the vile Gardiner with three more of the council, came with great submission. Elizabeth saluted them, remarked that she had been for a long time kept in solitary confinement, and begged they would intercede with the king and queen to deliver her from prison. Gardiner's visit was to draw from the princess a confession of her guilt; but she was guarded against his subtlety, adding, that, rather than admit she had done wrong, she would lie in prison all the rest of her life. The next day Gardiner came again, and kneeling down, declared that the queen was astonished she should persist in affirming that she was blameless—whence it would be inferred that the queen had unjustly imprisoned her grace. Gardiner farther informed her that the queen had declared that she must tell another tale, before she could be set at liberty. "Then," replied the high-minded Elizabeth, "I had rather be in prison with honesty and truth, than have my liberty, and be suspected by her majesty. What I have said, I will stand to; nor will I ever speak falsehood?" The bishop and his friends then departed, leaving her locked up as before.

Seven days after the queen sent for Elizabeth at ten o'clock at night; two years had elapsed since they had seen each other. It created terror in the mind of the Princess, who, at setting out, desired her gentlemen and ladies to pray for her, as her return to them again was uncertain.

Being conducted to the Queen's bedchamber, upon entering it the Princess knelt down, and having begged of God to preserve her majesty, she humbly assured her that her majesty had not a more loyal subject in the realm, whatever reports might be circulated to the contrary. With a haughty ungraciousness, the imperious queen replied, "You will not confess your offence, but stand stoutly to your truth. I pray God it may so fall out."

"If it do not," said Elizabeth, "I request neither favour nor pardon at your majesty's hands." "Well," said the queen, "you stilly still persevere in your truth. Besides, you will not confess that you have not 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: 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 subject, not only from the beginning hitherto, but for ever, as long as life lasts." They departed without any heartfelt satisfaction on either side; nor can we think the conduct of Elizabeth displayed that independence and fortitude which accompanies perfect innocence. Elizabeth's admitting that she would not say, neither to the queen nor to others, that she had been unjustly punished, was in direct contradiction to what she had told Gardiner, and must have arisen from some motive at this
time inexplicable. King Philip is supposed to have been secretly concealed during the interview, and to have been friendly to the princess.

In seven days from the time of her return to imprisonment, her severe jailer and his men were discharged, and she was set at liberty, under the constraint of being always attended and watched by some of the queen's council. Four of her gentlemen were sent to the Tower, without any other charge against them than being zealous servants of their mistress. This event was soon after followed by the happy news of Gardiner's death, for which all good and merciful men glorified God, inasmuch as it had taken the chief tiger from the den, and rendered the life of the protestant successor of Mary more secure.

This miscreant, while the princess was in the Tower, sent a secret writ, signed by a few of the council, for her private execution; and, had Mr. Bridges, lieutenant of the Tower, been as little scrupulous of dark assassination as this pious prelate was, she must have perished. The warrant not having the queen's signature, Mr. Bridges hastened to her majesty, to give her information of it, and to know her mind. This was a plot of Winchester's, who, to convict her of treasonable practices, caused several prisoners to be racked; particularly Mr. Edmund Tremaine and Smithwick were offered considerable bribes to accuse the guiltless princess.

Her life was several times in danger. While at Woodstock, fire was apparently put between the boards and ceiling under which she lay. It was also reported strongly, that one Paul Penny the keeper of Woodstock, a notorious ruffian, was appointed to assassinate her; but, however this might be, God counteracted in this point the nefarious designs of the enemies of the reformation. James Basset was another appointed to perform the same deed; he was a peculiar favourite of Gardiner, and had come within a mile of Woodstock, intending to speak with Benifield on the subject. The goodness of God however so ordered it, that, while Basset was travelling towards Woodstock, Benifield, by an order of council, was going to London, in consequence of which, he left a positive order with his brother, that no man should be admitted to the princess during his absence, not even with a note from the queen; his brother met the murderer, but the latter's intention was frustrated, as no admission could be obtained.

When Elizabeth quitted Woodstock, she left the following lines written with her diamond on the window:—

Much suspected by me;
Nothing proved can be. Quoth Elizabeth, prisoner.

With the life of Winchester ceased the extreme danger of the princess, as many of her other secret enemies soon after followed him; and, last of all, her cruel sister, who outlived Gardiner but three years. The death of Mary was ascribed to several causes. The council endeavoured to console her in her last moments, imagining it was the absence of her husband that lay heavy at her heart; but, though his treatment had some weight, the loss of Calais, the last fortress possessed by the English in France, was the true source of her sorrow. "Open my heart," said Mary, "when I am dead, and you shall find Calais written there." Religion caused her no alarm; the priests had lulled to rest every misgiving of conscience, which might have obtruded, on account of the accusing spirits of the murdered martyrs. Not the blood she had spilled, but the loss of a town, excited her emotions in dying; and this last stroke seemed to be awarded, that her fanatical persecution might be paralleled by her political imbecility. We earnestly pray that the annals of no country, catholic or pagan, may ever be stained with such a repetition of human sacrifices to papal power, and that the detestation in which the character of Mary is holden, may be a beacon to succeeding monarchs to avoid the rocks of fanaticism!

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**CHAP. XIII.**

**God's Punishments upon some of the Persecutors of his People in Mary's Reign.**

After that arch-persecutor, Gardiner, was dead, others followed, of whom Dr. Morgan, bishop of St. David's, who succeeded bishop Farrar, is to be noticed. Not long after he was installed in his bishopric, he was stricken by the visitation of God; his food passed
through the throat, but rose again with great violence. In this manner, almost literally starved to death, he terminated his existence.

Bishop Thornton suffragan of Dover, was an indefatigable persecutor of the true church. One day after he had exercised his cruel tyranny upon a number of pious persons at Canterbury, he came from the chapter-house to Borne, where, as he stood on a Sunday looking at his men playing at bowls, he fell down in a fit of the palsy, and did not long survive.

After the latter succeeded another bishop or suffragan, ordained by Gardiner, who, not long after he had been raised to the see of Dover, fell down a pair of stairs in the cardinal's chamber at Greenwich, and broke his neck. He had just received the cardinal's blessing—he could receive nothing worse.

John Cooper, of Watisam, Suffolk, suffered by perjury; he was from private pique persecuted by one Fenning, who suborned two others to swear that they heard Cooper say, "If God did not take away Queen Mary, the devil would." Cooper denied all such words, but Cooper was a protestant and a heretic, and therefore he was hung, drawn, and quartered, his property confiscated, and his wife and nine children reduced to beggary. The following harvest, however, Grimwood of Hitcham, one of the witnesses before mentioned, was visited for his villany: while at work, stacking up corn, his bowels suddenly burst out, and, before relief could be obtained, he died. Thus was deliberate perjury rewarded by sudden death!

In the case of the martyr Mr. Bradford, the severity of Mr. Sheriff Woodroffe has been noticed—he rejoiced at the death of the saints, and at Mr. Rodgers's execution, he broke the carman's head, because he stopped the cart to let the martyr's children take a last farewell of him. Scarcely had Mr. Woodroffe's shrivelty expired a week, when he was struck with a paralytic affection, and languished a few days in the most pitiable and helpless condition, presenting a striking contrast to his former activity in the cause of blood.

Ralph Lardin, who betrayed the martyr George Eagles, is believed to have been afterward arraigned and hanged in consequence of accusing himself. At the bar, he denounced himself in these words; "This has most justly fallen upon me, for betraying the innocent blood of that just and good man George Eagles, who was here condemned in the time of queen Mary by my procurement, when I sold his blood for a little money."

As James Abbes was going to execution, and exhorting the pitying bystanders to adhere steadfastly to the truth, and like him to seal the cause of Christ with their blood, a servant of the sheriff's interrupted him, and blasphemously called his religion heresy, and the good man a lunatic. Scarcely however had the flames reached the martyr, before the fearful stroke of God fell upon this hardened wretch, in the presence of him he had so cruelly ridiculed. The man was suddenly seized with lunacy, cast off his clothes and shoes before the people, (as Abbes had done just before, to distribute among some poor persons,) at the same time exclaiming, "Thus did James Abbes, the true servant of God, who is saved, but I am damned." Repeating this often, the sheriff had him secured, and made him put his clothes on, but no sooner was he alone, than he tore them off, and exclaimed as before. Being tied in a cart, he was conveyed to his master's house, and in about a half a year he died; just before which a priest came to attend him, with the crucifix, &c. but the wretched man bid him take away such trumpery, and said that he and other priests had been the cause of his damnation, but that Abbes was saved.

One Clark, an avowed enemy of the protestants in king Edward's reign, hung himself in the Tower of London.

Froling, a priest of much celebrity, fell down in the street, and died on the spot.

Dale, an indefatigable informer, was consumed by vermin, and died a miserable spectacle.

Alexander, the severe keeper of Newgate, died miserably, swelling to a prodigious size, and became so inwardly putrid, that none could come near him. This cruel minister of the law would go to Bonner, Story, and others, requesting them to rid his prison, he was so much pestered with heretics! The son of this keeper, in three years after his father's death, dissipated his great property, and died suddenly in Newgate market. "The sins of the father," says the decalogue, "shall be visited on the children." John Peter, son-in-law of
Alexander, a horrid blasphemer and persecutor, died wretchedly. When he affirmed any thing, he would say, "If it be not true, I pray I may rot ere I die." This awful state visited him in all its loathsomeness.

Sir Ralph Ellerker was eagerly desirous to see the heart taken out of Adam Damlip, who was wrongfully put to death. Shortly after Sir Ralph was slain by the French, who mangled him dreadfully, cut off his limbs, and tore his heart out.

When Gardiner heard of the miserable end of Judge Hales, he called the profession of the gospel a doctrine of desperation; but he forgot that the judge’s despondency arose after he had consented to the papistry. But with more reason may this be said of the catholic tenets, if we consider the miserable end of Dr. Pendleton, Gardiner, and most of the leading persecutors. Gardiner, upon his death-bed, was reminded by a bishop of Peter denying his master. "Ah," said Gardiner, "I have denied with Peter, but never repented with Peter."

After the accession of Elizabeth, most of the Catholic prelates were imprisoned in the Tower or the Fleet; Bonner was put into the Marshalsea.

Of the revilers of God’s word, we detail, among many others, the following occurrence. One William Maldon, living at Greenwich in servitude, was instructing himself profitably in reading an English primer one winter’s evening. A serving man, named John APowell, sat by, and ridiculed all that Maldon said, who cautioned him not to make a jest of the word of God. Powell nevertheless continued, till Maldon came to certain English Prayers, and read aloud, Lord, have mercy upon us, Christ, have mercy upon us, &c. Suddenly the reviler started, and exclaimed, Lord, have mercy upon us! He was struck with the utmost terror of mind, said that the evil spirit could not abide that Christ should have any mercy upon him, and sank into madness. He was remitted to Bedlam, and became an awful warning that God will not always be insulted with impunity.

Henry Smith, a student in the law, had a pious protestant father, of Camden, in Gloucestershire, by whom he was virtuously educated. While studying law in the middle temple, he was induced to profess catholicism, and, going to Louvain, in France, he returned with pardons, crucifixes, and a great freight of popish toys. Not content with these things, he openly reviled the gospel religion he had been brought up in; but conscience one night reproached him so dreadfully, that in a fit of despair he hung himself in his garters. He was buried in a lane, without the Christian service being read over him.

Dr. Story, whose name has been so often mentioned in the preceding pages, was reserved to be cut off by public execution, a practice in which he had taken great delight when in power. He is supposed to have had a hand in most of the conflagrations in Mary’s time, and was even ingenious in his invention of new modes of inflicting torture. When Elizabeth came to the throne, he was committed to prison, but unaccountably effected his escape to the continent, to carry fire and sword there among the protestant brethren. From the duke of Alva, at Antwerp, he received a special commission to search all ships for contraband goods, and particularly for English heretical books.

Dr. Story gloried in a commission that was ordered by Providence to be his ruin, and to preserve the faithful from his sanguinary cruelty. It was contrived that one Parker, a merchant, should sail to Antwerp, and information should be given to Dr. Story that he had a quantity of heretical books on board. The latter no sooner heard this, than he hastened to the vessel, sought every where above, and then went under the hatches, which were fastened down upon him. A prosperous gale brought the ship to England, and this traitorous persecuting rebel was committed to prison, where he remained a considerable time, obstinately objecting to recant his antichristian spirit, or admit of Queen Elizabeth’s supremacy. He alleged, though by birth and education an Englishman, that he was a sworn subject of the king of Spain, in whose service the famous duke of Alva was. The Doctor, being condemned, was laid upon a hurdle, and drawn from the Tower to Tyburn, where, after being suspended about half an hour, he was cut down, stripped, and the executioner displayed the heart of a traitor. Thus ended the existence of this Nimrod of England.
BOOK VIII.

PERSECUTIONS OF THE CHURCH FROM THE EARLIEST AGES TO THE PRESENT TIME.

THE TEN PRIMITIVE PERSECUTIONS.

THE FIRST PERSECUTION.

The first Persecution of the Church took place in the year 67, under Nero, the sixth emperor of Rome. 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 whims, he ordered, that the city of Rome should be set on fire, which order was executed by his officers, guards, and servants. While the imperial city was in flames, he went up to the tower of Macænas, played upon his harp, sung the song of the burning of Troy, and openly declared, “That he wished the ruin of all things before his death.” Besides the noble pile, called the Circus, many other palaces and houses were consumed; several thousands perished in the flames, were smothered in the smoke, 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 glutting his sight with new cruelties. This was the occasion of the first persecution; and the barbarities exercised on the Christians 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 that the most infernal imagination could design. 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 axletrees, and set on fire in his gardens, in order to illuminate them. This persecution was general throughout the whole Roman empire; but it rather increased than diminished the spirit of Christianity. In the course of it, St. Paul and St. Peter were martyred.

To their names may be added, Erastus, chamberlain of Corinth; Aristarchus, the Macedonian; and Trophimus, an Ephesian, converted by St. Paul, and fellow-labourer with him; Joseph, commonly called Barsabas; and Ananias, bishop of Damascus; each of the seventy.

THE SECOND PERSECUTION.

The emperor Domitian, who was naturally inclined to cruelty, first slew his brother, and then raised the second persecution against the Christians. In his rage he put to death some of the Roman senators; some through malice, and others to confiscate their estates. He then commanded all the lineage of David to be put to death.

Among 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 afterward banished to Patmos. Flavia, the daughter of a Roman senator, was likewise banished to Pontus; and a law was made, “That no Christian, once brought before the tribunal, should be exempted from punishment without renouncing his religion.”
A variety of fabricated tales were, during this reign, composed in order to injure the Christians. Such was the infatuation of the pagans, that, if famine, pestilence, or earthquakes afflicted any of the Roman provinces, it was laid upon the Christians. These persecutions among the Christians increased the number of informers; and many, for the sake of gain, swore away the lives of the innocent.

Another hardship was, that, when any Christians were brought before the magistrates, a test oath was proposed, when, if they refused to take it, death was pronounced against them; and if they confessed themselves Christians, the sentence was the same.

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

Dionysius, the Areopagite, 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 supernatural eclipse, which happened at the time of our Saviour's crucifixion.

The sanctity of his conversation, and the purity of his manners, recommended him so strongly to the Christians in general, that he was appointed bishop of Athens.

Nicomedes, a benevolent Christian of some distinction, suffered at Rome, during the rage of Domitian's persecution.

Protaisius and Gervasius were martyred at Milan.

Timothy was the celebrated disciple of St. Paul, and bishop of Ephesus, where he zealously governed the church till A. D. 97. At this period, as the pagans were about to celebrate a feast called Catagogion, Timothy, meeting the procession, severely reproved them for their ridiculous idolatry, which so exasperated the people, that they fell upon him with their clubs, and beat him in so dreadful a manner, that he expired of the bruises two days after.

THE THIRD PERSECUTION.

Nerva, succeeding Domitian, gave a respite to the sufferings of the Christians; but reigning only thirteen months, his successor Trajan, in the tenth year of his reign, and in A. D. 108, began the third persecution against the Christians. While the persecution raged, Plinius Secundus, a heathen philosopher, wrote to the emperor in favour of the Christians; to whose epistle Trajan returned the indecisive answer: "The Christians ought not to be sought after, but when brought before the magistracy, they should be punished." Trajan, however, soon after wrote to Jerusalem, and gave orders to his officers to exterminate the stock of David; in consequence of which, all that could be found of that race were put to death.

Symphorosa, a widow, and her seven sons, were commanded by the emperor to sacrifice to the heathen deities. She was carried to the temple of Hercules, scourged, and hung up, for some time, by the hair of her head; then being taken down, a large stone was fastened to her neck, and she was thrown into the river, where she expired. With respect to the sons, they were fastened to seven posts, and being drawn up by pulleys, their limbs were dislocated: these tortures, not affecting their resolution, they were martyred by stabbing, except Eugenius, the youngest, who was sawed asunder.

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

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

Trajan being succeeded by Adrian, the latter continued this third persecution with as
much severity as his predecessor. About this time Alexander, bishop of Rome, with his two deacons, were martyred; as were Quirinius and Hernes, with their families; Zenon, a Roman nobleman, and about ten thousand other Christians.

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

At the martyrdom of Faustines and Jovita, brothers and citizens of Brescia, their tortures 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 suffered a similar fate.

Many other similar cruelties and rigours were exercised against the Christians, until Quadratus, bishop of Athens, made a learned apology in their favour before the emperor, who happened to be there; and Aristides, a philosopher of the same city, wrote an elegant epistle, which caused Adrian to relax in his severities, and relent in their favour.

Adrian dying A.D. 135, was succeeded by Antoninus Pius, one of the most amiable monarchs that ever reigned, and who stayed the persecution against the Christians.

THE FOURTH PERSECUTION.

This commenced A.D. 162, under Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Philosophus, a strong pagan.

The cruelties used in this persecution were such, 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. upon their points, others were scourged till their sinews and veins lay bare, and after suffering the most excruciating tortures that could be devised, they were destroyed by the most terrible deaths.

Germanicus, a young man, but a 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.

Polycarp, the venerable bishop of Smyrna, hearing that persons were seeking for him, escaped, but was discovered by a child. After feasting the guards who apprehended him, he desired an hour in prayer, which being allowed, he prayed with such fervency, that his guards repented that they had been instrumental in taking him. He was, however, carried before the proconsul, condemned, and burnt in the market-place. Twelve other Christians, who had been intimate with Polycarp, 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 Papius, two worthy Christians, and Agathonica, a pious woman, suffered martyrdom at Pergamopolis, in Asia.

Felicitas, an illustrious Roman lady, of a considerable family, and the most shining virtues, was a devout Christian. She had seven sons, whom she had educated with the most exemplary piety.

Januarius, the eldest, was scourged, and pressed to death with weights; Felix and Philip, the two next, had their brains dashed out with clubs; Silvanus, the fourth, was murdered by being thrown from a precipice; and the three younger sons, Alexander, Vitalis, and Martial, were 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. Justin was a great lover of truth, and a universal scholar; he investigated the Stoic and Peripatetic philosophy, and attempted the Pythagorean; but the behaviour of one of its professors disgusting him, he applied himself to the Platonic, in which he took great delight. About the year 133, when he was thirty years of age, he became a convert to Christianity, and then, for the first time, perceived the real nature of truth.
He wrote an elegant epistle to the Gentiles, and employed his talents in convincing the Jews of the truth of the Christian rites; spending a great deal of time in travelling, till he took up his abode in Rome, and fixed his habitation upon the Viminal mount.

He kept a public school, taught many who afterward became great men, and wrote a treatise to confute heresies of all kinds. As the pagans began to treat the Christians with great severity, Justin wrote his first apology in their favour. This piece displays great learning and genius, and occasioned the emperor to publish an edict in favour of the Christians.

Soon after he entered into frequent contests with Crescens, a person of a vicious life and conversation, but a celebrated cynic philosopher; and his arguments appeared so powerful, yet disgusting to the cynic, that he resolved on, and in the sequel accomplished, his destruction.

The second apology of Justin, upon certain severities, gave Crescens the cynic an opportunity of prejudicing the emperor against the writer of it; upon which Justin, and six of his companions, were apprehended. Being commanded to sacrifice to the pagan idols, they refused, and were condemned to be first scourged, and then beheaded; which sentence was executed with all imaginable severity.

Several were beheaded for refusing to sacrifice to the image of Jupiter; in particular Concordus, a deacon of the city of Spolito.

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

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

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

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

The torments were various; and, exclusive of those already mentioned, the martyrs of Lyons were compelled to sit in red-hot iron chairs till their flesh boiled. 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 carcases of those who died in prison, previous to the appointed time of execution, were thrown to dogs. Indeed, so far did the malice of the pagans proceed, that they set guards over the bodies while the beasts were devouring them, lest the friends of the deceased should get them away by stealth; and the offals left by the dogs were ordered to be burnt.

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

Epipodius and Alexander were celebrated for their great friendship, and their Christian union with each other. The first was born at Lyons, the latter at Greece. Epipodins, being compassionated by the governor of Lyons, and exhorted to join in their festive pagan worship, replied, "Your pretended tenderness is actually cruelty; and the agreeable life you describe is replete with everlasting death. Christ suffered for us, that our pleasures should be immortal, and hath prepared for his follow-
ers an eternity of bliss. The frame of man being composed of two parts, body and soul, the first, as mean and perishable, should be rendered subservient to the interests of the last. Your idolatrous feasts may gratify the mortal, but they injure the immortal part; that cannot therefore be enjoying life which destroys the most valuable moiety of your frame. Your pleasures lead to eternal death, and our pains to perpetual happiness." Epipodius was severely beaten, and then put to the rack, upon which being stretched, his flesh was torn with iron hooks. Having borne his tortures with incredible patience and unshaken fortitude, he was taken from the rack, and beheaded.

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

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

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

THE FIFTH PERSECUTION.

Severus, having been recovered from a severe fit of sickness by a Christian, became a great favourer of the Christians in general; but the prejudice and fury of the ignorant multitude prevailing, obsolete laws were put in execution against the Christians. The progress of Christianity alarmed the pagans, and they revived the state calumny of placing accidental misfortunes to the account of its professors, A. D. 192.

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

Victor, bishop of Rome, suffered martyrdom in the first year of the third century, A. D. 201. Leonidus, the father of the celebrated Origen, was beheaded for being a Christian. Many of Origen's hearers likewise suffered martyrdom; particularly two brothers, named Plutarchus and Serenus; another Serenus, Heron, and Herachides, were beheaded. Rhais had boiled 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 had been; but Basilides, an officer belonging to the army, and ordered to attend her execution, became her convert.

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

Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, was born in Greece, and received both a polite and 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, about A. D. 187, wrote a celebrated tract against heresy. Victor, the bishop of Rome, wanting to impose the keeping of Easter there, in preference to other places, it occasioned some disorders among the Christians. In particular, Irenæus wrote him a synodical epistle, in the name of the Gallic churches. This zeal, in favour of Christianity, pointed him out as an object of resentment to the emperor; and in A. D. 202, he was beheaded.

The persecutions now extending to Africa, many were martyred in that quarter of the globe; the most particular of whom we shall mention.

Perpetua, a married lady, of about twenty-two years. Those who suffered with her were, Felicitas, a married lady, big with child at the time of her being apprehended; and Revocatus, catechumen of Carthage, and a slave.
The names of the other prisoners, destined to suffer upon this occasion, were Saturninus, Secundulus, and Satur. On the day appointed for the execution, they were led to the amphitheatre. Satur, Saturninus, and Revocatus, were ordered to run the gauntlet between the hunters, or such as had the care of the wild beasts. The hunters being drawn up in two ranks, they ran between, and were severely lashed as they passed. Felicitas and Perpetua were stripped, in order to be thrown to a mad bull, which made his first attack upon Perpetua, and stunned her; he then darted at Felicitas, and gored her dreadfully; but not killing them, the executioner did that office with a sword. Revocatus and Satur were destroyed by wild beasts; Saturninus was beheaded; and Secundulus died in prison. These executions were in the year 205, on the 8th day of March.

Speratus, and twelve others, were likewise beheaded; as was Andoeles 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. She converted her husband and brother, who were beheaded; and the maximus, or officer, who led them to execution, becoming their convert, suffered the same fate. The lady 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 Urban, bishop of Rome, met the same fate A.D. 232.

The Sixth Persecution

A.D. 235, was in the time of Maximinus. In Cappadocia, the president, Seremianus, did all he could to exterminate the Christians from that province.

The principal persons who perished under this reign were Pontianus, bishop of Rome; Anteros, a Grecian, his successor, who gave offence to the government, by collecting the acts of the martyrs Pammachius and Quiritus, Roman senators, with all their families, and many other Christians; Simplicius, senator; Calepodius, a Christian minister, thrown into the Tyber; Martina, a noble and beautiful virgin; and Hippolitus, a Christian prelate, tied to a wild horse, and dragged till he expired.

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

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

The Seventh Persecution

Began under Decius, A.D. 249. 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 began to be forsaken, and the Christian churches thronged.

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

The heathens in general were ambitious to enforce the imperial decrees upon this occasion, and looked upon the murder of a Christian as a merit to themselves. The martyrs, upon this occasion, were innumerable; but the principal we shall give some account of.

Fabian, the 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, he suffered decapitation.

Julian, a native of Cilicia, as we are informed by St. Chrysostom, was seized upon for being a Christian. He was put into a leather bag, together with a number of serpents and scorpions, and in that condition thrown into the sea.

Peter, a young man, amiable for the superior qualities of his body and mind, was beheaded for refusing to sacrifice to Venus. He said, "I am astonished you should sacrifice to an infamous woman, whose debaucheries even your own historians record, and whose life consisted of such actions as your laws would punish.—No, I shall offer the true God the acceptable sacrifice of praises and prayers." Optimus, the proconsul of Asia, on hearing this, ordered the prisoner to be stretched upon a wheel, by which all his bones were broken, and then he was sent to be beheaded.

Nichomachus, being brought before the proconsul as a Christian, was ordered to sacrifice to the pagan idols. Nichomachus replied, "I cannot pay that respect to devils, which is only due to the Almighty." This speech so much enraged the proconsul, that Nichomachus was put to the rack. After enduring the torments for a time, he recanted; but scarcely had he given this proof of his frailty, than he fell into the greatest agonies, dropped down on the ground, and expired immediately.

Denisa, a young woman of 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 Denisa avowing herself to be a Christian, she was beheaded, by his order, soon after.

Andrew and Paul, two companions of Nichomachus the martyr, A. D. 251, suffered martyrdom by stoning, and expired, calling on their blessed Redeemer.

Alexander and Epimachus, of Alexandria, were apprehended for being Christians: and, confessing the accusation, were beat with staves, torn with hooks, and at length burnt in the fire; and we are informed, in a fragment preserved 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 wicked pagans, though skilful magicians, becoming converts to Christianity, to make amends for their former errors, lived the lives of hermits, and subsisted upon bread and water only. After some time spent in this manner, they became zealous preachers, and made many converts. 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 endeavour the conversion of their neighbours, and to do every thing in their power to rescue them from the snares of the devil."

Lucian having answered in this manner, Marcian said, that "Their conversion was by the same grace which was given to St. Paul, who, from a zealous persecutor of the church, became a preacher of the gospel."

The proconsul, finding that he could not prevail with them to renounce their faith, condemned them to be burnt alive, which sentence was soon after executed.

Trypho and Respicius, two eminent men, were seized as Christians, and imprisoned at Nice. 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, February 1, A. D. 251.

Agatha, a Sicilian lady, was not more remarkable for her personal and acquired endowments, than her piety: her beauty was such, that Quintain, governor of Sicily, became enamoured of her, and made many attempts upon her chastity without success.

In order to gratify his passions with the greater convenience, he put the virtuous lady into the hands of Aphrodica, a very infamous and licentious woman. This wretch tried every artifice to win her to the desired prostitution; but found all her efforts were vain; for her chastity was impregnable, and she well knew that virtue alone could procure true happiness. Aphrodica acquainted Quintain with the inefficacy of her endeavours, who, enraged to be foiled in his designs, changed his lust into resentment. On her confessing that she
was a Christian, he determined to gratify his revenge, as he could not his passion. Pursuant to his orders, she was 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 then being carried back to prison, she there expired on the 5th of Feb. 251.

Cyril, bishop of Gortyna, was seized by order of Lucius, the governor of that place, who, nevertheless, exhorted him to obey the imperial mandate, perform the sacrifices, and save his venerable person from destruction; for he was now eighty-four years of age. The good prelate replied, that as he had long taught others to save their souls, he should only think now of his own salvation. The worthy prelate heard his fiery sentence without emotion, walked cheerfully to the place of execution, and underwent his martyrdom with great fortitude.

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

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

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; but was soon totally defeated by Gordian.

After 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 absolutely refused to let him come in. The emperor dissembled his anger at that time; but soon sending for the bishop, he sharply reproved him for his insolence, and then ordered him to sacrifice to the pagan deities as an expiation for his offence. This being refused, 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. A.D. 251.

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.

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. Also forty virgins, at Antioch, after being imprisoned and scourged, were burnt.

In the year of our Lord 251, the emperor Decius having erected a pagan temple at Ephesus, 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, Marcellinus, Malchus, Dionysius, Seraion, and Constantinus. The emperor wishing to win these soldiers to renounce their faith by his entreaties and lenity, gave them a considerable respite till he returned from an expedition. During the emperor’s absence, they escaped, and hid themselves in a cavern; which the emperor being informed of at his return, the mouth of the cave was closed up, and they all perished with hunger.

Theodora, a beautiful young lady of Antioch, on refusing to sacrifice to the Roman idols, was condemned to the stews, that her virtue might be sacrificed to the brutality of lust. Didymus, a Christian, disguised himself in the habit of a Roman soldier, went to the house, informed Theodora who he was, and advised her to make her escape in his clothes. This being effected, and a man found in the brothel instead of a beautiful lady, Didymus was taken before the president, to whom confessing the truth, and owning that he was a Christian, the sentence of death was immediately pronounced against him. Theodora, hearing that her deliverer was likely to suffer, came to the judge, threw herself at his feet, and begged that the sentence might fall on her as the guilty person; but, deaf to the cries of the innocent, and insensible to the calls of justice, the inflexible judge condemned both; when they were executed accordingly, being first beheaded, and their bodies afterward burnt.

Secundianus, having been accused as a Christian, was conveyed to prison by some soldiers. On the way, Marcellinus said, “Where are you carrying the innocent?” This interrogatory occasioned them to
be seized, and all three, after having been tortured, were hanged, and decapitated.

Origen, the celebrated presbyter and catechist of Alexandria, at the age of sixty-four, was seized, thrown into a loathsome prison, laden with fetters, his feet placed in the stocks, and his legs extended to the utmost for several successive days. He was threatened with fire, and tormented by every lingering means the most infernal imaginations could suggest. During this cruel temporizing, the emperor Decius died, and Gallus, who succeeded him, engaging in a war with the Goths, the Christians met with a reprieve. In this interim, Origen obtained his enlargement, and, retiring to Tyre, he there remained till his death, which happened when he was in the sixty-ninth year of his age.

Gallus, the emperor, having concluded his wars, a plague broke out in the empire: sacrifices to the pagan deities were ordered by the emperor, and persecution spread from the interior to the extreme parts of the empire, and many fell martyrs to the impetuousity of the rabble, as well as the prejudice of the magistrates. Among these were Cornelius, the Christian bishop of Rome, and Lucius, his successor, in 253.

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

THE EIGHTH PERSECUTION

Began under Valerian, in the month of April, 257, and continued for three years and six months. The martyrs that fell in this persecution were innumerable, and their tortures and deaths as various and painful. The most eminent martyrs were the following, though neither rank, sex, nor age were regarded.

Rufina and Secunda, 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; Secunda, the younger, for Verinus, a person of rank and opulence. The suitors, at the time of the persecution's commencing, 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, disappointed in their purpose, the lovers were base enough to inform against the ladies, who, being apprehended as Christians, were brought before Junius Donatus, governor of Rome, where, A.D. 257, they sealed their martyrdom with their blood.

Stephen, bishop of Rome, was beheaded in the same year; and about that time Saturninus, the pious orthodox bishop of Toulouse, refusing to sacrifice to idols, was treated with all the barbarous indignities imaginable, and fastened by the feet to the tail of a bull. Upon a signal given, the enraged animal was driven down the steps of the temple, by which the worthy martyr's brains were dashed out.

Sextus succeeded Stephen as bishop of Rome. He is supposed to have been a Greek by birth or by extraction, and had for some time served in the capacity of a deacon under Stephen. His great fidelity, singular wisdom, and uncommon courage, distinguished him upon many occasions; and the happy conclusion of a controversy with some heretics is generally ascribed to his piety and prudence. In the year 258, Marcianus, who had the management of the Roman government, procured an order from the emperor Valerian, to put to death all the Christian clergy in Rome, and hence the bishop, with six of his deacons, suffered martyrdom in 258.

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, three days after, meet him in heaven.

Laurentius, looking upon this as a certain indication of his own approaching martyrdom, at his return gathered together all the Christian poor, and distributed the treasures of the church, which had been committed to his care, among them.

This liberality alarmed the persecutors, who commanded him to give an immediate account to the emperor of the church treasures. This he promised to do in three days, during which interval, he collected together a great number of aged, helpless, and impotent poor; he repaired to the magistrate, and presenting them
to him, said, “These are the true treasures of the church.” Incensed 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. These tortures he endured with fortitude and perseverance; when he was ordered to be fastened to a large gridiron, with a slow fire under it, that his death might be the more lingering. His astonishing constancy during these trials, and serenity of countenance while under such excruciating torments, gave the spectators so exalted an idea of the dignity and truth of the Christian religion, that many became converts upon the occasion, of whom was Romanus, a soldier.

In Africa the persecution raged with peculiar violence; many thousands received the crown of martyrdom, among whom the following were the most distinguished characters:

Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, an eminent prelate, and a pious ornament of the church. The brightness of his genius was tempered by the solidity of his judgment; and with all the accomplishments of the gentleman, he blended the virtues of a Christian. His doctrines were orthodox and pure; his language easy and elegant; and his manners graceful and winning: in fine, he was both the pious and polite preacher. In his youth he was educated in the principles of Gentilism, and having a considerable fortune, he lived in the very extravagance of splendour, and all the dignity of pomp.

About the year 246, Cœcilius, a Christian minister of Carthage, became the happy instrument of Cyprian’s conversion: on which account, and for the great love that he always afterward bore for the author of his conversion, he was termed Cœcilius Cyprian. Previous to his baptism, he studied the Scriptures with care, and being struck with the beauties of the truths they contained, he determined to practise the virtues therein recommended. Subsequent to his baptism, he sold his estate, distributed the money among the poor, dressed himself in plain attire, and commenced a life of austerity. He was soon after made a presbyter; and, being greatly admired for his virtues and his works, on the death of Donatus, in A. D. 248, he was almost unanimously elected bishop of Carthage.

Cyprian’s care 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.”

A. D. 250, Cyprian 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 himself from the rage of the populace, and his effects were immediately confiscated. During his retirement, he wrote thirty pious and elegant letters to his flock; but several schisms that then crept into the church gave him great uneasiness. The rigour of the persecution abating, he returned to Carthage, and did everything in his power to expunge erroneous opinions. A terrible plague breaking out at Carthage, it was, as usual, laid to the charge of the Christians; and the magistrates began to persecute accordingly, which occasioned an epistle from them to Cyprian, in answer to which he vindicates the cause of Christianity. A. D. 257, Cyprian was brought before the proconsul Aspasius Paturnus, who exiled him to a little city on the Lybian sea. On the death of this proconsul, he returned to Carthage, but was soon after seized, and carried before the new governor, who condemned him to be beheaded; which sentence was executed on the 14th of September, A. D. 258.

The disciples of Cyprian, martyred in this persecution, were, Lucius, Flavian, Victorius, Remus, Montanus, Julian, Primolus, and Donatian.

At Utica, a most terrible tragedy was exhibited: 300 Christians were, by the orders of the proconsul, placed round a burning lime-kiln. A pan of coals and incense being prepared, they were commanded either to sacrifice to Jupiter, or to be thrown into the kiln. Unanimously refusing, they bravely jumped into the pit, and were immediately suffocated.

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

Alexander, Malchus, and Priscus, three Christians of Palestine, with a woman of the same place, voluntarily accused themselves of being Christians; on which account they were sentenced to be devoured by tigers, which sentence was executed accordingly.

Maxima, Donatilla, 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 length beheaded.

It is here proper to take notice of the singular but miserable fate of the emperor Valerian, who had so long and so terribly persecuted the Christians.

This tyrant, by a stratagem, was taken prisoner by Sapor, emperor 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.

After having kept him for the space of seven years in this abject state of slavery, he caused his eyes to be put out, though he was then 83 years of age. This not satiating his desire of revenge, he soon after ordered his body to be flayed alive, and rubbed with salt, under which torments he expired; and thus fell one of the most tyrannical emperors of Rome, and one of the greatest persecutors of the Christians.

A.D. 260, Gallienus, the son of Valerian, succeeded him; and during his reign (a few martyrs excepted) the church enjoyed peace for some years.

The Ninth Persecution

Was under the emperor Aurelian, in 274. The principal sufferers were,

Felix, bishop of Rome. This prelate was advanced to the Roman see in 274. He was the first martyr to Aurelian's petulancy, being beheaded on the 22d of December, in the same year.

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

These are the only martyrs left upon record during this reign, as it was soon put a stop to by the emperor's being murdered by his own domestics, at Byzantium.

Aurelian was succeeded by Tacitus, who was followed by Probus, as the latter was by Carus: this emperor being killed by a thunderstorm, his sons, Carinus and Numerian, succeeded him; and during all these reigns the church had peace.

Diocletian mounted the imperial throne, A.D. 284; at first he showed great favour to the Christians. In the year 286, he associated Maximian with him in the empire; and some Christians were put to death before any general persecution broke out. Among these were Felician and Primus, two brothers.

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.

Their constancy at length subdued those who wished them to become pagans, and their parents and whole family became converts to a faith they had before reprobated. They were martyred by being tied to posts, and having their feet pierced with nails. After remaining in this situation for a day and a night, their sufferings were put an end to by thrusting lances through their bodies.

Zoe, the wife of the jailer, who had the care of the before-mentioned martyrs, was also converted by them, and hung upon a tree, with 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.

In the year of Christ 286, a most remarkable affair occurred: a legion of soldiers, consisting of 6666 men, contained none but Christians. This legion was called the Theban Legion, because the men had been raised in Thebais: they were quartered in the east till the emperor Maximian ordered them to march to Gaul, to assist him against the rebels of Burgundy. They passed the Alps into Gaul, under the command of Mauritius, Candidus, and Exupernis, their worthy commanders, and at length joined the emperor.
Maximian, about this time, ordered a general sacrifice, at which the whole army was to assist; and likewise he commanded, that they should take the oath of allegiance and swear, at the same time, to assist in the extirpation of Christianity in Gaul.

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

This second severity made no more impression than the first had done; the soldiers preserved their fortitude and their principles, but by the advice of their officers, they drew up a loyal remonstrance to the emperor. This, it might have been 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, 22d Sept. 286.

Alban, from whom St. Alban’s, in Hertfordshire, received its name, was the first British martyr. Great Britain had received the gospel of Christ from Lucius, the first Christian king, but did not suffer from the rage of persecution for many years after. He was originally a pagan, but converted by a Christian ecclesiastic, named Amphibalus, whom he sheltered on account of his religion. The enemies of Amphibalus, having intelligence of the place where he was secreted, came to the house of Alban; in order to facilitate his escape, when the soldiers came, he offered himself up as the person they were seeking for. The deceit being detected, the governor ordered him to be scourged, and then he was sentenced to be beheaded, June 22, A. D. 287.

The venerable Bede assures us, that, upon this occasion, the executioner suddenly became a convert to Christianity, and entreated permission to die for Alban, or with him. Obtaining the latter request, they were beheaded by a soldier, who voluntarily undertook the task of executioner. 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, being destroyed in the Saxon wars; was rebuilt by Osfa, king of Mercia, and a monastery erected adjoining to it, some remains of which are still visible, and the church is a noble Gothic structure.

Faith, a Christian female, of Acquitain, in France, was ordered to be broiled upon a gridiron, and then beheaded; A. D. 287.

Quintin was a Christian, and a native of Rome, but determined to attempt the propagation of the gospel in Gaul, with one Lucian, they preached together in Amiens; after which Lucian went to Beaumaris, where he was martyred. Quintin remained in Picardy, and was very zealous in his ministry.

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 armpits; and after he had been thus tortured, he was remanded back to prison, and died of the barbarities he had suffered; October 31, A. D. 287. His body was sunk in the Somme.

THE TENTH PERSECUTION,

Under the Roman Emperors, commonly called the Era of the Martyrs, was occasioned partly by the increasing numbers and luxury of the Christians, and the hatred of Galerius, the adopted son of Diocletian, who, being stimulated by his mother, a bigoted pagan, never ceased persuading the emperor to enter upon the persecution, till he had accomplished his purpose.

The fatal day fixed upon to commence the bloody work was the 23d of February, A. D. 303, that being the day in which the Ternimalia were celebrated, and on which, as the cruel pagans boasted, they hoped to put a termination to Christianity. On the day appointed, the persecution began in Nicomedia, on the morning of which the prefect of that city repaired, with a great number of officers and as-
sistant, to the church of the Christians, where, having forced open the doors, they seized upon all the sacred books, and committed them to the flames.

The whole of this transaction was in the presence of Diocletian and Galerius, who, not contented with burning the books, had the church levelled with the ground. This was followed by a severe edict, commanding the destruction of all other Christian churches and books; and an order soon succeeded, to render Christians of all denominations outlaws.

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

A provocation like this was sufficient to call down pagan vengeance upon his head; he was accordingly seized, severely tortured, and then burned alive.

All the Christians were apprehended, and imprisoned; and Galerius privately ordered the imperial palace to be set on fire, that the Christians might be charged as the incendiaries, and a plausible pretence given for carrying on the persecution with the greatest severity. A general sacrifice was commenced, which occasioned various martyrdoms. No distinction was made of age or sex; the name of Christian was so obnoxious to the pagans, that all indiscriminately fell sacrifices to their opinions. Many houses were set on fire, and whole Christian families perished in the flames; and others had stones fastened about their necks, and being tied together were driven into the sea. The persecution became general in all the Roman provinces, but more particularly in the East; and as it lasted ten years, it is impossible to ascertain the numbers martyred, or to enumerate the various modes of martyrdom.

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

A city of Phrygia, consisting entirely of Christians, was burnt, and all the inhabitants perished in the flames.

Tired with slaughter, at length, several governors of provinces represented to the imperial court, the impropriety of such conduct. Hence many were respite from execution, but, though they were not put to death, as much as possible was done to render their lives miserable, many of them having their ears cut off, their noses slit, their right eyes put out, their limbs rendered useless by dreadful dislocations, and their flesh seared in conspicuous places with red-hot irons.

It is necessary now to particularize the most conspicuous persons, who laid down their lives in martyrdom in this bloody persecution.

Sebastian, a celebrated martyr, was born at Narbonne, in Gaul, instructed in the principles of Christianity at Milan, and afterward became an officer of the emperor's guard at Rome. He remained a true Christian in the midst of idolatry; unallured by the splendours of a court, untainted by evil examples, and uncontaminated by the hopes of preferment. Refusing to be a pagan, 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 executed accordingly. Some pious Christians coming to the place of execution, in order to give his body burial, perceived signs of life in him, and immediately 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 go out, he placed himself intentionally in the emperor's way as he was going to the temple, and reprehended him for his various cruelties and unreasonable prejudices against Christianity.

As soon as Diocletian had overcome his surprise, he ordered Sebastian to be seized, and carried to a place near the palace, and beaten 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, or repositories of the dead.

The Christians, about this time, upon mature consideration, thought it unlawful to bear arms under a heathen emperor. Maximilian, the son of Fabius Victor, was the first beheaded under this regulation.

Vitus, a Sicilian of considerable family, was brought up a Christian; when his virtues increased with his years, his constancy supported
him under all afflictions, and his faith was superior to the most dangerous perils. His father, Hylas, who was a pagan, finding that he had been instructed in the principles of Christianity by the nurse who brought him up, used all his endeavours to bring him back to paganism, and at length sacrificed his son to the idols, June 14, A. D. 303.

Victor was a Christian of a good family at Marseilles, in France; he 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 daytime; and his fortune he spent in relieving the distresses of poor Christians.

He was at length, however, seized by the emperor Maximian's decree, who ordered him to be bound, and dragged through the streets. During the execution of this order, he was treated with all manner of cruelties and indignities by the enraged populace. Remaining still inflexible, his courage was deemed obstinacy.

Being by order stretched upon the rack, he turned his eyes towards heaven, and prayed to God to endure him with patience; after which he underwent the tortures with most admirable fortitude. After the executioners were tired with inflicting torments on him, he was conveyed to a dungeon. In his confinement, he converted his jailers, named Alexander, Felician, and Longinus. This affair coming to the ears of the emperor, he ordered them immediately to be put to death, and the jailers were accordingly beheaded. Victor was then again put to the rack, unmercifully beaten with batoons, and again sent to prison.

Being a third time examined concerning his religion, he persevered in his principles; a small altar was then brought, and he was commanded to offer incense upon it immediately. Fired with indignation at the request, he boldly stepped forward, and with his foot overthrew both altar and idol. This so enraged the emperor Maximian, who was present, that he ordered the foot with which he had kicked the altar to be immediately cut off; and Victor was thrown into a mill, and crushed to pieces with the stones, A. D. 303.

Maximus, governor of Cilicia, being at Tarsus, three Christians were brought before him; their names were Tarachus, an aged man; Probus, and Andronicus. After repeated tortures and exhortations to recant, they, at length, were 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. The keeper then brought out a large bear, that had that very day destroyed three men; but this voracious creature and a fierce lioness both refused to touch the prisoners. Finding the design of destroying them by the means of wild beasts ineffectual, Maximus ordered them to be slain by the sword, on the 11th of October, A. D. 303.

Romanus, a native of Palestine, was deacon of the church of Cæsarea, at the time of the commencement of Diocletian's persecution. Being condemned for his faith at Antioch, he was scourged, put to the rack, his body torn with hooks, his flesh cut with knives, his face scarified, his teeth beaten from their sockets, and his hair plucked up by the roots. Soon after he was ordered to be strangulated, Nov. 17, A. D. 303.

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. Refusing the honour intended her, she was beheaded by the emperor's order.

Dorotheus, the high chamberlain of the household to Diocletian, was a Christian, and took great pains to make converts. In his religious labours, he was joined by Gorgonius, another Christian, and one belonging to the palace. They were first tortured and then strangled.

Peter, a eunuch belonging the emperor, was a Christian of singular modesty and humility. He was laid on a gridiron, and broiled over a slow fire till he expired.

Cyprian, known by the title of the magician, to distinguish him from Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, was a native of Antioch. He received a liberal education in his youth, and particularly applied himself to astrology; after which he travelled for improvement through Greece, Egypt, India, &c. In the course of time he became acquainted with Justina, a young lady of Antioch, whose birth, beauty, and accomplishments, rendered her the admiration of all who knew her.

A pagan gentleman applied to Cyprian, to promote his suit with the beautiful Justina; this he undertook, but soon himself became
converted, burnt his books of astrology and magic, received baptism, and felt animated with a powerful spirit of grace. The conversion of Cyprian had a great effect on the pagan gentleman who paid his addresses to Justina, and he in a short time embraced Christianity. During 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.

Eulalia, a Spanish lady of a Christian family, was remarkable in her youth for sweetness of temper, and solidity of understanding seldom found in the capriciousness of juvenile years. Being apprehended as a Christian, the magistrate attempted, by the mildest means, to bring her over to paganism, but she ridiculed the pagan deities with such asperity, that the judge, incensed at her behaviour, ordered her to be tortured. Her sides were accordingly torn by hooks, and her breasts burnt in the most shocking manner, till she expired by the violence of the flames, Dec. A.D. 303.

In the year 304, when the persecution reached Spain, Dacian, the governor of Terragona, ordered Valerius the bishop, and Vincent the deacon, to be seized, loaded with irons, and imprisoned. The prisoners being firm in their resolution, Valerius was banished, and Vincent was racked, had his limbs dislocated, his flesh torn with hooks, and was laid on a gridiron, which had not only a fire placed under it, but spikes at the top, which ran into his flesh. These torments neither destroying him, nor changing his resolutions, he was remanded to prison, and confined in a small loathsome dark dungeon, strewed with sharp flints, and pieces of broken glass, where he died, Jan. 22, 304. — His body was thrown into the river.

The persecution of Diocletian began particularly to rage in A.D. 304, when many Christians were put to cruel tortures, and the most painful and ignominious deaths; the most eminent and particular of whom we shall numerate.

Saturninus, a priest of Albitina, a town of Africa, after being tortured, was remanded to prison, and there starved to death. His four children, after being variously tormented, shared the same fate with their father.

Dativus, a noble Roman senator; Thelico, a pious Christian; Victoria, a young lady of considerable family and fortune, with some others of less consideration, all auditors of Saturninus, were tortured in a similar manner, and perished by the same means.

Agape, Chionia, and Irene, three sisters, were seized upon at Thessalonica, when Diocletian's persecution reached Greece. They were burnt, and received the crown of martyrdom in the flames, March 25, A.D. 304. The governor, finding that he could make no impression on Irene, ordered her to be exposed naked in the streets, which shameful order having been executed, she was burnt April 1, A.D. 304, at the same place where her sisters suffered.

Agatho, a man of a pious turn of mind, with Cassice, Philippa, and Eutychia, were martyred about the same time; but the particulars have not been transmitted to us.

Marcellinus, bishop of Rome, who succeeded Caius in that see, having strongly opposed paying divine honours to Diocletian, suffered martyrdom, by a variety of tortures, in the year 324, comforting his soul till he expired with the prospect of those glorious rewards it would receive by the tortures suffered in the body.

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

Timothy, a deacon of Mauritania, and Maur his wife, had not been united together by the bands of wedlock above three weeks, when they were separated from each other by the persecution. Timothy, being apprehended as a Christian, was carried before Arrianus, the governor of Thebais, who, knowing that he had the keeping of the Holy Scriptures, commanded him to deliver them up to be burnt; to which he answered, "Had I children, I would sooner deliver them up to be sacrificed, than part with the word of God." The governor, being much incensed at this reply, ordered his eyes to be put out with red-hot irons, saying, "The books shall at least be useless to you, for you shall not see to read them." His patience under the operation was so great, that
the governor grew more exasperated; he, therefore, in order, if possible, to overcome his fortitude, ordered him to be hung up by the feet, with a weight tied about his neck, and a gag in his mouth. In this state, Maura, his wife, tenderly urged him for her sake to recant; but, when the gag was taken out of his mouth, instead of consenting to his wife's entreaties, he greatly blamed her mistaken love, and declared his resolution of dying for the faith. The consequence was, that Maura resolved to imitate his courage and fidelity, and either to accompany or follow him to glory. The governor, after trying in vain to alter her resolution, ordered her to be tortured, which was executed with great severity. After this, Timothy and Maura were crucified near each other. A. D. 304.

Sabinus, bishop of Assisiun, refusing to sacrifice to Jupiter, and pushing the idol from him, had his hand cut off by the order of the governor of Tuscany. While in prison, he converted the governor and his family, all of whom suffered martyrdom for the faith. Soon after their execution, Sabinus himself was scourged to death. Dec. A. D. 304.

Tired with the farce of state and public business, the emperor Diocletian resigned the imperial diadem, and was succeeded by Constantius and Galerius; the former a prince of the most mild and humane disposition and the latter, equally remarkable for his cruelty and tyranny. These divided the empire into two equal governments; Galerius ruling in the east, and Constantius in the west; and the people in the two governments felt the effects of the dispositions of the two emperors; for those in the west were governed in the mildest manner, but such as resided in the east felt all the miseries of oppression and lengthened tortures.

Among the many martyred by the order of Galerius, we shall enumerate the most eminent.

Amphianus was a gentleman of eminence in Lucia, and a scholar to Eusebius; Julitta, a Lycaonian of royal descent, but more celebrated for her virtues than noble blood. While on the rack, her child was killed before her face. Julitta, of Cappadocia, was a lady of distinguished capacity, great virtue, and uncommon courage. To complete the execution, Julitta had boiling pitch poured on her feet, her sides torn with hooks, and received the conclusion of her martyrdom, by being beheaded, April 16, A. D. 305.

Hermolans, a venerable and pious Christian, of a great age, and an intimate acquaintance of Panteleon's, suffered martyrdom for the faith on the same day, and in the same manner as Panteleon.

Enstratius, secretary to the governor of Armenia, was thrown into a fiery furnace, for exhorting some Christians, who had been apprehended, to persevere in their faith.

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

In the kingdom of Naples, several martyrs 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 reader; were all, on account of being Christians, condemned by the governor of Campania to be devoured by the wild beasts. The savage animals, however, not touching them, they were beheaded.

Quirinus, bishop of Siscia, being carried before Matenius, the governor, was ordered to sacrifice to the pagan deities, agreeably to the edicts of various Roman emperors. The governor, perceiving his constancy, sent him to jail, and ordered him to be heavily ironed; flattering himself, that the hardships of a jail, some occasional tortures, and the weight of chains, might overcome his resolution. Being decided in his principles, he was sent to Amanius, the principal governor of Pannonia, now Hungary, who loaded him with chains, and carried him through the principal towns of the Danube, exposing him to ridicule wherever he went. Arriving at length at Sabaria, and finding that Quirinus would not renounce his faith, he ordered him to be cast into a river, with a stone fastened about his neck. This sentence being put into execution, Quirinus floated about for some time, and, exhorting the people in the most pious terms, concluded 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." On pronouncing the last words he immediately sank, and died, June 4, A. D. 303; his body was afterward taken up, and buried by some pious Christians.

Pamphilus, 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 into the body of the clergy at Caesarea, where he established a public library and spent his time in the practice of every Christian virtue. He copied the greatest part of the works of Origen with his own hand, and, assisted by Eusebius, gave a correct copy of the Old Testament, which had suffered greatly by the ignorance or negligence of former transcribers. In the year 307, he was apprehended, and suffered torture and martyrdom.

Marcellus, bishop of Rome, being banished on account of his faith, fell a martyr to the miseries he suffered in exile, 16th of Jan. A. D. 310.

Peter, the sixteenth bishop of Alexandria, was martyred Nov. 25, A. D. 311, by order of Maximus Cæsar, who reigned in the east.

Agnes, a virgin of only thirteen years of age, was beheaded for being a Christian; as was Serene, the empress of Diocletian. Valentine, a priest, suffered the same fate at Rome; and Erasmus, a bishop, was martyred in Campania.

At length, Constantine the Great determined to redress the grievances of the Christians, for which purpose he raised an army of 30,000 foot, and 3000 horse, with which he marched towards Rome against Maxentius, the emperor; defeated him, and entered the city of Rome in triumph. A law was now published in favour of the Christians, in which Licinius was joined by 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 openly avow his disapprobation. Maximus at length invaded the territories of Licinius, but, being defeated, put an end to his life by poison. Licinius afterward persecuting the Christians, Constantine the Great marched against him, and defeated him: he was afterward slain by his own soldiers.

We shall conclude our account of the tenth and last general persecution with the death of St. George, the titular saint and patron of England. St. George was born in Cappadocia, of Christian parents; and giving proofs of his courage, was promoted in the army of the emperor Diocletian. During the persecution, St. George threw up his command, went boldly to the senate house, and avowed his being a Christian, taking occasion at the same time to remonstrate against paganism, and point out the absurdity of worshipping idols. This freedom so greatly provoked the senate, that St. George was ordered to be tortured, and by the emperor's orders was dragged through the streets, and beheaded the next day.

Persecutions of the Christians in Persia.

The gospel having spread itself into Persia, the pagan priests, who worshipped the Sun, were greatly alarmed, and dreaded the loss of that influence they had hitherto maintained over the people's minds and properties. Hence they thought it expedient to complain to the emperor, that the Christians were enemies to the state, and held a reasonable correspondence with the Romans, the great enemies of Persia.

The emperor Sapores, being naturally averse to Christianity, easily believed what was said against the Christians, and gave orders to persecute them in all parts of his empire. On account of this mandate, many eminent persons in the church and state fell martyrs to the ignorance and ferocity of the pagans.

Constantine the Great being informed of the persecutions in Persia, wrote a long letter to the Persian monarch, in which he recounts the vengeance that had fallen on persecutors, and the great success that had attended those who had refrained from persecuting the Christians. The persecution by this means ended during the life of Sapores; but it was again renewed under the lives of his successors.

Persecutions under the Arian Heretics.

The author of the Arian heresy was Arius, a native of Lybia, and a priest of Alexandria,
who, in A.D. 318, began to publish his errors. He was condemned by a council of the Libyan and Egyptian bishops, and that sentence was confirmed by the council of Nice, A.D. 325. After the death of Constantine the Great, the Arians found means to ingratiate themselves into the favour of the emperor Constantius, his son and successor in the east; and hence a persecution was raised against the orthodox bishops and clergy. The celebrated Athanasius, and other bishops, were banished, and their sees filled with Arians.

In Egypt and Lybia, thirty bishops were martyred, and many other Christians cruelly tormented; and, A.D. 336, George, the Arian bishop of Alexandria, under the authority of the emperor, began a persecution in that city and its environs, and carried it on with the most infernal severity. He was assisted in his diabolical malice by Catophonius, governor of Egypt; Sebastian, general of the Egyptian forces; Faustinus, the treasurer; and Heracleius, a Roman officer.

The persecution now raged in such a manner, that the clergy were driven from Alexandria, their churches were shut, and the severities practised by the Arian heretics were as great as those that had been practised by the pagan idolaters. If a man, accused of being a Christian, made his escape, then his whole family were massacred, and his effects confiscated.

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Persecution under Julian the Apostate.

This emperor 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 of Constantinople. His father sent him some time after to Nicomedia, to be instructed in the Christian religion, by the bishop of Eusebius, his kinsman; but his principles were corrupted by the pernicious doctrines of Ecebolius the rhetorician, and Maximus the magician.

Constantius dying in the year 361, Julian succeeded him, and had no sooner attained the imperial dignity, than he renounced Christianity and embraced paganism, which had for some years fallen into great disrepute. Though he restored the idolatrous worship, he made no public edicts against Christianity. He recalled all banished pagans, allowed the free exercise of religion to every sect, and deprived all Christians of offices at court, in the magistracy, or in the army. He was chaste, temperate, vigilant, laborious, and pious; yet he prohibited any Christian from keeping a school or public seminary of learning, and deprived all the Christian clergy of the privileges granted them by Constantine the Great.

Bishop Basil made himself first famous by his opposition to Arianism, which brought upon him the vengeance of the Arian bishop of Constantinople; he equally opposed paganism. The emperor's agents in vain tampered with Basil by means of promises, threats, and racks; he was firm in the faith, and remained in prison to undergo some other sufferings, when the emperor came accidentally to Ancyrta. Julian 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. Basil not only continued as firm as ever, but, with a prophetic spirit, foretold the death of the emperor, and that he should be tormented in the other life. Enraged at what he heard, Julian commanded that the body of Basil should be torn every day in seven different parts, till his skin and flesh were entirely mangled. This inhuman sentence was executed with rigour, and the martyr expired under its severities, on the 26th day of June, A.D. 362.

Donatus, bishop of Arezzo, and Hilarinus, a hermit, suffered about the same time; also Gordian, a Roman magistrate. Artemius, commander in chief of the Roman forces in Egypt, being a Christian, was deprived of his commission, then of his estate, and lastly of his head.

The persecution raged dreadfully about the latter end of the year 363; but, as many of the particulars have not been handed down to us, it is necessary to remark in general, that in Palestine many were burnt alive, others were dragged by their feet through the streets naked till they expired; some were scalced to death, many stoned, and great numbers had their brains beaten out with clubs. In Alexandria, innumerable were the martyrs who suffered by the sword, burning, crucifixion, and being stoned. In Arethusa, several were
ripped open, and corn being put into their bellies, swine were brought to feed therein, which, in devouring the grain, likewise devoured the entrails of the martyrs; and, in Thrace, Emilianus was burnt at a stake; and Domitius murdered in a cave, whither he had fled for refuge.

The emperor, Julian the apostate, died of a wound which he received in his Persian expedition, A. D. 363, and, even while expiring, uttered the most horrid blasphemies. He was succeeded by Jovian, who restored peace to the church.

After the decease of Jovian, Valentinian succeeded to the empire, and associated to himself Valens, who had the command in the east, and was an Arian, of an unrelenting and persecuting disposition.

Persecutions of the Christians by the Goths and Vandals.

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

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

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

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

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

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

After the decease of Huneric, his successor recalled him, and the rest of the orthodox clergy; the Arians, taking the alarm, persuaded him to banish them again, which he complied with, when Eugenius, exiled to Languedoc in France, died there of the hardships he underwent on the 6th of September, A. D. 305.

Persecutions from about the Middle of the Fifth, to the Conclusion of the Seventh Century.

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

Hermenigildus, a Gothic prince, was the eldest son of Leovigildus, a king of the Goths, in Spain. This prince, who was originally an Arian, became a convert to the orthodox faith, by means of his wife Ingonda. When the king heard that his son had changed his religious sentiments, he stripped him of the command at Seville, where he was governor, and threatened to put him to death, unless he renounced the faith he had newly embraced. The prince, in order to prevent the execution of his father’s menaces, began to put himself into a posture of defence; and many of the orthodox persuasion in Spain declared for him. The king, exasperated at this act of rebellion, began to punish all the orthodox Christians who could be seized by his troops; and thus a very severe persecution commenced: he likewise marched against his son at the head of a very powerful army. The prince took refuge in Seville, from which he fled, and was at length besieged and taken at Asiesta. Loaded with chains, he was sent to Seville, and at the feast of Easter refusing to receive the Eucharist from an Arian bishop, the enraged king ordered his guards to cut the prince to pieces, which they punctually performed, April 13, A.D. 586.

Martin, bishop of Rome, was born at Todi, in Italy. He was naturally inclined to virtue, and his parents bestowed on him an admirable education. He opposed the heretics called Monothelites, who were patronized by the emperor Heraclius. Martin was condemned at Constantinople, where he was exposed in the most public places to the ridicule of the people, divested of all episcopal marks of distinction, and treated with the greatest scorn and severity. After lying some months in prison, Martin was sent to an island at some distance, and there cut to pieces, A.D. 635.

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

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

Persecutions from the Early part of the Eighth, to near the Conclusion of the Tenth Century.

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

After due study, the abbot, seeing him qualified for the priesthood, obliged him to receive that holy order when he was about thirty years old. From which time he began to preach, and labour for the salvation of his fellow-creatures; he was released to attend a synod of bishops in the kingdom of West-
Saxons. He afterward, in 719, went to Rome, where Gregory II., who then sat in Peter's chair, received him with great friendship, and finding him full of all the virtues that compose the character of an apostolical missionary, dismissed him with a commission at large to preach the gospel to the pagans wherever he found them.—Passing through Lombardy and Bavaria, he came to Thuringia, which country had before received the light of the gospel; he next visited Utrecht, and then proceeded to Saxony, where he converted some thousands to Christianity.

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

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

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

During the ministry of this meek prelate, Pepin was declared king of France. It was that prince's ambition to be crowned by the most holy prelate he could find, and Boniface was pitched on to perform that ceremony, which he did at Soissons in 752. The next year his great age and many infirmities lay so heavily on him, that, with the consent of the new king, the bishops, &c. of his diocess, he consecrated Lullus, his countryman, and faithful disciple, and placed him in the see of Mentz. When he had thus eased himself of his charge, he recommended the church of Mentz to the care of the new bishop in very strong terms, desired he would finish the church at Fulda, and see him buried in it, for his end was near.

Having left these orders, he took boat to the Rhine, and went to Friesland, where he converted and baptized several thousands of the barbarous natives, demolished the temples, and raised churches on the ruins of those superstitious structures. A day being appointed for confirming a great number of new converts, he ordered them to assemble in a new open plain, near the river Bourde. Thither he repaired the day before; and, pitching a tent, determined to remain on the spot all night, in order to be ready early in the morning.

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

Forty-two persons of Armorian, in upper Phrygia, were martyred in the year 845, by the Saracens, the circumstances of which transaction are as follow:

In the reign of Theophilus, the Saracens ravaged many parts of the eastern empire, gained several considerable advantages over the Christians, took the city of Armorian, and numbers suffered martyrdom.

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

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

Adalbert, bishop of Prague, a Bohemian by birth, after being involved in many troubles, began to direct his thoughts to the conversion of the infidels, to which end he repaired to Dantzic, where he converted and baptized many, which so enraged the pagan priests, that they fell upon him, and despatched him with darts, on the 23d of April, A. D. 997.
Alphage, archbishop of Canterbury, was descended from a considerable family in Gloucestershire, and received an education suitable to his illustrious birth. His parents were worthy Christians, and Alphage seemed to inherit their virtues.

The see of Winchester being vacant by the death of Ethelwold, Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, as primate of all England, consecrated Alphage to the vacant bishopric, to the general satisfaction of all concerned in that diocese.

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 1006.

After Alphage had governed the see of Canterbury about four years, with great reputation to himself, and benefit to his people, the Danes made an incursion into England, and laid siege to Canterbury. When the design of attacking this city was known, many of the principal people made a flight from it, and would have persuaded Alphage to follow their example. But he, like a good pastor, would not listen to such a proposal. While he was employed in assisting and encouraging the people, Canterbury was taken by storm; the enemy poured into the town, and destroyed all that came in their way by fire and sword. He had the courage to address the enemy, and offer himself to their swords, as more worthy of their rage than the people: he begged they might be saved, and that they would discharge their whole fury on him. They accordingly seized him, tied his hands, insulted, and abused him in a rude and barbarous manner, and obliged him to remain on the spot until 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 close prisoner for several months.

During his confinement, they proposed to him to redeem his liberty with the sum of £3000, and to persuade the king to purchase their departure out of the kingdom, with a further sum of £10,000. As Alphage’s circumstances would not allow him to satisfy the exorbitant demand, they bound him, and put him to severe torments, to oblige him to discover the treasure of the church; upon which they assured him of his life and liberty, but the prelate piously persisted in refusing to give the pagans any account of it. They remanded him to prison again, confined him six days longer, and then, taking him prisoner with them to Greenwich, brought him to trial there. He still remained inflexible with respect to the church treasures; but exorted them to forsoak their idolatry, and embrace Christianity. This so greatly incensed the Danes, that the soldiers dragged him out of the camp, and beat him unmercifully. One of the soldiers, who had been converted by him, knowing that his pains would be lingering, as his death was determined on, actuated with a kind of barbarous compassion, cut off his head, and thus put the finishing stroke to his martyrdom, April 19, A. D. 1012. This transaction happened on the very spot where the church at 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 1023, removed to Canterbury by Ethelmoth, the archbishop of that province.

Gerard, a Venetian, devoted himself to the service of God from his tender years; entered into a religious house for some time, and then determined to visit the Holy Land. Going into Hungary, he became acquainted with Stephen, the king of that country, who made him bishop of Chonad.

Ouvo and Peter, successors of Stephen, being deposed, Andrew, son of Ladislaus, cousin-german to Stephen, had then a tender of the crown made him upon condition that he would employ his authority in extirpating the Christian religion out of Hungary. The ambitious prince came into the proposal, but Gerard, being informed of this impious bargain, thought it his duty to remonstrate against the enormity of Andrew’s crime, and persuade him to withdraw his promise. In this view he
undertook to go to that prince, attended by three prelates, full of like zeal for religion. The new king was at Alba Regalis, but, as the four bishops were going to cross the Danube, they were stopped by a party of soldiers posted there. They bore an attack with a shower of stones patiently, when the soldiers beat them unmercifully, and at length despatched them with lances. Their martyrdoms happened in the year 1045.

Stanislaus, bishop of Cracow, was descended from an illustrious Polish family. The piety of his parents was equal to their opulence, and the latter they rendered subservient to all the purposes of charity and benevolence. Stanislaus 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. Lambert died on November 25, 1071, when all concerned in the choice of a successor declared for Stanislaus, and he succeeded to the prelacy.

Bolislaus, the second king of Poland, had, by nature, many good qualities, but giving way to his passions he ran into many enormities, and at length had the appellation of Cruel bestowed upon him. Stanislaus alone had the courage to tell him of his faults, when, taking a private opportunity, he freely displayed to him the enormities of his crimes. The king, greatly exasperated at his repeated freedoms, at length determined, at any rate, to get the better of a prelate who was so extremely faithful. Hearing one day that the bishop was by himself, in the chapel of St. Michael, at a small distance from the town, he despatched some soldiers to murder him. The soldiers readily undertook the bloody 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 that they had not obeyed his orders, stormed at them violently, 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. The prelate immediately expired, on the 8th of May, A. D. 1079.

Persecution of the Waldenses in France.

Popery having brought various innovations into the church, and overspread the Christian world with darkness and superstition, some few, who plainly 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 blind the people, and obscure its real brightness.

The principal among these was Berengarius, who, about the year 1000, boldly preached gospel truths, according to their primitive purity. Many, from conviction, assented to his doctrine, and were, on that account, called Berengarians. To Berengarius succeeded Peter Bruiis, who preached at Thoulouse, 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 Bruiis, under the title of Antichrist.

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

A. D. 1147, Henry of Thoulouse, being deemed their most eminent preacher, they were called Henericians; 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. At length, Peter Waldo, or Valdo, a native of Lyons, eminent for his piety and learning, became a strenuous opposer of popery; and from him the reformed, at that time, received the appellation of Waldenses, or Waldseys.

Pope Alexander III, being informed by the bishop of Lyons of these transactions, excommunicated Waldo and his adherents, and commanded the bishop to exterminate them, if possible, from the face of the earth; and hence began the papal persecutions against the Waldenses.

The proceedings of Waldo and the reformed occasioned the first rise of the Inquisitors; for pope Innocent III. authorized certain monks
as inquisitors, to inquire for, and deliver over, the reformed to the secular power. The process was short, as an accusation was deemed adequate to guilt, and a candid trial was never granted to the accused.

The pope, finding that these cruel means had not the intended effect, sent several learned monks to preach among the Waldenses, and to endeavour to argue them out of their opinions. Among these monks was one Dominic, who appeared extremely zealous in the cause of popery. This Dominic 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 the various inquisitions in the world. The power of the inquisitors was unlimited; they proceeded against whom they pleased, without any consideration of age, sex, or rank. Let the accusers be ever so infamous, the accusation was deemed valid; and even anonymous informations, sent by letter, were thought sufficient evidence. To be rich was a crime equal to heresy; therefore many who had money were accused of heresy, or of being favourers of heretics, that they might be obliged to pay for their opinions. The dearest friends or nearest kindred could not, without danger, serve any one who was imprisoned on account of religion. To convey to those who were confined a little straw, or give them a cup of water, was called favouring of the heretics, and they were prosecuted accordingly. No lawyer dared to plead for his own brother, and their malice even extended beyond the grave; hence the bones of many were dug up and burnt, as examples to the living. If a man on his deathbed was accused of being a follower of Waldo, his estates were confiscated, and the heir to them defrauded of his inheritance; and some were sent to the Holy Land, while the Dominicans took possession of their houses and properties, and, when the owners returned, would often pretend not to know them. These persecutions were continued for several centuries under different popes and other great dignitaries of the catholic church.

Persecutions of the Albigenses.

The Albigenses were a people of the reformed religion, who inhabited the country of Albi. They were condemned on the score of religion, in the council of Lateran, by order of pope Alexander III. Nevertheless, 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 Thoulouse, Raymond earl of Foix, the earl of Beziers, &c.

A friar, named Peter, having been murdered in the dominions of the earl of Thoulouse, the pope made the murder a pretence to persecute that nobleman and his subjects. To effect this, he sent persons throughout all Europe, in order to raise forces to act coercively against the Albigenses, and promised paradise to all that would come to this war, which he termed a Holy War, and bear arms for forty days. The same indulgences were likewise held out to all who entered themselves for the purpose as to such as engaged in crusades to the Holy Land. The brave earl defended Thoulouse and other places with the most heroic bravery and various success against the pope's legates and Simon earl of Montfort, a bigoted catholic nobleman. Unable to subdue the earl of Thoulouse openly, the king of France, and queen mother, and three archbishops, raised another formidable army, and had the art to persuade the earl of Thoulouse to come to a conference, when he was treacherously seized upon, made a prisoner, forced to appear bare-footed and bare-headed before his enemies, and compelled to subscribe an abject recantation. This was followed by a severe persecution against the Albigenses; and express orders, that the laity should not be permitted to read the sacred Scriptures. In the year 1620 also the persecution against the Albigenses was very severe. In 1648 a heavy persecution raged throughout Lithuania and Poland. The cruelty of the Cossacks was so excessive, that the Tartars themselves were ashamed of their barbarities. Among others who suffered, was the Rev. Adrian Chalinski, who was roasted alive by a slow fire, and whose sufferings and mode of death may depict the horrors which the professors of Christianity have endured from the enemies of the Redeemer.

The reformation of papistical error very early was projected in France; for in the third century a learned man, named Almericus, and
six of his disciples, were ordered to be burnt at Paris, for asserting that God was no otherwise present in the sacramental bread than in any other bread; that it was idolatry to build altars or shrines to saints; and that it was ridiculous to offer incense to them.

The martyrdom of Almericus and his pupils did not, however, prevent many from acknowledging the justness of his notions, and seeing the purity of the reformed religion, so that the faith of Christ continually increased, and in time not only spread itself over many parts of France, but diffused the light of the gospel over various other countries.

In the year 1524, at a town in France, called Melden, one John Clark set up a bill on the church door, wherein he called the pope Antichrist. For this offence he was repeatedly whipped, and then branded on the forehead. Going afterward to Metz, in Lorraine, he demolished some images, for which he had his right hand and nose cut off, and his arms and breasts torn with pincers. He sustained these cruelties with amazing fortitude, and was even sufficiently cool to sing the 115th psalm, which expressly forbids idolatry; after which he was thrown into the fire, and burnt to ashes.

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

A native of Malda was burnt by a slow fire, for saying that mass was a plain denial of the death and passion of Christ. At Limosin, John de Cadurco, a clergyman of the reformed religion, was apprehended, degraded, and ordered to be burnt.

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

A. D. 1546, Peter Chapot brought a number of Bibles in the French tongue to France, and publicly sold them there; for which he was brought to trial, sentenced, and executed a few days afterward. Soon after a cripple of Meaux, a schoolmaster of Fera, named Stephen Polliot, and a man named John English, were burnt for the faith.

Monsieur Blondel, a rich jeweller, was, A. D. 1548, apprehended at Lyons, and sent to Paris; where he was burnt for the faith, by order of the court, A. D. 1549. Herbert, a youth of nineteen years of age, was committed to the flames at Dijon; as was Florent Venote, in the same year.

In the year 1554, two men of the reformed religion, with the son and daughter of one of them, were apprehended and committed to the castle of Niverne. On examination, they confessed their faith, and were ordered for execution; being smeared with grease, brimstone, and gunpowder, they cried, "Salt on, salt on this sinful and rotten flesh!" Their tongues were then cut out, and they were afterward committed to the flames, which soon consumed them, by means of the combustible matter with which they were besmeared.

The Bartholomew Massacre at Paris, &c.

On the 22d of August, 1572, commenced this diabolical act of sanguinary brutality. It was intended to destroy at one stroke the root of the Protestant tree, which had only before partially suffered in its branches. The king of France had artfully proposed a marriage between his sister and the prince of Navarre, the captain and prince of the Protestants. This imprudent marriage was publicly celebrated at Paris, August 18, by the cardinal of Bourbon, upon a high stage erected for the purpose. They dined in great pomp with the bishop, and supped with the king at Paris. Four days after this, the prince, as he was coming from the council, was shot in both arms; he then said to Maure, his deceased mother's minister, "O my brother, I do now perceive that I am indeed beloved of my God, since for his most holy sake I am wounded." Although the Vidiad advised him to fly, yet he abode in Paris, and was soon after slain by Bemius; who afterward declared he never saw a man meet death more valiantly than the admiral. The soldiers were appointed at a certain signal to burst out instantly to the slaughter in all parts of the city. When they
had killed the admiral, they threw him out at a window into the street, where his head was cut off, and sent to the pope. The savage papists, still raging against him, cut off his arms and private members, and, after dragging him three days through the streets, hung him up by the heels without the city. After him they slew many great and honourable persons who were protestants; as count Rochfoucault, Telinus, the admiral’s son-in-law, Antonius Clarimontus, marquis of Ravely, Lewes Busius, Baudineus, Pluvialiis, Burneius, &c. &c. and falling upon the common people, they continued the slaughter for many days; in the three first, they slew of all ranks and conditions to the number of 10,000. The bodies were thrown into the rivers, and blood ran through the streets with a strong current, and the river appeared presently like a stream of blood. So furious was their hellish rage, that they slew all papists whom they suspected to be not very staunch to their diabolical religion. From Paris the destruction spread to all quarters of the realm.

At Orleans, a thousand were slain of men, women, and children, and 6000 at Rouen.

At Meldith, two hundred were put into prisons, and brought out by units, and cruelly murdered.

At Lyons, eight hundred were massacred. Here children hanging about their parents, and parents affectionately embracing their children, were pleasant food for the swords and blood-thirsty minds of those who call themselves the Catholic Church. Here 300 were slain only in the bishop’s house; and the pious monks would suffer none to be buried.

At Augustobona, on the people hearing of the massacre at Paris, they shut their gates that no protestants might escape; and searching diligently for every individual of the Reformed Church, imprisoned and then barbarously murdered them. The same cruelty they practised at Avaricum, at Troyes, at Thoulouse, Rouen, and many other places, running from city to city, towns, and villages, through the kingdom.

At Rome the horrid joy was so great, that they appointed a day of high festival, and a jubilee, with great indulgence to all who kept it; and showed every expression of gladness they could devise! and the man who first carried the news received 1000 crowns of the cardinal of Lorrain for his godly message. The king also commanded the day to be kept with every demonstration of joy, concluding now that the whole race of Hugonots was extinct.

Many who gave great sums of money for their ransom were immediately after slain; and several towns, which were under the king’s promise of protection and safety, were cut off as soon as they delivered themselves up, on those promises, to his generals or captains.

At Bourdeaux, at the instigation of a holy monk, who used to urge the papists to slaughter in his sermons, 264 were cruelly murdered; some of them senators. Another of the same pious fraternity produced a similar slaughter at Agendicium, in Main, where the populace, at the holy inquisitors’ satanical suggestion, ran upon the protestants, slew them, plundered their houses, and pulled down their church.

The duke of Guise, entering into Bloise, suffered his soldiers to fly upon the spoil, and slay or drown all the protestants they could find. In this they spared neither age nor sex; defiling the women, and then murdering them; from whence he went to Mere, and committed the same outrages for many days together. Here they found a minister, named Cassebonius, and threw him into the river.

At Anjou they slew Albicacius, a minister; and many women were defiled and murdered there; among whom were two sisters, abused before their father, whom the assassins bound to a wall to see them, and then slew them and him.

The president of Turin, after giving a large sum for his life, was cruelly beaten with clubs, stripped of his clothes, and hung feet upwards, with his head and breast in the river: before he was dead, they opened his belly, plucked out his entrails, and threw them into the river, and then carried his heart about the city upon a spear.

At Barre great cruelty was used, even to young children, whom they cut open, pulled out their entrails, which through very rage they gnawed with their teeth. Those who had fled to the castle, when they yielded, were almost all hanged. Thus they did at the city of Matiscon; counting it sport to cut off their arms and legs and afterward kill them; and for the entertainment of their visitors, they
often threw the protestants from a high bridge into the river, saying, Did you ever see men leap so well?

At Penna, after promising them safety, 300 were inhumanly butchered; and five and forty at Albia, on the Lord’s day. At Nonne, though it yielded on conditions of safeguard, the most horrid spectacles were exhibited. Persons of both sexes and conditions were indiscriminately murdered; the streets ringing with doleful cries, and flowing with blood; and the houses flaming with fire, which the abandoned soldiers had thrown in. One woman, being dragged from her hiding-place with her husband, was first abused by the brutal soldiers, and then with a sword, which they commanded her to draw, they forced it white in her hands into the bowels of her husband.

At Samaro bridge, they murdered above 100 protestants, after promising them peace: and at Antisiador, 100 were killed, and cast part into a jakes, and part into a river. One hundred put into prison at Orleans were destroyed by the furious multitude.

The protestants at Rochelle, who were such as had miraculously escaped the rage of hell, and fled there, seeing how ill they fared who submitted to those holy devils, stood for their lives; and some other cities, encouraged thereby, did the like. Against Rochelle the king sent almost the whole power of France, which besieged it seven months: though, by their assaults, they did very little execution on the inhabitants, yet, by famine, they destroyed eighteen thousand out of two and twenty. The dead being too numerous for the living to bury, became food for vermin and carnivorous birds. Many taking their coffins into the church-yard, laid down in them, and breathed their last. Their diet had long been what the minds of those in plenty shudder at; even human flesh, entrails, dung, and the most loathsome things, became at last the only food of those champions for that truth and liberty, of which the world was not worthy. At every attack, the besiegers met with such an intrepid reception, that they left 132 captains, with a proportionate number of men, dead in the field. The siege at last was broken up at the request of the duke of Anjou, the king’s brother, who was proclaimed king of Poland, and the king, being wearied out, easily complied, whereupon honourable conditions were granted them.

It is a remarkable interference of Providence, that, in all this dreadful massacre, not more than two ministers of the gospel were involved in it.

The tragical sufferings of the protestants are too numerous to detail; but the treatment of Philip le Deux will give an idea of the rest. After the miscreants had slain this martyr in his bed, they went to his wife, who was then attended by the midwife, expecting every moment to be delivered. The midwife at least entreated them to stay the murder till the child, which was the twentieth, should be born. Notwithstanding this, they thrust a dagger up to the hilt into the poor woman. Anxious to be delivered, she ran into a corn-loft; but hither they pursued her, stabbed her in the belly, and then threw her into the street. By the fall the child came from the dying mother, and being caught up by one of the catholic ruffians, he stabbed the smiling infant, and then threw it into the river.

From the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes to the French Revolution in 1789.

The persecutions occasioned by the revocation of the edict of Nantes took place under Louis XIV.—This edict was made by Henry the Great of France in 1598, and secured to the protestants an equal right in every respect, whether civil or religious, with the other subjects of the realm. All those privileges Louis the XIII. confirmed to the protestants by another statute, called the Edict of Nismes, and kept them inviolably to the end of his reign.

On the accession of Louis XIV. the kingdom was almost ruined by civil wars. At this critical juncture, the protestants, heedless of our Lord’s admonition, “They that take the sword, shall perish with the sword,” took such an active part in favour of the king, that he was constrained to acknowledge himself indebted to their arms for his establishment on the throne. Instead of cherishing and rewarding that party who had fought for him, he reasoned, that the same power which had protected could overturn him, and, listening to
the popish machinations, he began to issue out proscriptions and restrictions, indicative of his final determination. Rochelle was presently fettered with an incredible number of denunciations. Montaban and Millau were sacked by soldiers. Popish commissioners were appointed to preside over the affairs of the protestants, and there was no appeal from their ordinance, except to the King's Council. This struck at the root of their civil and religious exercises, and prevented them, being protestants, from suing a catholic in any court of law. This was followed by another injunction, to make an inquiry in all parishes into whatever the protestants had said or done for twenty years past. This filled the prisons with innocent victims, and condemned others to the galleys or banishment. Protestants were expelled from all offices, trades, privileges, and employs; thereby depriving them of the means of getting their bread: and they proceeded to such excess in this brutality, that they would not suffer even the midwives to officiate, but compelled their women to submit themselves in that crisis of nature to their enemies, the brutal catholics. Their children were taken from them to be educated by the catholics, and at seven years made to embrace Popery. The Reformed were prohibited from relieving their own sick or poor, from all private worship, and divine service was to be performed in the presence of a popish priest. To prevent the unfortunate victims from leaving the kingdom, all the passages on the frontiers were strictly guarded; yet, by the good hand of God, about 150,000 escaped their vigilance, and emigrated to different countries to relate the dismal narrative.

All that has been related hitherto were only infringements on their established charter, the Edict of Nantes. At length the diabolical revocation of that edict passed on the 18th of October, 1685, and was registered the 22d in the vacation, contrary to all form of law. Instantly the dragoons were quartered upon the protestants throughout the realm, and filled all France with the like news, that the king would no longer suffer any Hugonots in his kingdom; and therefore they must resolve to change their religion. Hereupon the intendants in every parish (which were popish governors and spies set over the protestants) assembled the reformed inhabitants, and told them, they must without delay turn catholics, either freely or by force. The protestants replied, "They were ready to sacrifice their lives and estates to the king, but their consciences being God's, they could not so dispose of them."

Instantly the troops seized the gates and avenues of the cities, and placing guards in all the passages, entered with sword in hand, crying, "Die, or be Catholics!" In short, they practised every wickedness and horror they could devise, to force them to change their religion.

They hung both men and women by their hair or their feet, and smoked them with hay till they were nearly dead; and if they still refused to sign a recantation, they hung them up again, and repeated their barbarities, till, weared out with torments without death, they forced many to yield to them.

Others, they plucked off all the hair of their heads and beards with pincers. Others they threw on great fires, and pulled them out again, repeating it till they extorted a promise to recant.

Some they stripped naked, and after offering them the most infamous insults, they stuck them with pins from head to foot, and lanced them with pen-knives; and sometimes with red-hot pincers they dragged them by the nose till they promised to turn. Sometimes they tied fathers and husbands, while they ravished their wives and daughters before their eyes. Multitudes they imprisoned in the most noisome dungeons, where they practised all sorts of tortments in secret. Their wives and children they shut up in monasteries.

Such as endeavoured to escape by flight were pursued in the woods, and hunted in the fields, and shot at like wild beasts: nor did any condition or quality screen them from the ferocity of those infernal dragoons: even the members of parliament and military officers, though on actual service, were ordered to quit their posts, and repair directly to their houses to suffer the like storm. Such as complained to the king were sent to the Bastile, where they drank of the same cup. The bishops and the intendants marched at the head of the dragoons, with a troop of missionaries, monks, and other ecclesiastics, to animate the
soldiers to an execution so agreeable to their holy church, and so glorious to their demon god and their tyrant king.

In forming the edict to repeal the Edict of Nantes, the council were divided; some would have all the ministers detained and forced into popery as well as the laity: others were for banishing them, because their presence would strengthen the protestants in perseverance; and if they were forced to turn, they would ever be secret and powerful enemies in the bosom of the church, by their great knowledge and experience in controversial matters. This reason prevailing, they were sentenced to banishment, and only fifteen days allowed them to depart the kingdom.

The same day the edict for revoking the protestants' charter was published, they demolished their churches, and banished their ministers, whom they allowed but twenty-four hours to leave Paris. The papists would not suffer them to dispose of their effects, and threw every obstacle in their way to delay their escape till the limited time was expired, which subjected them to condemnation for life to the galleys.—The guards were doubled at the sea-ports, and the prisons were filled with the victims, who endured torments and wants at which human nature must shudder.

The sufferings of the ministers and others, who were sent to the galleys, seem to exceed all. Chained to the oar, they were exposed to the open air night and day at all seasons, and in all weathers; and when through weakness of body they fainted under the oar, instead of a cordial to revive them, or viands to refresh them, they received only the lashes of a scourge, or the blows of a cane or rope's end. For the want of sufficient clothing and necessary cleanliness, they were most grievously tormented with vermin, and cruelly pinched with the cold, which removed by night the executioners, who beat and tormented them by day. Instead of a bed, they were allowed, sick or well, only a hard board, 18 inches broad, to sleep on, without any covering but their wretched apparel; which was a shirt of the coarsest canvass, a little jerkin of red serge, slit on each side up to the arm-holes, with open sleeves that reached not to the elbow; and once in three years they had a coarse frock, and a little cap to cover their heads, which were always kept close shaved, as a mark of their infamy. The allowance of provision was as narrow as the sentiments of those who condemned them to such miseries, and their treatment when sick is too shocking to relate, doomed to die upon the boards of a dark hold; covered with vermin, and without the least convenience for the calls of nature. Nor was it among the least of the horrors they endured, that, as ministers of Christ and honest men, they were chained side by side to felons and the most execrable villains, whose blasphemous tongues were never idle. If they refused to hear mass, they were sentenced to the bastinado, of which dreadful punishment the following is a description. Preparatory to it, the chains are taken off, and the victims delivered into the hands of the Turks that preside at the oars, who strip them quite naked, and stretching them upon a great gun, they are held so that they cannot stir; during which there reigns an awful silence throughout the galley. The Turk who is appointed the executioner, and who thinks the sacrifice acceptable to his prophet Mahomet, most cruelly beats the wretched victim with a rough cudgel, or knotty rope's end, till the skin is flayed off his bones, and he is near the point of expiring; then they apply a most tormenting mixture of vinegar and salt, and consign him to that most intolerable hospital where thousands under their cruelties have expired.

**Martyrdom of John Calas.**

We pass over many other individual martyrdoms to insert that of John Calas, which took place so lately as 1761, and is an indubitable proof of the bigotry of popery, and shows that neither experience nor improvement can root out the inveterate prejudices of the Roman catholics, or render them less cruel or inexorable to protestants.

John Calas was a merchant of the city of Thoulouse, where he had been settled, and lived in good repute, and had married an English woman of French extraction. Calas and his wife were 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 about 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 Antony Calas, the eldest son, and Peter Calas, the second son. Mark Antony was bred to the law, but could not be admitted to practise, on account of his being a protestant: hence he grew melancholy, read all the books he could procure relative to suicide, and seemed determined to destroy himself. To this may be added, that he led a dissipated life, was greatly addicted to gaming, and did all which could constitute the character of a libertine; on which account his father frequently reprehended him, and sometimes in terms of severity, which considerably added to the gloom that seemed to oppress him.

On the 13th of October, 1761, Mr. Gober la Vaisse, a young gentleman about 19 years of age, the son of La Vaisse, a celebrated advocate of Thoulouse, about five o'clock in the evening, was met by John Calas, the father, and the eldest son Mark Antony, who was his friend. Calas, the father, invited him to supper, and the family and their guest sat down in a room up one pair of stairs; the whole company, consisting of Calas the father and his wife, Antony and Peter Calas the sons, and La Vaisse the guest, no other person being in the house, except the maid-servant who has been already mentioned.

It was now about seven o'clock: the supper was not long; but before it was over, Antony 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 Antony, continued in conversation together till between nine and ten o'clock, when La Vaisse took his leave, and Peter, who had fallen asleep, was awakened to attend him with a light.

On the ground floor of Calas's house was a shop and a warehouse; the latter of which was divided from the shop by a pair of folding-doors. When Peter Calas and La Vaisse came down stairs into the shop, they were extremely shocked to see Antony hanging in his shirt, from a bar which he had laid across the top of the two folding-doors, having half opened them for that purpose. On discovery of this horrid spectacle, they shrieked out, which brought down Calas the father, the mother being seized with such terror as kept her trembling in the passage above. 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 embracing the body of his son, and bathing it in his tears. The mother, therefore, being thus left alone, went down and mixed in the scene that has been already described, with such emotions as it must naturally produce. In the mean time Peter had been sent for La Moire, a surgeon in the neighbourhood. La Moire was not at home, but his apprentice, Mr. Grosle, came instantly. Upon examination, he found the body quite dead; and by this time a papistical crowd of people were gathered about the house, and, having by some means heard that Antony 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 was protestant, they presently supposed that the young man was about to change his religion, and had been put to death for that reason.

The poor father, 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 catholic multitude, who supposed he had murdered his son. This was accordingly done: and David, the chief magistrate, or capitoul, 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 MM. la Marque and Perronet, surgeons, who examined the body for marks of violence, but found none except the mark of the ligature on the neck: they found also the hair of the deceased done up in the usual manner, perfectly smooth, and without the least disorder: his
clothes were also regularly folded up, and laid upon the counter, nor was his shirt either torn or unbuttoned.

Notwithstanding these innocent appearances, the capitoul thought proper to agree with the opinion of the mob, and took it into his head that old Calas had sent for La Vaisse, telling him he had a son to be hanged; that La Vaisse had come to perform the office of executioner: and that he had received assistance from the father and brother.

As no proof of the supposed fact could be procured, the capitoul had recourse to a monitory, or general information, in which the crime was taken for granted, and persons were required to give such testimony against it as they were able. 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 Antony Calas kneel before his father when he strangled him: it recites likewise, that Antony died a Roman catholic, and requires evidence of his catholicism.

But before this monitory was published, the mob had got a notion, that Antony Calas was the next day to have entered into the fraternity of the White Penitents. The capitoul therefore caused his body to be buried in the middle of St. Stephen's church. A few days after the interment of the deceased, the White Penitents performed a solemn service for him in their chapel: the church was hung with white, and a tomb 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 next day the Franciscans performed a service of the same kind for him.

The capitoul continued the prosecution with unrelenting severity: and, without the least proof coming in, 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.

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 they continued the prosecution, and, upon the hangman depositing it was impossible Antony should hang himself as was pretended, 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. One voted him innocent, but 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.

Poor Calas, however, an old man, of 68, was condemned to this dreadful punishment alone. He suffered the torture with great constancy, and was led to execution in a frame of mind which excited the admiration of all that saw him, and particularly of the two Dominicans (father Bourges and father Coldagues) who attended him in his last moments, and declared that they thought him not only innocent of the crime laid to his charge, but an exemplary instance of true Christian patience, fortitude, and charity. When he saw the executioner prepared to give him the last stroke, he made a fresh declaration to father Bourges, but while the words were still 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.

The popular outcry against this family was so violent in Languedoc, that every body expected to see the children of Calas broke upon the wheel, and the mother burnt alive.

Young Donat Calas was advised to fly into Switzerland: he went, and found a gentleman, who, at first, could only pity and relieve him, without daring to judge of the rigour exercised against the father, mother, and brothers. Soon 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 every possible precaution to be assured of the innocence of the family. Once
AN ACCOUNT OF THE INQUISITION.

WHEN the reformed religion began to diffuse the gospel light throughout Europe, pope Innocent the Third entertained great fear for the Romish church. He accordingly instituted a number of inquisitors, or persons who were to make inquiry after, apprehend, and punish, heretics, as the reformed were called by the papists.

At the head of these inquisitors was one Dominic, who had been canonized by the pope, in order to render his authority the more respectable. Dominic, and the other inquisitors, spread themselves into various Roman catholic countries, and treated the protestants with the utmost severity. In process of time, the pope, not finding these roving inquisitors so useful as he had imagined, resolved upon the establishment of fixed and regular courts of inquisition. After the order for these regular courts, the first office of inquisition was established in the city of Toulouse, and Dominic became the first regular inquisitor, as he had before been the first roving inquisitor.

Courts of inquisition were now erected in several countries; but the Spanish inquisition became the most powerful, and the most dreaded of any. Even the kings of Spain themselves, though arbitrary in all other respects, were taught to dread the power of the lords of the inquisition; and the horrid cruelties they exercised compelled multitudes, who differed in opinion from the Roman catholics, carefully to conceal their sentiments.

The most zealous of all the popish monks, and those who most implicitly obeyed the church of Rome, were the Dominicans and Franciscans: these, therefore, the pope thought proper to invest with an exclusive right of presiding over the different courts of inquisition, and gave them the most unlimited powers, as judges delegated by him, and immediately representing his person: they were permitted to excommunicate, or sentence to death, whom they thought proper, upon the most slight information of heresy. They were allowed to publish crusades against all whom they deemed heretics, and enter into leagues with sovereign princes, to join their crusades with their forces.

In 1244, their power was farther increased by the emperor Frederic the Second, who declared himself the protector and friend of all inquisitors, and published the cruel edicts, viz.

1. That all heretics, who continued obstinate, should be burnt. 2. That all heretics, 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 renounce Christianity, and turn Mahometan; the emperor therefore, attempted, by the height of bigotry, to contradict the report, and to show his attachment to popery by cruelty.

The officers of the inquisition are three inquisitors, or judges, a fiscal proctor, two secretaries, a magistrate, a messenger, a receiver, a jailer, an agent of confiscated possessions; several assessors, counsellors, executioners, physicians, surgeons, door-keepers, familiars, and visitors, who are sworn to secrecy.

The principal accusation against those who are subject to this tribunal is heresy, which comprises all that is spoken, or written, against any of the articles of the creed, or the traditions of the Roman church. The inquisition likewise takes cognizance of such as are accused of being magicians, and of such who read the Bible in the common language, the Talmud of the Jews, or the Alcoran of the Mahometans.

Upon all occasions the inquisitors carry on their processes with the utmost severity, and punish those who offend them with the most unparalleled cruelty. A protestant has seldom any mercy shown him; and a Jew, who turns Christian, is far from being secure.

A defence in the inquisition 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. The principal part of the inquisitors' cruelties is owing to their rapacity: they destroy the life to possess the property; and, under the pretense of zeal, plunder each obnoxious individual.

A prisoner in the inquisition is never allowed to see the face of his accuser, or of the witnesses against him, but every method is taken by threats and tortures, to oblige him to accuse himself, and by that means corroborate their evidence. If the jurisdiction of the inquisition is not fully allowed, vengeance is denounced against such as call it in question; or if any of 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, great dignity, or eminent employments, are no protection from its severities; and the lowest officers of the inquisition can make the highest characters tremble.

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

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

The officers of the inquisition, preceded by trumpets, kettle-drums, and their banner, marched on the 30th of May, in cavalcade, to the palace of the great square, where they declared by proclamation, that, on the 30th of June, the sentence of the prisoners would be put in execution.

Of these prisoners, twenty men and women, with one renegado Mahometan, were ordered to be burned; fifty Jews and Jewesses, having never before been imprisoned, and repenting of their crimes, were sentenced to a long confinement, and to wear a yellow cap. The whole court of Spain was present on this occasion. The grand inquisitor's chair was placed in a sort of tribunal far above that of the king.

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

Now mass began, in the midst of which the priest came from the altar, placed himself near the scaffold, and seated himself in a chair prepared for that purpose.

The chief inquisitor then descended from the amphitheatre, dressed in his cope, and having a mitre on his head. After having
bowed 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 to support with all their power and force the prosecutions and decrees of the inquisition: a like oath was administered to the counsellors and whole assembly. The mass was begun about twelve at noon, and did not end till nine in the evening, being protracted by a proclamation of the sentences of the several criminals, which were all separately rehearsed aloud one after the other.

After this, followed the burning of the twenty-one men and women, whose intrepidity in suffering that horrid death was truly astonishing. The king’s near situation to the criminals rendered their dying groans very audible to him; he could not, however, be absent from this dreadful scene, as it is esteemed a religious one; and his coronation oath obliges him to give a sanction by his presence to all the acts of the tribunal.

What we have already said may be applied to inquisitions in general, as well as to that of Spain in particular. The inquisition belonging to Portugal is exactly upon a similar plan to that of Spain, having been instituted much about the same time, and put under the same regulations. The inquisitors allow the torture to be used only three times, but during those times it is so severely inflicted, that the prisoner either dies under it, or continues always after a cripple, and suffers the severest pains upon every change of weather. We shall give an ample description of the severe torments occasioned by the torture, from the account of one who suffered it the three respective times, but happily survived the cruelties he underwent.

At the first time of torturing, six executioners entered, stripped him naked to his drawers, and laid him upon his back on a kind of stand, elevated a few feet from the floor. The operation commenced 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 thigh; which ropes being passed under the scaffold, through holes made for that purpose, were all drawn tight at the same instant of time, by four of the men, on a given signal.

It is easy to conceive that the pains which immediately succeeded were intolerable; the ropes, which were of a small size, cut through the prisoner’s flesh to the bone, making the blood to gush out at eight different places thus bound at a time. As the prisoner persisted in not making any confession of what the inquisitors required, the ropes were drawn in this manner four times successively.

The manner of inflicting the second torture 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 became dislocated, and a considerable quantity of blood issued from his mouth. This torture was repeated thrice; after which he was again taken to the dungeon, and the surgeon set the dislocated bones.

Two months after the second torture, the prisoner, being a little recovered, was again ordered to the torture-room, and there, for the last time, made to undergo another kind of punishment, which was inflicted twice without any intermission. The executioners fastened a thick iron chain round his body, which crossing at the breast, 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 end of the chain at his wrists. The executioner then, stretching the end of this rope by means of a roller, placed at a distance behind him, pressed or bruised his stomach in proportion as the ends of the chains 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 species of cruelty, made him immediately undergo the like torture a second time, which he sustained (though, if possible, attended with keener pains,) with equal constancy and resolution. After this, he was again remanded to
his dungeon, attended by the surgeon to dress his bruises and adjust the part dislocated, and here he continued till their Auto de Fe, or jail delivery, when he was discharged, crippled and diseased for life.

An Account of the cruel Handling and Burning of Nicholas Burton, an English Merchant, in Spain.

The fifth day of November, about the year of our Lord 1560, Mr. Nicholas Burton, citizen sometime of London, and merchant, dwelling in the parish of Little St. Bartholomew, peaceably and quietly following his traffic in the trade of merchandize, and being in the city of Cadiz, in the party of Andalusia, in Spain, there came into his lodging a Judas, or, as they term them, a familiar of the fathers of the inquisition; who asking for the said Nicholas Burton, feigned that he had a letter to deliver into his own hands; by which means he spake with him immediately. And having no letter to deliver to him, then the said promoter, or familiar, at the motion of the devil his master, whose messenger he was, invented another lie, and said, that he would take lodging for London in such ships as the said Nicholas Burton had freighted to lade, if he would let any; which was partly to know where he loaded his goods, that they might attach them, and chiefly to protract the time until the sergeant of the inquisition might come and apprehend the body of the said Nicholas Burton; which they did incontinently.

He then well perceiving that they were not able to burden or charge him that he had written, spoke, or done any thing there in that country against the ecclesiastical or temporal laws of the same realm, boldly asked them what they had to lay to his charge that they did so arrest him, and bade them to declare the cause, and he would answer them. Notwithstanding they answered nothing, but commanded him with cruel threatening words to hold his peace, and not to speak one word to them.

And so they carried him to the filthy common prison of the town of Cadiz, where he remained in irons fourteen days amongst thieves.

All which time he so instructed the poor prisoners in the word of God, according to the good talent which God had given him in that behalf, and also in the Spanish tongue to utter the same, that in that short space he had well reclaimed several of those superstitious and ignorant Spaniards to embrace the word of God, and to reject their popish traditions.

Which being known unto the officers of the inquisition, they conveyed him laden with irons from thence to a city called Seville, into a more cruel and straiter prison called Triana, where the said fathers of the inquisition proceeded against him secretly according to their accustomed cruel tyranny, that never after he could be suffered to write or speak to any of his nation: so that to this day it is unknown who was his accuser.

Afterward, the 20th of December, they brought the said Nicholas Burton, with a great number of other prisoners, for professing the true Christian religion, into the city of Seville, to a place where the said inquisitors sat in judgment, which they called Auto, with a canvas coat, whereupon in divers parts was painted the figure of a huge devil, tormenting a soul in a flame of fire, and on his head a copping tank of the same work.

His tongue was forced out of his mouth with a cloven stick fastened upon it, that he should not utter his conscience and faith to the people, and so he was set with another Englishman of Southampton, and divers other condemned men for religion, as well Frenchmen as Spaniards, upon a scaffold over against the said inquisition, where their sentences and judgments were read and pronounced against them.

And immediately after the said sentences given, they were carried from thence to the place of execution without the city, where they most cruelly burned them, for whose constant faith, God be praised.

This Nicholas Burton by the way, and in the flames of fire, had so cheerful a countenance, embracing death with all patience and gladness, that the tormentors and enemies which stood by, said, that the devil had his soul before he came to the fire; and therefore they said his senses of feeling were past him.

It happened that after the arrest of Nicholas Burton aforesaid, immediately all the goods and merchandize which he brought with him into Spain by the way of traffic, were (accord-
ing to their common usage) seized, and taken into the sequester; among which they also rolled up much that appertained to another English merchant, wherewith he was credited as factor. Whereof so soon as news was brought to the merchant as well of the imprisonment of his factor, as of the arrest made upon his goods, he sent his attorney into Spain, with authority from him to make claim to his goods, and to demand them; whose name was John Fronton, citizen of Bristol.

When his attorney was landed at Seville, and had showed all his letters and writings to the holy house, requiring them that such goods might be delivered into his possession, answer was made to him that he must sue by bill, and retain an advocate (but all was doubtless to delay him,) and they forsooth of courtesy assigned him one to frame his supplication for him, and other such bills of petition, as he had to exhibit into their holy court, demanding for each bill eight rials, albeit they stood him in no more stead than if he had put up none at all. And for the space of three or four months this fellow missed not twice a day attending every morning and afternoon at the inquisitors' palace, suing unto them upon his knees for his despatch, but especially to the bishop of Tarracon, who was at that very time chief in the inquisition at Seville, that he of his absolute authority would command restitution to be made thereof; but the booty was so good and great, that it was very hard to come by it again.

At length, after he had spent four whole months in suits and requests, and also to no purpose, he received this answer from them, That he must show better evidence, and bring more sufficient certificates out of England for proof of this matter, than those which he had already presented to the court. Whereupon the party forthwith posted to London, and with all speed returned to Seville again with more ample and large letters testimonial, and certificates, according to their requests, and exhibited them to the court.

Notwithstanding the inquisitors still shifted him off, excusing themselves by lack of leisure, and for that they were occupied in more weighty affairs, and with such answers put him off for four months after.

At last, when the party had well nigh spent all his money, and therefore sued the more earnestly for his despatch, they referred the matter wholly to the bishop. Of whom, when he repaired unto him, he made this answer, That for himself, he knew what he had to do; howbeit he was but one man, and the determination appertained to the other commissioners as well as unto him; and thus by posting and passing it from one to another, the party could obtain no end of his suit. Yet for his importunity's sake, they were resolved to despatch him: it was on this sort: one of the inquisitors, called Gaseo, a man very well experienced in these practices, willed the party to resort unto him after dinner.

The fellow being glad to hear this news, and supposing that his goods should be restored unto him, and that he was called in for that purpose to talk with the other that was in prison, to confer with him about their accounts, rather through a little misunderstanding, hearing the inquisitors cast out a word, that it should be needful for him to talk with the prisoner, and being thereupon more than half persuaded, that at length they meant good faith, did so, and repaired thither about the evening. Immediately upon his coming, the jailer was forthwith charged with him, to shut him up close in such a prison where they appointed him.

The party hoping at the first that he had been called for about some other matter, and seeing himself, contrary to his expectation, cast into a dark dungeon, perceived at length that the world went with him far otherwise than he supposed it would have done.

But within two or three days after he was brought into the court, where he began to demand his goods: and because it was a device that well served their turn without any more circumstance, they bid him say his Ave Maria; "Ave Maria gratia plena, Dominus tecum, benedicta tu in mulieribus, et benedictus fructus ventris tui Jesus, Amen."

The same was written word by word as he spake it, and without any more talk of claiming his goods, because it was needless, they commanded him to prison again, and entered an action against him as a heretic, forasmuch as he did not say his Ave Maria after the Romanish fashion, but ended it very suspiciously, for he should have added moreover; "Sancta Maria mater Dei, ora pro nobis peccatoribus:" by abbreviating whereof, it was evident enough
(said they) that he did not allow the mediation of saints.

Thus they picked a quarrel to detain him in prison a longer season, and afterward brought him forth upon their stage disguised after their manner; where sentence was given, that he should lose all the goods which he sued for, though they were not his own, and besides this, suffer a year's imprisonment.

Mark Bruges, an Englishman, master of an English ship call the Minion, was burnt in a city in Portugal.

William Hoker, a young man about the age of sixteen years, being an Englishman, was stoned to death by certain young men in the city of Seville for the same righteous cause.

Some private Enormities of the Inquisition laid open, by a very singular Occurrence.

When the crown of Spain was contested for in the beginning of the present century, by two princes, who equally pretended to the sovereignty, France espoused the cause of one competitor, and England of the other.

The duke of Berwick, a natural son of James II. who abdicated England, commanded the Spanish and French forces, and defeated the English at the celebrated battle of Almanza. The army was 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.

As the troops drew near to the city of Arragon, the magistrates came to offer the keys to the duke of Orleans; but he told them, haughtily, they were rebels, and that he would not accept the keys, for he had orders to enter the city through a breach.

He accordingly 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 every necessary regulation here, he departed to subdue other places, leaving a strong garrison, at once to overawe and defend, under the command of his lieutenant-general M. De Legal. This gentleman, though brought up a Roman catholic, was totally free from superstition; he united great talents with great bravery: and was, at once, the skilful officer, and accomplished gentleman.

The duke, before his departure, had ordered that heavy contributions should be levied upon the city in the following manner:

1. That the magistrates and principal inhabitants should pay a thousand crowns per month for the duke's table.

2. That every house should pay one pistole, which would monthly amount to 18,000 pistoles.

3. That every convent and monastery should pay a donative, proportionable to its riches and rents.

The two last contributions to be appropriated to the maintenance of the army.

The money levied upon the magistrates and principal inhabitants, and upon every house, was paid as soon as demanded; but when the proper persons applied to the heads of convents and monasteries, they found that the ecclesiastics were not so willing, as other people, to part with their cash.

Of the donatives to be raised by the clergy:

The college of Jesuits to pay 2000 pistoles.

Carmelites — 1000

Augustins — 1000

Dominicans — 1000

M. De Legal sent to the Jesuits a peremptory order to pay the money immediately. The superior of the Jesuits returned for answer, that for the clergy to pay money for the army was against all ecclesiastical immunities; and that he knew of no argument which 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 farther admonition to direct your conduct."

These proceedings greatly perplexed the Jesuits, who despatched an express to court to the king's confessor, who was of their order; but the dragoons were much more expeditions in plundering and doing mischief, than
the courier in his journey: so that the Jesuits, seeing every thing going to wreck and ruin, thought proper to adjust the matter amicably, and paid the money before the return of their messenger. The Augustins and Carmelites, taking warning by what had happened to the Jesuits, prudently went and paid the money, and by that means escaped the study of military arguments, and of being taught logic by dragoons.

But the Dominicans, who are all familiar of, or agents dependent on, the inquisition, imagined, that that very circumstance would be their protection; but they were mistaken, for M. De Legal neither feared nor respected the inquisition. The chief of the Dominicans sent word to the military commander, that his order was poor, and had not any money whatever to pay the donative; for, says he, the whole wealth of the Dominicans consists only in the silver images of the apostles and saints, as large as life, which are placed in our church, and which it would be sacrilege to remove.

This insinuation was meant to terrify the French commander, whom the inquisitors imagined would not dare to be so profane as to wish for the possession of the precious idols. 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, in the manner you do at present, they stand up in niches, useless and motionless, without being of the least benefit to mankind in general, or even to yourselves; but, when they come into my possession, they shall be useful; I will put them in motion; for I intend to have them coined, when they may travel like the apostles, be beneficial in various places, and circulate for the universal service of mankind."

The inquisitors 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.

M. De Legal, hearing these proceedings, ordered four companies of grenadiers to line the street which led to his house; each grenadier was ordered to have his loaded fuzee in one hand, and a lighted taper in the other; so that the troops might either repel force with force, or do honour to the farcical solemnity.

The friars did all they could to raise a tumult, but the common people were too much afraid of the troops under arms to obey them the silver images were, therefore, of necessity delivered up to M. De Legal, who sent them to the mint, and ordered them to be coined immediately.

The project of raising an insurrection having failed, the inquisitors determined to excommunicate M. De Legal, unless he would release their precious silver saints from imprisonment in the mint, before they were melted down, or otherwise mutilated. The French commander absolutely refused to release the images, but said they should certainly travel and do good; upon which the inquisitors drew up the form of excommunication, and ordered their secretary to go and read it to M. De Legal.

The secretary punctually performed his commission, and read the excommunication deliberately and distinctly. The French commander heard it with great patience, and politely told the secretary he would answer it the next day.

When the secretary of the inquisition was gone, M. De Legal ordered his own secretary to prepare a form of excommunication, exactly like that sent by the inquisition; but to make this alteration, instead of his name, to put in those of the inquisitors.

The next morning he ordered four regiments under arms, and commanded them to accompany his secretary, and act as he directed.

The secretary went to the inquisition, and insisted upon admittance; which, after a great deal of altercation, was granted. As soon as he entered, he read, in an audible voice, the excommunication sent by M. De Legal against the inquisitors. The inquisitors were all present, and heard it with astonishment, never having before met with any individual who dared behave so boldly. They loudly 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 the troops in the inquisition, as it was the most commodious place in the whole city.

The inquisitors exclaimed loudly upon this occasion, when the secretary put them under a strong guard, and sent them to a place appointed by M. De Legal to receive them. The inquisitors, finding how things went, begged that they might be permitted to take their private property, which was granted, and they immediately set out for Madrid, where they made the most bitter complaints to the king; but the monarch told them, he could not grant them any redress, as the injuries they had received were from his grandfather, the king of France's troops, by whose assistance alone he could be firmly established in his kingdom. "Had it been my own troops, (said he) I would have punished them; but as it is, I cannot pretend to exert any authority."

In the mean time, M. De Legal's secretary set open all the doors of the inquisition, and released the prisoners, who amounted in the whole to 400; and among these were 60 beautiful young women, who appeared to form a seraglio for the three principal inquisitors.

This discovery, which laid the enormity of the inquisitors so open, greatly alarmed the archbishop, who desired M. De Legal to send the women to his palace, and he would take proper care of them; and at the same time he published an ecclesiastical censure against all such as should ridicule, or blame, the holy office of the inquisition.

The French commander sent word to the archbishop, that the prisoners had either run away, or were so securely concealed by their friends, or even by his own officers, that it was impossible for him to send them back again; and, therefore, the inquisition having committed such atrocious actions, must now put up with their exposure.

One of the ladies thus happily delivered from captivity, was afterward married to the very French officer who opened the door of her dungeon, and released her from confinement. The lady related the following circumstances to her husband, and to M. Gavin, (author of the Master Key to Popery) from the latter of whom we have selected the most material particulars.

"I went one day (says the lady) with my mother, to visit the countess Attarass, and I met there Don Francisco Tirregon, her confessor, and second inquisitor of the Holy Office.

After we had drunk chocolate, he asked me my age, my confessor's name, and many intricate questions about religion. The severity of his countenance frightened me, which he perceiving, told the countess to inform me, that he was not so severe as he looked for. He then caressed me in a most obliging manner, presented his hand, which I kissed with great reverence and modesty; and, as he went away, he made use of this remarkable expression: My dear child, I shall remember you till the next time. I did not, at the time, mark the sense of the words; for I was inexperienced in matters of gallantry, being, at that time but fifteen years old. Indeed, he unfortunately did remember me, for the very same night, when our whole family were in bed, we heard a great knocking at the door.

The maid, who laid in the same room with me, went to the window, and inquired who was there. The answer was, The Holy Inquisition. On hearing this I screamed out, Father! father! dear father, I am ruined for ever! My father got up, and came to me to know the occasion of my crying out; I told him the inquisitors were at the door. On hearing this, instead of protecting me, he hurried down stairs as fast as possible; and, lest the maid should be too slow, opened the street door himself; under such abject and slavish fears, are bigoted minds! as soon as he knew they came for me, he fetched me with great solemnity, and delivered me to the officers with much submission.

I was hurried into a coach, with no other clothing than a petticoat and a mantle, for they would not let me stay to take anything else. My fright was so great, I expected to die that very night; but judge my surprise, when I was ushered into an apartment, decorated with all the elegance that taste, united with opulence, could bestow.

Soon after the officers left me, a maid-servant appeared with a silver salver, on which were sweetmeats and cinnamon water. She desired me to take some refreshment before I went to bed; I told her I could not, but should be glad if she could inform me whe-
ther I was to be put to death that night or not.

"To be put to death! (exclaimed she) you do not come here to be put to death, but to live like a princess, and you shall want for nothing in the world, but the liberty of going out; so pray don't be afraid, but go to bed and sleep easy; for to-morrow you shall see wonders within this house; and as I am chosen to be your waiting-maid, I hope you'll be very kind to me."

I was going to ask some questions, but she told me she must not answer any thing more till the next day, but assured me that nobody would come to disturb me: I am going, said she, about a little business, but I will come back presently, for my bed is in the closet next yours; so she left me for about a quarter of an hour, and then returned. She then said, Madam, pray let me know when you will be pleased to have your chocolate ready in the morning.

This greatly surprised me, so that without replying to her question, I asked her name—she said, My name is Mary. Mary, then, said I, for heaven's sake, tell me whether I am brought here to die or not!—I have told you already, replied she, that you came here to be one of the happiest ladies in the world.

We went to bed, but the fear of death prevented me from sleeping the whole night; Mary waked; she was surprised to find me up, but soon rose, and after leaving me for about half an hour, she brought in two cups of chocolate, and some biscuits on a silver plate.

I drank one cup of chocolate, and desired her to drink the other, which she did; when we had done, I said, Well, Mary, can you give me any account of the reasons for my being brought here? To which she answered, Not yet, madam, you must have patience, and immediately slipped out of the room.

About half an hour after, she brought a great quantity of elegant clothes, suitable to a lady of the highest rank, and told me, I must dress myself. Among several trinkets which accompanied the clothes, I observed, with surprise, a snuff-box, in the lid of which was a picture of Don Francisco Tirregon. This unravelled to me the mystery of my confinement, and at the same time roused my imagination to contrive how to evade receiving the present. If I absolutely refused it, I thought immediate death must ensue; and to accept it, was giving him too much encouragement against my honour. At length I hit upon a medium, and said to Mary, Pray present my respects to Don Francisco Tirregon, and tell him, that, as I could not bring my clothes along with me last night, modesty permits me to accept of these garments, which are requisite to keep me decent; but since I do not take snuff, I hope his lordship will excuse me in not accepting his box.

Mary went with my answer, and soon returned with Don Francisco's portrait elegantly set in gold, and richly embellished with diamonds. This message accompanied it: "That his lordship had made a mistake; his intent not being to send me a snuff-box, but his portrait." I was at a great loss what to do; when Mary said, Pray, madam, take my poor advice; accept of the portrait, and every thing else that his lordship sends you; for if you do not, he can compel you to what he pleases, and put you to death when he thinks proper, without any body being able to defend you. But if you are obliging to him, continued she, he will be very kind, and you will be as happy as a queen; you will have elegant apartments to live in, beautiful gardens to range in, and agreeable ladies to visit you: therefore, I advise you to send a civil answer, or even not to deny a visit from his lordship, or perhaps you may repent of your disrespect.

"O, my God!" exclaimed I, must I sacrifice my honour to my fears, and give up my virtue to his despotic power? Alas! what can I do? To resist, is vain. If I oppose his desires, force will obtain what chastity refuses. I now fell into the greatest agonies, and told Mary to return what answer she thought proper.

She said she was glad of my humble submission, and ran to acquaint Don Francisco with it. In a few minutes she returned, with joy in her countenance, telling me his lordship would honour me with his company to supper. "And now give me leave, madam, (said she) to call you mistress, for I am to wait upon you. I have been in the holy office fourteen years, and know all the customs perfectly well; but as silence is imposed upon me, under pain of death, I can only answer such questions as immediately relate to your own person. But I would advise you never to oppose the holy father's will; or if you see any young ladies.
about, never ask them any questions. You may divert yourself sometimes among them, but must never tell them any thing: three days hence you will dine with them; and at all times you may have music, and other recreations. In fine, you will be so happy, that you will not wish to go abroad; and when your time is expired, the holy fathers will send you out of this country, and marry you to some nobleman." After saying these words she left me, overwhelmed with astonishment, and scarce knowing what to think. As soon as I recovered myself, I began to look about, and finding a closet, I opened it, and perceived that it was filled with books: they were chiefly upon historical and profane subjects, but not any on religious matters. I chose out a book of history, and so passed the interval with some degree of satisfaction till dinner time.

The dinner was served up with the greatest elegance, and consisted of all that could gratify the most luxurious appetite. When dinner was over, Mary left me, and told me, if I wanted anything I might ring a bell, which she pointed out to me.

I read a book to amuse myself during the afternoon, and at seven in the evening Don Francisco came to visit me in his night-gown and cap, not with the gravity of an inquisitor, but with the gaiety of a gallant.

He saluted me with great respect, and told me, That he came to see me in order to show the great respect he had for my family, and to inform me, that it was my lovers who had procured my confinement, having accused me in matters of religion; and that the informations were taken, and the sentence pronounced against me, to be burnt alive in a dry pan, with a gradual fire; but that he, out of pity and love to my family, had stopped the execution of it.

These words were like daggers to my heart; I dropped at his feet, and said, "Ah, my lord! have you stopped the execution for ever!" He replied, "That belongs to yourself only," and abruptly wished me good night.

As soon as he was gone I burst into tears, when Mary came and asked me what could make me cry so bitterly. To which I answered, Oh, Mary! what is the meaning of the dry pan and gradual fire? for I am to die by them.

Madam, said she, never fear, you shall see,
We went back again to my chamber, and Mary said, that another day she would show me the torments designed for other transgressors; but I was in such agonies at what I had seen, that I begged to be terrified with no more such sights. She soon after left me, but not without enjoining my strict obedience to Don Francisco; for if you do not comply with his will, said she, the dry pan and gradual fire will be your fate.

The horrors which the sight of these things, and Mary's expressions, impressed on my mind, almost bereaved me of my senses, and left me in such a state of stupification, that I seemed to have no manner of will of my own.

The next morning Mary said, now let me dress you as nice as possible, for you must go and wish Don Francisco good-morrow, and breakfast with him. When I was dressed, she conveyed me through a gallery into his apartment, where I found that he was in bed. He ordered Mary to withdraw, and to serve up breakfast in about two hours time. When Mary was gone he commanded me to undress myself, and come to bed to him. The manner in which he spoke, and the dreadful ideas with which my mind was filled, so terribly frightened me, that I pulled off my clothes, without knowing what I did, and stepped into bed, insensible of the indecency I was transacting: so totally had the care of self-preservation absorbed all my other thoughts, and so entirely were the ideas of delicacy obliterated by the force of terror!

Thus, to avoid the dry pan, did I entail upon myself perpetual infamy; and to escape the so much dreaded gradual fire, give myself up to the flames of lust. Wretched alternative, where the only choice is an excruciating death, or everlasting pollution!

Mary came at the expiration of two hours, and served us with chocolate in the most submissive manner; for she kneeled down by the bed-side to present it. When I was dressed, Mary took me into a very delightful apartment, which I had never yet seen. It was furnished with the most costly elegance; but what gave me the greatest astonishment was, the prospect from its windows, of a beautiful garden, and a fine meandering river. Mary told me, that the young ladies she had mentioned would come to pay their compliments to me before dinner, and begged me to remember her ad-
and I was conducted to Don Francisco's chamber. The next morning I had a garment richer than the last, and they accosted me in apparel still more sumptuous than before. The transactions of the two former days were repeated on the third, and the evening concluded in a similar manner.

On the fourth morning Mary came into Don Francisco's chamber, and told me I must immediately rise, for a lady wanted me in her own chamber. She spoke with a kind of authority which surprised me; but as Don Francisco did not speak a syllable, I got up and obeyed. Mary then conveyed me into a dismal dungeon, not eight feet in length; and said sternly to me, This is your room, and this lady your bed-fellow and companion. At which words she bounced out of the room, and left me in the utmost consternation.

After remaining a considerable time in the most dreadful agonies, tears came to my relief, and I exclaimed, "What is this place, dear lady! Is it a scene of enchantment, or is it a hell upon earth? Alas! I have lost my honour and my soul for ever!"

The lady took me by the hand, and said, in a sympathizing tone of voice, "Dear sister, (for this is the name I shall henceforth give you) forbear to cry and grieve, for you can do nothing by such an extravagant behaviour, but draw upon yourself a cruel death. Your misfortunes, and those of all the ladies you have seen, are exactly of a piece: you suffer nothing but what we have suffered before you; but we dare not show our grief, for fear of greater evils. Pray take courage, and hope in God, for he will surely deliver us from this hellish place; but be sure you discover no uneasiness before Mary, who is the only instrument either of our torments or comfort. Have patience until we go to bed, and then I will venture to tell you more of the matter.

My perplexity and vexation were inexpressible; but my new companion, whose name was Leonora, prevailed on me to disguise my uneasiness from Mary. I dissembled tolerably well when she came to bring our dinners; but could not help remarking, in my own mind, the difference between this repast, and those I had before partook of. This consisted only of plain, common food, and of that a scanty allowance, with only one plate, and one knife and fork for us both, which she took away as soon as we had dined.

When we were in bed, Leonora was as good as her word; and upon my solemn promise of secrecy, thus began to open her mind to me:

"My dear sister, you think your case very hard, but I assure you, all the ladies in the house have gone through the same. In time you will know all their stories, as they hope to know yours. I suppose Mary has been the chief instrument of your fright, as she has been of ours; and I warrant she has shown you some horrible places, though not all; and that, at the very thought of them, you were so terrified, that you chose the same way we have done, to redeem yourself from death. By what hath happened to us, we know that Don Francisco hath been your Nero, your tyrant; for the three colours of our clothes are the distinguishing tokens of the three holy fathers. The red silk belongs to Don Francisco, the blue to Don Guerrero, and the green to Don Aliaga; and they always give those colours (after the farce of changing garments, and the short-lived recreations are over) to those ladies whom they bring here for their respective uses.

"We are strictly commanded to express all the demonstrations of joy, and to be very merry for three days, when a young lady first comes amongst us, as we did with you; and as you must now do with others. But afterward we live like the most wretched prisoners, without seeing any body but Mary, and the other maid-servants, over whom Mary hath a kind of superiority, for she acts as housekeeper. We all dine in the great hall three days in a week; and when any of the inquisitors hath a mind for one of his slaves, Mary comes about nine o'clock, and leads her to his apartment.

"Some nights Mary leaves the doors of our chambers open, and that is a token that one of the inquisitors hath a mind to come that night; but he comes so silent, that we are ignorant whether he is our patron or not. If one of us happens to be with child, she is removed into a better chamber till she is delivered; but during the whole of her pregnancy, she never sees any body but the person appointed to attend her.

"As soon as the child is born it is taken
away, and carried we know not whither; for we never hear a syllable mentioned about it afterward. I have been in this house six years, was not fourteen when the officers took me from my father's house, and have had one child. There are, at this present time, fifty-two young ladies in the house; but we annually lose six or eight, though we know not what becomes of them, or whither they are sent. This, however, does not diminish our number, for new ones are always brought in to supply the place of those who are removed from hence; and I remember, at one time, to have seen seventy-three ladies here together. Our continual torment is to reflect that when they are tired of any of the ladies, they certainly put to death those they pretend to send away; for it is natural to think, that they have too much policy to suffer their atrocious and infernal villainies to be discovered, by enlarging them. Hence our situation is miserable indeed, and we have only to pray that the Almighty will pardon those crimes, which we are compelled to commit. Therefore, my dear sister, arm yourself with patience, for that is the only palliative to give you comfort, and put a firm confidence in the providence of Almighty God."

This discourse of Leonora greatly affected me; but I found every thing to be as she told me in the course of time, and I took care to appear as cheerful as possible before Mary. In this manner I continued eighteen months, during which time eleven ladies were taken from the house; but in lieu of them we got nineteen new ones, which made our number just sixty, at the time we were so happily relieved by the French officers, and providentially restored to the joys of society, and to the arms of our parents and friends. On that happy day, the door of my dungeon was opened by the gentleman who is now my husband, who with the utmost expedition, sent both Leonora and me to his father's; and (soon after the campaign was over) when he returned home, he thought proper to make me his wife, in which situation I enjoy a recompense for all the miseries I before suffered.

From the foregoing narrative it is evident, that the inquisitors are a set of libidinous villains, lost to every just idea of religion, and totally destitute of humanity. Those who possess wealth, beauty, or liberal sentiments, are sure to find enemies in them. Avarice, lust, and prejudice, are their ruling passions; and they sacrifice every law, human and divine, to gratify their predominant desire. Their supposed piety is affectation; their pretended compassion hypocrisy; their justice depends on their will; and their equitable punishments are founded on their prejudices. None are secure from them; all ranks fall equally victims to their pride, their power, their avarice, or their aversion.

Some may suggest, that it is strange crowned heads, and eminent nobles, have not attempted to crush the power of the inquisition, and reduce the authority of those ecclesiastical tyrants, from whose merciless fangs neither their families nor themselves are secure.

But astonishing as it is, superstition hath, in this case, always overcome common sense, and custom operated against reason. One prince, indeed, intended to abolish the inquisition, but he lost his life before he became king, and consequently before he had the power so to do; for the very intimation of his design procured his destruction.

This was that amiable prince Don Carlos, son of Philip the Second, king of Spain, and grandson of the celebrated emperor Charles V. Don Carlos possessed all the good qualities of his grandfather, without any of the bad ones of his father; and was a prince of great vivacity, admirable learning, and the most amiable disposition. He had sense enough to see into the errors of popery, and abhorred the very name of the inquisition. He inveighed publicly against the institution, ridiculed the affected piety of the inquisitors, did all he could to expose their atrocious deeds, and even declared, that if he ever came to the crown, he would abolish the inquisition, and exterminate its agents.

These things were sufficient to irritate the inquisitors against the prince: they, accordingly, bent their minds to vengeance, and determined on his destruction.

The inquisitors now employed all their agents and emissaries to spread abroad 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. Not content with this, they pursued even his friends, and obliged the king
likewise to banish Don John, duke of Austria, his own brother, and consequently uncle to the prince; together with the prince of Parma, nephew to the king, and cousin to the prince, because they well knew that both the duke of Austria, and the prince of Parma, had a most sincere and inviolable attachment to Don Carlos.

Some few years after, the prince having shown great lenity and favour to the protestants in the Netherlands, the inquisition loudly exclaimed against him, declaring, that as the persons in question were heretics, the prince himself must necessarily be one, since he gave them countenance. In short, they gained so great an ascendancy over the mind of the king, who was absolutely a slave to superstition, that, shocking to relate, he sacrificed the feelings of nature to the force of bigotry, and for fear of incurring the anger of the inquisition, gave up his only son, passing the sentence of death on him himself.

The prince, indeed, had what was termed an indulgence; that is, he was permitted to choose the manner of his death. Roman like, the unfortunate young hero 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 stupid bigotry of his father.

The Persecution of Dr. Aegidio.

Dr. Aegidio was educated at the university of Alcañiz, where he took his several degrees, and particularly applied himself to the study of the sacred Scriptures and school divinity. The professor of theology dying, he was elected into his place, and acted so much to the satisfaction of every one, that his reputation for learning and piety was circulated throughout Europe.

Aegidio however had his enemies, and these 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 church at Seville, and many persons belonging to the bishopric of Dortos, highly approved of the doctrines of Aegidio, 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 had too much sense to be a bigot; and therefore sent an immediate order for his enlargement.

He soon after visited the church of Valladolid, did every thing he could to promote the cause of religion, and returning home he soon after 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. Therefore, soon after he was buried, they ordered his remains to be dug out of the grave; and a legal process being carried on, they were condemned to be burnt, which was executed accordingly.

The Persecution of Dr. Constantine.

Dr. Constantine, an intimate acquaintance of the already mentioned Dr. Aegidio, was a man of uncommon natural abilities and profound learning; exclusive of several modern tongues, he was acquainted with the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages, and perfectly well knew not only the sciences called abstruse, but those arts which come under the denomination of polite literature.

His eloquence rendered him a pleasing, and the soundness of his doctrines a profitable preacher; and he was so popular, that he never preached but to a crowded audience. He had many opportunities of rising in the church, but never would take advantage of them: for if a living of greater value than his own was offered him, he would refuse it, saying, I am content with what I have; and he frequently preached so forcibly against simony, that many of his superiors, who were not so delicate upon the subject, took umbrage at his doctrines upon that head.

Having been fully confirmed in protestantism by Dr. Aegidio, he preached boldly such doctrines only as were agreeable to gospel purity, and uncontaminated by the errors which had at various times crept into the Romish church. For these reasons he had many enemies among the Roman catholics, and
some of them were fully determined on his destruction.

A worthy gentleman, named Scobaria, 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; and was beginning to expound the book of Job, when he was seized by the inquisitors.

Being 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 circumstances occurred to determine them:

Dr. Constantine had deposited with a woman, named Isabella Martin, several books, which to him were very valuable, but which he knew, in the eyes of the inquisition, were exceptionable.

This woman having been informed against as a protestant, was apprehended, and, after a small process, her goods were ordered to be confiscated. Previous, however, to the officers coming to her house, the woman's son had removed away several chests full of the most valuable articles; and among these were Dr. Constantine's books.

A treacherous servant giving intelligence of this to the inquisitors, an officer was despatched 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 Dr. Constantine's books and papers, when the officer was greatly surprised to find what he did not look for. He, however, told the young man, that he was glad these books and papers were produced, but nevertheless he must fulfil the end of his commission, which was, to carry him and the goods he had embezzled before the inquisitors, which he did accordingly; for the young man knew it would be in vain to expostulate, or resist, and therefore quietly submitted to his fate.

The inquisitors being thus possessed of Constantine's books and writings, now found matter sufficient to form charges against him. When he was brought to a re-examination, they presented one of his papers, and asked him if he knew the handwriting? Perceiving it was his own, he guessed the whole matter, 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."

After being detained upwards of two years in prison, Dr. Constantine was seized with a bloody flux, which put an end to his miseries in this world. The process, however, was carried on against his body, which, at the ensuing Auto de Fe, was publicly burnt.

The Life of William Gardiner.

William Gardiner was born at Bristol, received a tolerable education, and was, at a proper age, placed under the care of a merchant, named Paget.

At the age of twenty-six years, he was, by his master, sent to Lisbon, to act as factor. Here he applied himself to the study of the Portuguese language, executed his business with assiduity and fidelity, and behaved with the most engaging affability to all persons with whom he had the least concern. He conversed privately with a few, whom he knew to be zealous protestants; and, at the same time, cautiously avoided giving the least offence to any who were Roman catholics; he had not, however, hitherto gone into any of the popish 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 church, attended by multitudes of all ranks of people, and among the rest William Gardiner, who stayed during the whole ceremony, and was greatly shocked at the superstitions he saw.

The erroneous worship which he had seen ran strongly in his mind; he was miserable, to see a whole country sunk into such idolatry, when the truth of the gospel might be so easily obtained. He, therefore, took the inconsiderate, though laudable design, into his head, of making a reform in Portugal, or perishing in the attempt; and determined to sacrifice his prudence to his zeal, though he became a martyr upon the occasion.
To this end 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 church, with a New Testament in his hand, and placed himself near the altar.

The king and the court soon appeared, and a cardinal began mass: at that part of the ceremony in which the people adore the wafer, Gardiner could hold out no longer, but springing towards the cardinal, he snatched the host from him, and trampled it under his feet.

This action amazed the whole congregation, and one person drawing a dagger, wounded Gardiner in the shoulder, and would, by repeating the blow, have finished him, had not the king called to him to desist.

Gardiner being carried before the king, the monarch asked him what countryman he was: to which he replied, I am an Englishman by birth, a protestant by religion, and a merchant by occupation. What I have done is not out of contempt to your royal person, God forbid it should, but out of an honest indignation, to see the ridiculous superstitions and gross idolatries practised here.

The king, thinking that he had been stimulated by some other person to act as he had done, 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 God.

Gardiner was sent to prison, and a general order issued to apprehend all Englishmen in Lisbon. This order was in a great measure put into execution, (some 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 Gardiner, was treated with unparalleled barbarity to make him confess something which might throw a light upon the affair.

Gardiner himself was then tormented in the most excruciating manner: but in the midst of all his torments he gloried in the deed. Being ordered for death, a large fire was kindled near a gibbet. Gardiner 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. Yet he bore his sufferings patiently, and resigned his soul to the Lord cheerfully.

It is observable that some of the sparks were blown from the fire, (which consumed Gardiner) 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 Gardiner'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 liberty.

An Account of the Life and Sufferings of Mr. William Lithgow, a Native of Scotland.

Thus gentleman was descended from a good family, and having a natural propensity for 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 the month of March, 1609, and the first place he went to was Paris, where he stayed for some time. He then prosecuted his travels through Germany and other parts, and at length arrived at Malaga, in Spain, the seat of all his misfortunes.

During his residence here, he contracted with the master of a French ship for his passage to Alexandria, but was prevented from going by the following circumstances. In the evening of the 17th of October, 1620, the English fleet, at that time on a cruise against the Algerine rovers, came to anchor before Malaga, which threw the people of the town into the greatest consternation, as they imagined them to be Turks. The morning, however, discovered the mistake, and the governor of Malaga perceiving the cross of England in their colours, went on board Sir Robert Mansell's ship, who commanded on that expedition, and after staying some time returned, and silenced the fears of the people.

The next day many persons from on board the fleet came ashore. Among these were several well known by Mr. Lithgow, who, after reciprocal compliments, spent some days together in festivity and the amusements of the town. They then invited Mr. Lithgow
to go on board, and pay his respects to the admiral. He accordingly accepted the invitation, was kindly received by him, and detained till the next day, when the fleet sailed. The admiral would willingly have taken Mr. Lithgow with him to Algiers; but having contracted for his passage to Alexandria, and his baggage, &c. being in the town, he could not accept the offer.

As soon as Mr. Lithgow got on shore he proceeded towards his lodgings by a private way, (being to embark the same night for Alexandria) when, in passing through a narrow uninhabited street, he found himself suddenly surrounded by nine sergeants, or officers, who threw a black cloak over him, and forcibly conducted him to the 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 answered by shaking his head, and gave orders that the prisoner should be strictly watched till he (the governor) returned from his devotions; directing, at the same time, that the captain of the town, the alcade major, and town notary, should be summoned to appear at his examination, and that all this should be done with the greatest secrecy, to prevent the knowledge thereof reaching the ears of the English merchants then residing in the town.

These orders were strictly discharged, and on the governor’s return, he with the officers having seated themselves, Mr. Lithgow was brought before them for examination. The governor began by asking several questions, namely, of what country he was, whither bound, and how long he had been in Spain. The prisoner, after answering these, and other questions, was conducted to a closet, where, in a short space of time, he was visited by the town-captain, who inquired whether he had ever been at Seville, or was lately come from thence; and putting his checks with an air of friendship, conjured him to tell the truth: “For (said he) your very countenance shows there is some hidden matter in your mind, which prudence should direct you to disclose.” Finding himself, however, unable to extort anything from the prisoner, he left him, and reported the same to the governor and the other officers; on which Mr. Lithgow was again brought before them, a general accusation was laid against him, and he was compelled to swear that he would give true answers to such questions as should be asked him.

The governor proceeded to inquire the quality of the English commander, and the prisoner’s opinion what were the motives that prevented his accepting an invitation from him to come on shore. He demanded, likewise, the names of the English captains in the squadron, and what knowledge he had of the embarkation, or preparation for it before its departure from England. The answers given to the several questions asked were set down in writing by the notary; but the junto seemed surprised at his denying any knowledge of the fitting out of the fleet, particularly the governor, who said he lied, that he was a traitor and spy, and came directly from England to favour and assist in the designs that were projected against Spain; and that he had been for that purpose nine months in Seville, in order to procure intelligence of the time the Spanish navy was expected from the Indies. They exclaimed against his familiarity with the officers of the fleet, and many other English gentlemen, between whom, they said, unusual civilities had passed, but all these transactions had been carefully noticed.

Besides, to sum up the whole, and put the truth past all doubt, 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.”

In vain did Mr. Lithgow endeavour to obviate every accusation laid against him, and to obtain belief from his prejudiced judges. He begged permission to send for his cloak-bag, which contained his papers, and might serve to show his innocence. This request they complied with, thinking it would discover some things of which they were ignorant. The cloak-bag was accordingly brought, and being opened, among other things, was found a license from king James the First, under the sign manual, setting forth the bearer’s intention to travel into Egypt; which was treated by the haughty Spaniards with great contempt. The other papers consisted of passports, tes-
timonials, &c. of persons of quality. All these credentials, however, seemed rather to confirm than abate the suspicions of these prejudiced judges, who, after seizing all the prisoner's papers, ordered him again to withdraw.

In the mean time a consultation was held to fix the place where the prisoner should be confined. The alcade, or chief judge, was for putting him in the town prison; but this was objected to, particularly by the corregidor, who said, in Spanish, "In order to prevent the knowledge of his confinement from reaching his countrymen, I will take the matter on myself, and be answerable for the consequences;" upon which it was agreed, that he should be confined in the governor's house with the greatest secrecy.

This matter being determined, one of the sergeants went to Mr. Lithgow, and begged his money, with liberty to search him. As it was needless to make any resistance, the prisoner quietly complied, when the sergeant (after rifling his pockets of eleven ducatoons) stripped him to his shirt; and searching his breeches he found, enclosed in the waistband, two canvas bags, containing one hundred and thirty-seven pieces of gold. The sergeant immediately took the money to the corregidor, who, after having told it over, ordered him to clothe the prisoner, and shut him up close till after supper.

About midnight the sergeant and two Turkish slaves released Mr. Lithgow from his then confinement, but it was to introduce him to one much more horrible. They conducted him through several passages, to a chamber in a remote part of the palace, towards the garden, where they loaded him with irons, and extended his legs by means of an iron bar above a yard long, the weight of which was so great that he could neither stand nor sit, but was obliged to lie continually on his back. They left him in this condition for some time, when they returned with a refreshment of food, consisting of a pound of boiled mutton and a loaf; together with a small quantity of wine; which was not only the first, but the best and last of the kind, during his confinement in this place. After delivering these articles, the sergeant locked the door, and left Mr. Lithgow to his own private contemplations.

The next day he received a visit from the governor, 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 farther torments constrained him to confess; commanding the keeper, to whose care he was committed, that he should permit no person whatever to have access to, or commune with him; that his sustenance should not exceed three ounces of musty bread, and a pint of water every second day; that he should be allowed neither bed, pillow, nor coverlid. "Close up (said he) this window in his room with lime and stone; stop up the holes of the door with double mats; let him have nothing that bears any likeness to comfort." These, and several other orders of the like severity, were given to render it impossible for his condition to be known to those of the English nation.

In this wretched and melancholy state did poor Lithgow continue 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 holy-days approached, it being then the forty-seventh day since his imprisonment.

About two 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; hunger, pain, and melancholy reflections having prevented him from taking any repose.

Soon after the prison-doors were opened, the nine sergeants, who had first seized him, entered the place where he lay, and without uttering a word, conducted him in his irons through the house into the street, where a coach waited, and into which they laid him at the bottom on his back, not being able to sit. Two of the sergeants rode with him, and the rest walked by the coach side, but all observed the most profound silence. They drove him to a vinepress 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.

At day-break the next morning, arrived the governor and the alcade, into whose presence Mr. Lithgow was immediately brought to un-
dergo another examination. The prisoner desired he might have an interpreter, which was allowed to strangers by the laws of that country, but this was refused, nor would they permit him to appeal to Madrid, the superior court of judicature. After a long examination, which lasted from morning till night, there appeared in all his answers so exact a conformity with what he had before said, that they declared he had learned them by heart, there not being the least prevaporation. 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 alcade." Mr. Lithgow still persisting in his innocence, the governor ordered the notary to draw up a warrant for delivering him to the alcade to be tortured.

In consequence of this he was conducted by the sergeants to the end of a stone gallery, where the rack was placed. The encarouador, or executioner, immediately struck off his irons, which put him to very great pains, the bolts being so close riveted, that the sledge hammer tore away half an inch of his heel, in forcing off the bolt; the anguish of which, together with his weak condition, (not having the least sustenance for three days) occasioned him to groan bitterly; upon which the merciless alcade said, "Villain, traitor, this is but the earnest of what you shall endure."

When his irons were off he fell on his knees, uttering a short prayer, that God would be pleased to enable him to be steadfast, and undergo courageously the grievous trial he had to encounter. The alcade and notary having placed themselves in chairs, he was stripped naked, and fixed upon the rack, the office of these gentlemen being to be witness of, and set down the confessions and tortures endured by the delinquent.

It is impossible to describe all the various tortures inflicted upon him. Suffice it to say, that he lay on the rack for above five hours, during which time he received above sixty different tortures of the most hellish nature; and had they continued them a few minutes longer, he must have inevitably perished.

These cruel persecutors being satisfied for the present, the prisoner was taken from the rack, and his irons being again put on, he was conducted to his former dungeon, having received no other nourishment than a little warm wine, which was given him rather to prevent his dying, and reserve him for future punishments, than from any principle of charity or compassion.

As a confirmation of this, orders were given for a coach to pass every morning before day by the prison; that the noise made by it might give fresh terrors and alarms to the unhappy prisoner, and deprive him of all possibility of obtaining the least repose.

He continued in this horrid situation, almost starved for want of the common necessaries to preserve his wretched existence, till Christmas-day, when he received some relief from Mariane, waiting-woman to the governor's lady. This woman having obtained leave to visit him, carried with her some refreshments, consisting of honey, sugar, raisins, and other articles: and so affected was she at beholding his situation, that she wept bitterly, and at her departure expressed the greatest concern at not being able to give him farther assistance.

In this loathsome prison was poor Mr. Lithgow kept till he was almost devoured by 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, from his being so miserably maimed by the tortures. So cruel was the governor, that he even ordered the vermin to be swept on him twice in every eight days. He, however, obtained some little mitigation of this part of his punishment, from the humanity of a Turkish slave that attended him, who, when he could do it with safety, destroyed the vermin, and contributed every refreshment to him that laid in his power.

From this slave Mr. Lithgow at length received information which gave him little hopes of ever being released, but, on the contrary, that he should finish his life under new tortures. The substance of this information was, that an English seminary priest, and a 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 heretic.

This information greatly alarmed him, and
he began, not without reason, to fear that they would soon finish him, more especially as they could neither by torture nor any other means, bring him to vary from what he had all along said at his different examinations.

Two days after he had received the above information, the governor, an inquisitor, and a canonical priest, accompanied by two Jesuits, entered his dungeon, and being seated, after several idle questions, the inquisitor asked Mr. Lithgow if he was a Roman catholic, and acknowledged the pope’s supremacy? He answered, that he neither was the one nor did the other; adding, that he was surprised at being asked such questions, since it was expressly stipulated by the articles of peace between England and Spain, that none of the English subjects should be liable to the inquisition, or any way molested by them on account of diversity in religion, &c. In the bitterness of his soul he made use of some warm expressions not suited to his circumstances: “As you have almost murdered me (said he) for pretended treason, so now you intend to make a martyr of me for my religion.” He also expostulated with the governor on the ill return he made to the king of England, (whose subject he was) for the princely humanity exercised towards the Spaniards in 1588, when their armada was shipwrecked on the Scotch coast, and thousands of the Spaniards found relief, who must otherwise have miserably perished.

The governor admitted the truth of what Mr. Lithgow said, but replied with a haughty air, that the king, who then only ruled Scotland, was actuated more by fear than love, and therefore did not deserve any thanks. One of the Jesuits said, there was no faith to be kept with heretics. The inquisitor then rising, addressed himself to Mr. Lithgow in the following words: “You have been taken up as a spy, accused of treachery, and tortured, as we acknowledge, innocently: (which appears by the account lately received from Madrid of the intentions of the English) yet it was the divine power that brought those judgments upon you, for presumptuously treating the blessed miracle of Loretto with ridicule, and expressing yourself in your writings irreverently of his holiness, the great agent and Christ’s vicar upon earth; therefore you are justly fallen into our hands by their special appointment: thy books and papers are miraculously translated by the assistance of Providence influencing thy own countrymen.”

This trumpery being ended, they gave the prisoner eight days to consider and resolve whether he would become a convert to their religion; during which time the inquisitor told him he, with other religious orders, would attend, to give him such assistance thereto as he might want. One of the Jesuits said, (first making the sign of the cross upon his breast) “My son, behold, you deserve to be burnt alive; but by the grace of our lady of Loretto, whom you have blasphemed, we will both save your and body.”

In the morning, the inquisitor with three other ecclesiastics returned, when the former asked the prisoner what difficulties he had on his conscience that retarded his conversion; to which he answered, “he had not any doubts in his mind, being confident in the promises of Christ, and assuredly believing his revealed will signified in the gospels, as professed in the reformed catholic church, being confirmed by grace, and having infallible assurance thereby of the 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 and essence of religion and charity to convince by opprobrious speeches, racks, and torments, but by arguments deduced from the Scriptures; and that all other methods would with him be totally ineffectual.

The inquisitor was so enraged at the replies made by the prisoner, that he struck him on the face, used many abusive speeches, and attempted to stab him, which he had certainly done had he not been prevented by the Jesuits; and from this time he never again visited the prisoner.

The next day the two Jesuits returned, and putting on a very grave supercilious air, the superior asked him, what resolution he had taken? To which Mr. Lithgow replied, that he was already resolved, unless he could show substantial reasons to make him alter his opinion. The superior, after a pedantic display of their seven sacraments, the intercession of saints, transubstantiation, &c. boasted greatly of their church, her antiquity, universality, and uniformity; all which Mr. Lithgow denied:
"For (said he) the profession of the faith I hold hath been ever since the first days of the apostles, and Christ had ever his own church (however obscure) in the greatest time of your darkness."

The Jesuits, finding their arguments had not the desired effect, that torments could not shake his constancy, nor even the fear of the cruel sentence he had reason to expect would be pronounced and executed on him, after severe menaces, left him. On the eighth day after, being the last of their inquisition, when sentence is pronounced, they returned again, but quite altered, both in their words and behaviour. After repeating much of the same kind of arguments as before, they, with seeming tears in their eyes, pretended they were sorry from their heart 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."

The first effects Mr. Lithgow felt of the determination of this bloody tribunal was, a sentence to receive that night eleven different tortures, and if he did not die in the execution of them, (which might be reasonably expected from the maimed and disjointed condition he was in) he was, after Easter holy-days, 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 stand fast to the truth, and to survive the horrid punishments inflicted on him.

After these barbarians had glutted themselves for the present, with exercising on the unhappy prisoner the most distinguished cruelties, they again put irons on, and conveyed him to his former dungeon. The next morning he received some little comfort from the Turkish slave before mentioned, who secretly brought him, in his shirt sleeve, some raisins and figs, which he licked up in the best manner his strength would permit with his tongue. It was to this slave Mr. Lithgow attributed his surviving so long in such a wretched situation; for he found means to convey some of these fruits to him twice every week. It is very extraordinary, and worthy of note, that this poor slave, bred up from his infancy, according to the maxims of his prophet and parents, in the greatest detestation of Christians, should be so affected at the miserable situation of Mr. Lithgow, that he fell ill, and continued so for upwards of forty days. During this period Mr. Lithgow was attended by a negro woman, a slave, who found means to furnish him with refreshments still more amply than the Turk, being conversant in the house and family.—She brought him every day some victuals, and with it some wine in a bottle.

The time was now so far elapsed, and the horrid situation so truly loathsome, that Mr. Lithgow waited with anxious expectation for the day, which, by putting an end to his life, would also end his torments. But his melancholy expectations were, by the interposition of Providence, happily rendered abortive, and his deliverance obtained from the following circumstances.

It happened that 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 very blasphemous nature, highly reflecting on their religion. That on his refusing to abjure these heretical opinions, he was turned over to the inquisition, by whom he was finally condemned.

While the governor was relating this tragic tale, a Flemish youth (servant to the Spanish gentleman) who waited at table, was struck with amazement and pity at the sufferings of the stranger described. On his return to his master's lodgings he began to revolve in his mind what he had heard, which made such an impression on him that he could not rest in his bed. In the short slumbers he had, his imagination painted to him the person described, on the rack, and burning in the fire. In this anxiety he passed the night; and when the morning came, without disclosing his intentions to any person whatever, he went into the town, and inquired for an English factor.
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He was directed to the house of a Mr. Wild, to whom he related the whole of what he had heard pass, the preceding evening, between his master and the governor; but could not tell Mr. Lithgow's name. Mr. Wild, however, conjectured it was him, by the servant's remembering the circumstance of his being a traveller, and his having had some acquaintance with him.

On the departure of the Flemish servant, Mr. Wild 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 an information of the whole affair should be sent, by express, to Sir Walter Aston, the English ambassador to the king of Spain, then at Madrid. This was accordingly done, and the ambassador having presented a memorial to the king and council of Spain, he obtained an order for Mr. Lithgow's enlargement, and his delivery to the English factory. This order was directed to the governor of Malaga; and was received with great dislike and surprise by the whole assembly of the bloody inquisition.

Mr. Lithgow was released from his confinement on the eve of Easter Sunday, when he was carried from his dungeon on the back of the slave who had attended him, to the house of one Mr. Bosbich, where all proper comforts were given him. It fortunately happened, that there was at this time a squadron of English ships in the road, commanded by Sir Richard Hawkins, who being informed of the past sufferings, and present situation of Mr. Lithgow, came the next day ashore, with a proper guard, and received him from the merchants. He was instantly carried in blankets on board the Vanguard, and three days after was removed to another ship, by direction of the general Sir Robert Mansel, who ordered that he should have proper care taken of him. The factory presented him with clothes, and all necessary provisions, besides which they gave him 200 reals in silver; and Sir Richard Hawkins sent him two double pistoles.

Before his departure from the Spanish coast, Sir Richard Hawkins demanded the delivery of his papers, money, books, &c. but could not obtain any satisfactory answer on that head.

We cannot help making a pause here to reflect, how manifestly Providence interfered in behalf of this poor man, when he was just on the brink of destruction; for by his sentence, from which there was no appeal, he would have been taken, in a few days, to Grenada, and burnt to ashes: and that a poor ordinary servant, who had not the least knowledge of him, nor was any ways interested in his preservation, should risk the displeasure of his master, and hazard his own life, to disclose a thing of so momentous and perilous a nature, to a strange gentleman, on whose secrecy depended his own existence. By such secondary means does Providence frequently interfere in behalf of the virtuous and oppressed; of which this is a most distinguished example.

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

Notwithstanding every effort was used, Mr. Lithgow could never obtain any part of his money or effects, though his majesty, and the ministers of state, interested themselves in his behalf. Gondomore, the Spanish ambassador, indeed, promised that all his effects should be restored, with the addition of £1000 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 but mere promises; and though the king was a kind of guarantee for the well performance of them, the cunning Spaniard found means to elude the same. He had, indeed, too great a share of influence in the English council during the time of that
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 pacific reign, when England suffered herself to be bullied into slavish compliance by most of the states and kings in Europe.

An Account of the Persecutions in Italy.

We shall now enter on an account of the persecutions in Italy, a country which has been, and still is,

1. The centre of popery,
2. The seat of the pontiff,
3. The source of the various errors which have spread themselves over other countries, deluded the minds of thousands, and diffused the clouds of superstition and bigotry over the human understanding.

In pursuing our narrative we shall include the most remarkable persecutions which have happened, and the cruelties which have been practised,

1. By the immediate power of the pope,
2. Through the power of the inquisition,
3. At the instigation of particular orders of the clergy,
4. By the bigotry of the Italian princes.

An Account of the first Persecutions under the Papacy in Italy.

In the 12th century, the first persecutions under the papacy began in Italy, at the time that Adrian, an Englishman, was pope, being occasioned by the following circumstances:

A learned man, and an excellent orator of Brixia, named Arnold, came to Rome, and boldly preached against the corruptions and innovations which had crept into the church. His discourses were so clear, consistent, and breathed forth such a pure spirit of piety, that the senators, and many of people, highly approved of, and admired his doctrines.

This so greatly enraged Adrian, that he commanded Arnold instantly to leave the city, as a heretic. Arnold, however, did not comply, for the senators, and some of the principal people took his part, and resisted the authority of the pope.

Adrian now laid the city of Rome under an interdict, which caused the whole body of clergy to interpose; and, at length, persuaded the senators and people to give up the point, and suffer Arnold to be banished. This being agreed to, he received the sentence of exile, and retired to Germany, where he continued to preach against the pope, and to expose the gross errors of the church of Rome.

Adrian, on this account, thirsted for his blood, and made several attempts to get him into his hands; but Arnold, for a long time, avoided every snare laid for him. At length, Frederic Barbarossa arriving at the imperial dignity, requested that the pope would crown him with his own hand. This Adrian complied with, and at the same time asked a favour of the emperor, which was, to put Arnold into his hands. The emperor very readily delivered up the unfortunate preacher, who soon fell a martyr to Adrian's vengeance, being hanged, and his body burnt to ashes, at Apulia. The same fate attended several of his old friends and companions.

Encenas, a Spaniard, was sent to Rome, to be brought up in the Roman catholic faith; but having conversed with some of the reformed, and read several treatises which they had put into his hands, he became a protestant. This, at length, being known, one of his own relations informed against him, when he was burnt by order of the pope, and a conclave of cardinals. The brother of Encenas had been taken up much about the same time, for having a New Testament, in the Spanish language, in his possession; but before the time appointed for his execution, he found means to escape out of prison, and retired to Germany.

Faninus, a learned layman, by reading controversial books, became of the reformed religion. An information being exhibited against him to the pope, he was apprehended, and cast into prison. His wife, children, relations, and friends, visited him in his confinement, and so far wrought upon his mind, that he renounced his faith, and obtained his release. But he was no sooner free from confinement, than his mind felt the heaviest of chains; the weight of a guilty conscience. His horrors were so great, that he found them insupportable, till he had returned from his apostacy, and declared himself fully convinced of the errors of the church of Rome. To make amends for his falling off, he now openly and strenuously did all he could to make converts to protest-
antism, and was pretty successful in his endeavours. These proceedings occasioned his second imprisonment; but he had his life offered him if he would recant again. This proposal he rejected with disdain, saying, that he scorned life upon such terms. Being asked why he would obstinately persist in his opinions, and leave his wife and children in distress, he replied, I shall not leave them in distress; I have recommended them to the care of an excellent trustee. What trustee? said the person who had asked the question, with some surprise: to which Faninus answered, Jesus Christ is the trustee I mean, and I think I could not commit them to the care of a better. On the day of execution he appeared remarkably cheerful, which one observing, said, It is strange you should appear so merry upon such an occasion, when Jesus Christ himself, just before his death, was in such agonies, that he sweated blood and water. To which Faninus replied; Christ sustained all manner of pangs and conflicts, with hell and death, on our accounts; and thus, by his sufferings, freed those who really believe in him from the fear of them. He was then strangled, and his body being burnt to ashes, they were scattered about by the wind.

Dominicus, a learned soldier, having read several controversial writings, became a zealous protestant, and retiring to Placentia, he preached the gospel in its utmost purity, to a very considerable congregation. At the conclusion of his sermon one day, he said, "If the congregation will attend to-morrow, I will give them a description of Antichrist, and paint him out in his proper colours."

A vast concourse of people attended the next day; but just as Dominicus was beginning his sermon, a civil magistrate went up to the pulpit, and took him into custody. He readily submitted; but as he went along with the magistrate, made use of this expression: I wonder the devil hath let me alone so long. When he was brought to examination, this question was put to him: Will you renounce your doctrines? To which he replied: My doctrines! I maintain no doctrines of my own; what I preach are the doctrines of Christ, and for those I will forfeit my blood, and even think myself happy to suffer for the sake of my Redeemer. Every method was taken to make him recant from his faith, and embrace the errors of the church of Rome; but when persuasions and menaces were found ineffectual, he was sentenced to death, and hanged in the market-place.

Galeacius, a protestant gentleman, who resided near the castle of St. Angelo, was apprehended on account of his faith. Great endeavours being used by his friends he recanted, and subscribed to several of the superstitious doctrines propagated by the church of Rome. Becoming, however, sensible of his error, he publicly renounced his recantation. Being apprehended for this, he was condemned to be burnt; and agreeable to the order, was chained to a stake, where he was left several hours before the fire was put to the fagots, in order that his wife, relations, and friends, who surrounded him, might induce him to give up his opinions. Galeacius, however, now retained his constancy of mind, and entreated the executioner to put fire to the wood that was to burn him. This, at length, he did, and Galeacius was soon consumed in the flames, which burnt with amazing rapidity, and deprived him of sensation in a few minutes.

Soon after this gentleman’s death, a great number of protestants were put to death in various parts of Italy, on account of their faith, giving a sure proof of their sincerity in their martyrdoms.

**An Account of the Persecutions in Calabria.**

In the 14th century, many of the Waldenses of Pragela and Dauphiny emigrated to Calabria, and settling some waste lands, by the permission of the nobles of that country, they soon, by the most industrious cultivation, made several wild and barren spots appear with all the beauties of verdure and fertility. The Calabrian lords were highly pleased with their new subjects and tenants, as they were honest, quiet, and industrious; but the priests of the country exhibited several negative complaints against them; for not being able to accuse them of any thing bad which they did do, they founded accusations on what they did not do, and charged them

With not being Roman catholics.
With not making any of their boys priests.
With not making any of their girls nuns.
With not going to mass.
With not giving wax tapers to their priests as offerings.
With not going on pilgrimages.
With not bowing to images.

The Calabrian lords, however, quieted the priests, by telling them, that these people were extremely harmless; that they gave no offence to the Roman Catholics, and cheerfully paid the tithes to the priests, whose revenues were considerably increased by their coming into the country, and who, of consequence, ought to be the last persons to complain of them.

Things went on tolerably well after this for a few years, during which the Waldenses formed themselves into two corporate towns, annexing several villages to the jurisdiction of them. At length, they sent to Geneva for two clergymen; one to preach in each town, as they determined to make a public profession of their faith. Intelligence of this affair being carried to pope Pius the Fourth, he determined to exterminate them from Calabria.

To this end he sent cardinal Alexandrino, a man of a very temper and a furious bigot, 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, and having assembled the people told them, that they should receive no injury, or violence, if they would accept of preachers appointed by the pope; but if they would not, they should be deprived of both their properties and lives; and that their intentions might be known, mass should be publicly said that afternoon, at which they were ordered to attend.

The people of St. Xist, instead of attending mass, fled into the woods with their families, and thus disappointed the cardinal and his coadjutors. The cardinal then proceeded to La Garde, the other town belonging to the Waldenses, where, not to be served as he had been at St. Xist, he ordered the gates to be locked, and all avenues guarded. The same proposals were then made to the inhabitants of St. Xist, but with this additional piece of 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 false-hood 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.

The cardinal having gained his point by deluding the people of one town, sent for two troops of soldiers, with a view to murder those of the other. He, accordingly, despatched the soldiers into the woods, to hunt down the inhabitants of St. Xist like wild beasts, and gave them strict orders to spare neither age nor sex, but to kill all they came near. The troops entered the woods, and many fell a prey to their ferocity, before the Waldenses were properly apprised 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 valour, and many were slain on both sides. The greatest part of the troops being killed in the different rencontres, the rest were compelled to retreat, which so enraged the cardinal, that he wrote to the viceroy of Naples for reinforcements.

The viceroy immediately ordered a proclamation to be made throughout all the Neapolitan territories, that all outlaws, deserters, and other proscribed persons, should be surely pardoned for their respective offences on condition of making a campaign against the inhabitants of St. Xist, and continuing under arms till those people were exterminated.

Many persons, of desperate fortunes, came in upon this proclamation, 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 likewise joined the cardinal, at the head of a body of regular forces; and, in conjunction, they did all they could to harass the poor people in the woods. Some they caught, and hanged up 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 hid themselves in caves; but famine destroyed them in their retreat; and thus all these poor people perished, by various means, to glut the bigoted malice of their merciless persecutors.

The inhabitants of St. Xist were no sooner exterminated, than those of La Garde en-

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gaged the attention of the cardinal and vice-
roy. It was offered, that if they would em-
brace the Roman Catholic persuasion, them-
selves and families should not be injured, but
their houses and properties should be restored,
and none would be permitted to molest them;
but, on the contrary, if they refused this mercy,
(as it was termed) the utmost extremities would
be used, and the most cruel deaths the certain
consequence of their non-compliance.

Notwithstanding the promises on one side,
and menaces on the other, these worthy peo-
ple unanimously refused to renounce their re-
ligion, or embrace the errors of popery. This
exasperated the cardinal and viceroy so much
that 30 of them were ordered to be put imme-
diately to the rack, as a terror to the rest.

Those who were put to the rack were treat-
ed with such severity, that several died under
the tortures: one Charlin, in particular, was
so cruelly used, that his belly burst, his bowels
came out, and he expired in the greatest ago-
nies. These barbarities, however, did not an-
swer the purposes for which they were intend-
ed; for those who remained alive after the
rack, and those who had not felt the rack, re-
mained equally constant in their faith, and
boldly declared, that no tortures of body, or
terrors of mind, should ever induce them to
renounce their God, or worship images.

Several were then, by the cardinal’s order,
stripped stark naked, and whipped to death
with iron rods; some were hacked to pieces
with large knives; others were thrown down
from the top of a large tower; and many were
covered over with pitch and burnt alive.

One of the monks who attended the card-
nal, being naturally of a savage and cruel dis-
position, requested of him, that he might shed
some of the blood of these poor people with
his own hands; when his request being grant-
ed, the barbarous man took a large sharp knife,
and cut the throats of fourscore men, women,
and children, with as little remorse as a butcher
would have killed so many sheep. Every one
of these bodies were then ordered to be quar-
tered, the quarters placed upon stakes, and
then fixed in different parts of the country,
within a circuit of 30 miles.

The four principal men of La Garde were
hanged, and the clergyman was thrown from
the top of his church steeple. He was terri-
ibly mangled, but not quite killed by the fall;
at which time the viceroy passing by, said, Is
the dog yet living? Take him up, and give
him to the hogs: when, brutal as this sentence
may appear, it was executed accordingly.

Sixty women were racked so violently; that
the cords pierced their arms and legs quite to
the bone: when, being remanded to prison,
their wounds mortified, and they died in the
most miserable manner. Many others were
put to death by various cruel means; and if
any Roman Catholic, more compassionate
than the rest, interceded for any of the reformed,
he was immediately apprehended, and shared
the same fate as a favourer of heretics.

The viceroy being obliged to march back
to Naples, on some affairs of moment which
required his presence, and the cardinal being
recalled to Rome, the marquis of Butiame
was ordered to put the finishing stroke to what
they had begun; which he at length effected,
by acting with such barbarous rigour, that there
was not a single person of the reformed reli-
gion left living in all Calabria.

Thus were a great number of inoffensive
and harmless people deprived of their posses-
sions, robbed of their property, driven from
their homes, and, at length, murdered by va-
rious means, only because they would not sa-
crifice their consciences to the superstitions
of others, embrace idolatrous doctrines which
they abhorred, and accept of teachers whom
they could not believe. Tyranny is of three
kinds, viz. That which enslaves the person,
that which seizes the property, and that which
prescribes and dictates to the mind. The two
first sorts may be termed civil tyranny, and
have been practised by arbitrary sovereigns in
all ages, who have delighted in tormenting the
persons, and stealing the properties of their
unhappy subjects. But the third sort, viz.
prescribing and dictating to the mind, may be
called ecclesiastical tyranny: this is the
worst kind of tyranny, as it includes the other
two sorts; for the Romish clergy not only to
 torture the bodies, and seize the effects of
those they persecute, but take the lives, tor-
ment the minds, and, if possible, would tyran-
nize over the souls of the unhappy victims.

Account of the Persecutions in the Valleys of Piedmont.

Many of the Waldenses, to avoid the per-
secutions to which they were continually sub-
ject in France, went and settled in the valleys of Piedmont, where they increased exceedingly, and flourished very much for a considerable time.

Though they were harmless in their behaviour, inoffensive in their conversation, and paid tithes to the Romish clergy, yet the latter could not be contented, but wished to give them some disturbance: they, accordingly, complained to the archbishop of Turin, that the Waldenses of the valleys of Piedmont were heretics, for these reasons:

1. That they did not believe in the doctrines of the church of Rome.
2. That they made no offerings or prayers for the dead.
3. That they did not go to mass.
4. That they did not confess, and receive absolution.
5. That they did not believe in purgatory, or pay money to get the souls of their friends out of it.

Upon these charges the archbishop ordered a persecution to be commenced, and many fell martyrs to the superstitious rage of the priests and monks.

At Turin, one of the reformed had his bowels torn out, and put in 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 solid stone, the religion for which I am about to suffer shall have an end, and not before. He then threw the stone on the ground, and submitted cheerfully to the flames. A great many more of the reformed were oppressed, or put to death, by various means, till the patience of the Waldenses being tired out, they flew to arms in their own defence, and formed themselves into regular bodies.

Exasperated at this, the bishop of Turin procured a number of troops, and sent against them; but in most of the skirmishes and engagements the Waldenses were successful, which partly arose from their being better acquainted with the passes of the valleys of Piedmont than their adversaries, and partly from the desperation with which they fought; for they well knew, if they were taken, they should not be considered as prisoners of war, but tortured to death as heretics.

At length, Philip, the seventh duke of Savoy, and supreme lord of Piedmont, determined to interpose his authority, and stop these bloody wars, which so greatly disturbed his dominions. He was not willing to disoblige the pope, or affront the archbishop of Turin; nevertheless, he sent them both messages, importuning, that he could not any longer tamely see his dominions overrun with troops, who were directed by priests instead of officers, and 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, finding the resolution of the duke, did all they could to prejudice his mind against the Waldenses; but the duke told them, that though he was unacquainted with the religious tenets of these people, yet he had always found them quiet, faithful, and obedient, and therefore he determined they should be no longer persecuted.

The priests now had recourse to 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, uncleanliness, 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 all over hairy.

The duke was not so devoid of common sense as to give credit to what the priests said, though they affirmed in the most solemn manner the truth of their assertions. He, however, sent twelve very learned and sensible gentlemen into the Piedmontese valleys, to examine into the real characters of the inhabitants.

These gentlemen, after travelling through all their towns and villages, and conversing with people of every rank among the Waldenses, returned to the duke, and gave him the most favourable account of those people; affirming, before the faces of the priests who villified them, 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, the gentlemen said, the priests had told the most gross and ridiculous falsities, for 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. And we have likewise brought several women, with children of various ages, that your highness may have an opportunity of personally examining them as much as you please."

The duke, after accepting the apology of the twelve delegates, conversing with the women, and examining the children, 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.

The Waldenses had enjoyed peace many years, when Philip, the seventh duke of Savoy, died, and his successor happened to be a very 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.

On hearing these proceedings, the new duke was greatly exasperated, and sent a considerable body of troops into the valleys, swearing, that if the people would not change their religion, he would have them flayed alive. The commander of the troops soon found the impracticability of conquering them with the number of men he had with him; he, therefore, sent word to the duke, that the idea of subjugating the Waldenses, with so small a force, was ridiculous; that those people were better acquainted with the country than any that were with him; that they had secured all the passes, were well armed, and resolutely determined to defend themselves; and, with respect to flaying them alive, he said, that every skin belonging to those people would cost him the lives of a dozen of his subjects.

Terrified at this information, the duke withdrew the troops, determining to act not by force, but by stratagem. He, therefore, ordered rewards for the taking of any of the Waldenses, who might be found straying from their places of security; and these, when taken, were either flayed alive, or burnt.

The Waldenses had hitherto only had the New Testament, and a few books of the Old, in the Waldensian tongue; but they determined now to have the sacred writings complete in their own language. They, therefore, employed a Swiss printer to furnish them with a complete edition of the Old and New Testaments in the Waldensian tongue, which he did for the consideration of fifteen hundred crowns of gold, paid him by those pious people.

Pope Paul the Third, a bigoted papist, ascending the pontifical chair, immediately solicited the parliament of Turin to persecute the Waldenses, as the most pernicious of all heretics.

The parliament readily agreed, when several were suddenly apprehended and burnt by their order. Among these was Bartholomew Hector, a bookseller and stationer of Turin, who was brought up a Roman catholic, but having read some treatises written by the reformed clergy, he was fully convinced of the errors of the church of Rome; yet his mind was, for some time, wavering, and he hardly knew what persuasion to embrace.

At length, however, he fully embraced the reformed religion, and was apprehended, as we have already mentioned, and burnt by order of the parliament of Turin.

A consultation was now held by the parliament of Turin, in which it was agreed, to send deputies to the valleys of Piedmont, with the following propositions:

1. That if the Waldenses would come to the bosom of the church of Rome, and embrace the Roman catholic religion, 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 the valleys of Piedmont refused to comply with these propositions, persecution should ensue, and certain death be their portion.

To each of these propositions the Waldenses nobly replied in the following manner, answering them respectively:
1. That no considerations whatever should make them renounce their religion.
2. That they would never consent to commit their best and most respectable friends, to the custody and discretion of their worst and most inveterate 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.

These pointed and spirited replies greatly exasperated the parliament of Turin; they continued, with more aversity than ever, to kidnap such Waldenses as did not act with proper precaution, who were sure to suffer the most cruel deaths. Among these it unfortunately happened, that they got hold of Jeffery Varnagle, minister of Angrogne, whom they committed to the flames as a heretic.

They then solicited a considerable body of troops of the king of France, in order to exterminate the reformed entirely from the valleys of Piedmont; but just as the troops were going to march, the protestant princes of Germany interposed, and threatened to send troops to assist the Waldenses, if they should be attacked. The king of France, not caring to enter into a war, remanded the troops, and sent word to the parliament of Turin, that he could not spare any troops at present to act in Piedmont. The members of the parliament were greatly vexed at this disappointment, and the persecution gradually ceased; for as they could only put to death such of the reformed as they caught by chance, and as the Waldenses daily grew more cautious, their cruelty was obliged to subside, for want of objects on whom to exercise it.

After the Waldenses had enjoyed a few years tranquillity, they were again disturbed by the following means: the pope’s nunncio coming to Turin to the duke of Savoy upon business, told that prince, he was astonished he had not yet either rooted out the Waldenses from the valleys of Piedmont entirely, or compelled them to enter into the bosom of the church of Rome. That he could not help looking upon such conduct with a suspicious eye, and that he really thought him a favourer of those heretics, and should report the affair accordingly to his holiness the pope.

Stung by this reflection, and unwilling to be misrepresented to the pope, the duke determined to act with the greatest severity, in order to show his zeal, and to make amends for former neglect by future cruelty. He, accordingly, issued express orders for all the Waldenses to attend mass regularly on pain of death. This they absolutely refused to do, on which he entered the Piedmontese valleys, with a formidable body of troops, and began a most furious persecution, in which great numbers were hanged, drowned, ripped open, tied to trees, and pierced with prongs, thrown from pricipices, burnt, stabbed, racked to death, crucified with their heads downwards, worried by dogs, &c.

Those who fled had their goods plundered, and their houses burnt to the ground: they were particularly cruel when they caught a minister or a schoolmaster, whom they put to such exquisite tortures, as are almost incredible to conceive. 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.

The most cruel persecutors, upon this occasion, that attended the duke, were three in number, viz. 1. Thomas Incomel, an apostate; for he was brought up in the reformed religion, but renounced his faith, embraced the errors of popery, and turned monk. He was a great libertine, given to unnatural crimes, and sordidly 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, who was very anxious for the execution of the Waldenses, as every execution put money into his pocket.

These three persons were unmerciful to the last degree; and wherever they came, the
blood of the innocent was sure to flow. Exclusive of the cruelties exercised by the duke, by these three persons, and the army, in their different marches, many local barbarities were committed. At Pignerol, a town in the valleys, was a monastery, the monks of which, finding they might injure the reformed with impunity, began to plunder the houses, and pull down the churches of the Waldenses. Not meeting with any 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.

The Roman catholic inhabitants of the valley of St. Martin, likewise, did all they could to torment the neighbouring Waldenses: they destroyed their churches, burnt their houses, seized their properties, stole their cattle, converted their lands to their own use, committed their ministers to the flames, and drove the Waldenses to the woods, where they had nothing to subsist on but wild fruits, roots, the bark of trees, &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 having intelligence of the affair, the men armed themselves, pursued the ruffians, and seemed determined to rescue their minister; which the ruffians no sooner perceived, than they stabbed the poor gentleman, and leaving him wrettering in his blood, made a precipitate retreat. The astonished parishioners did all they could to recover him, but in vain; for the weapon had touched the vital parts, and he expired as they were carrying him home.

The monks of Pignerol having a great inclination to get the minister of a town in the valleys, called St. Germain, into their power, hired a band of ruffians for the purpose of apprehending him. These fellows were conducted by a treacherous person, who had formerly been a servant to the clergyman, and who perfectly well knew a secret way to the house, by which he could lead them without alarming the neighbourhood. The guide knocked at the door, and being asked who was there, answered in his own name. The clergyman, not expecting any injury from a person on whom he had heaped favours, immediately opened the door; but perceiving the ruffians, he started back, and fled to a back door; but they rushed in, followed and seized him. Having murdered all his family, they made him proceed towards Pignerol, goading him all the way with pikes, lances, swords, &c. He was kept a considerable time in prison, and then fastened to the stake to be burnt; when two women of the Waldenses, who had renounced their religion to save their lives, were ordered to carry fagots to the stake to burn him; and as they laid them down, to say, Take these, thou wicked heretic, in recompense for the pernicious doctrines thou hast taught us. These words they both repeated to him: to which he calmly replied, I formerly taught you well, but you have since learned ill. The fire was then put to the fagots, and he was speedily consumed, calling upon the name of the Lord as long as his voice permitted.

As the troops of ruffians, belonging to the monks, did great mischief about the town of St. Germain, murdering and plundering many of the inhabitants, the reformed of Lucerne and Angrogne sent some bands of armed men to the assistance of their brethren of St. Germain. These bodies of armed men frequently attacked the ruffians, and often put them to the rout, which so terrified the monks, that they left their monastery of Pignerol for some time, till they could procure a body of regular troops to guard them.

The duke, not thinking himself so successful as he at first imagined he should be, greatly augmented his forces; ordered the bands of ruffians, belonging to the monks, should join him; and commanded, that a general jail delivery should take place, provided the persons released would bear arms, and form themselves into light companies, to assist in the extermination of the Waldenses.

The Waldenses, being informed of the proceedings, secured as much of their properties as they could, and quitting the valleys, retired to the rocks and caves among the Alps; for it is to be understood, that the valleys of Piedmont are situated at the foot of those prodigious mountains called the Alps, or the Alpine hills.

The army now began to plunder and burn the towns and villages wherever they came; but the troops could not force the passes to the Alps, which were gallantly defended by the Waldenses, who always repulsed their
enemies; but if any fell into the hands of the troops, they were sure to be treated with the most barbarous severity.

A soldier having caught one of Waldenses, 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.

A party of the troops found a venerable man, upwards of a hundred years of age, together with his granddaughter, a maiden, of about eighteen, in a cave. They butchered the poor old man in a most inhuman manner, and then attempted to ravish the girl, when she started away, and fled from them; but they pursuing her, she threw herself from a precipice, and perished.

The Waldenses, in order the more effectually to be able to repel force by force, entered into a league with the protestant powers of Germany, and with the reformed of Dauplancy and Pragela. These were respectively to furnish bodies of troops; and the Waldenses determined, when thus reinforced, to quit the mountains of the Alps, (where they must soon have perished, as the winter was coming on) and to force the duke's army to evacuate their native valleys.

The duke of Savoy was now tired of the war; it had 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 could at first have imagined, for he thought the plunder would have discharged the expenses of the expedition; but in this 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 more powerful than ever, he determined to return to Turin with his army, and to make peace with the Waldenses.

This resolution he executed, though greatly against the will of the ecclesiastics, who were the chief gainers, and the best pleased with revenge. Before the articles of peace could be ratified, the duke himself died soon after his return to Turin; but on his death-bed he strictly enjoined his son to perform what he had intended, and to be as favourable as possible to the Waldenses.

The duke's son, Charles Emanuel, succeeded to the dominions of Savoy, and gave a full ratification of peace to the Waldenses, according to the last injunctions of his father, though the ecclesiastics did all they could to persuade him to the contrary.

An Account of the Persecutions in Venice.

While the state of Venice was free from inquisitors, a great number of protestants fixed their residence there, and many converts were made by the purity of the doctrines they professed, and the inoffensiveness of the conversation they used.

The pope being informed of the great increase of protestantism, in the year 1542 sent inquisitors to Venice, to make an inquiry into the matter, and apprehend such as they might deem obnoxious persons. Hence a severe persecution began, and many worthy persons were martyred for serving God with purity, and scorning the trappings of idolatry.

Various were the modes by which the protestants were deprived of life; but one particular method, which was first invented upon this occasion, we shall describe: as soon as sentence was passed, the prisoner had an iron chain, which ran through a great stone, fastened to his body. He was then laid flat upon a plank, with his face upwards, and rowed between two boats to a certain distance at sea, when the boats separated, and he was sunk to the bottom by the weight of the stone.

If any denied the jurisdiction of the inquisitors at Venice, they were sent to Rome, where, being committed purposely to damp prisons, and never called to a hearing, their flesh mortified, and they died miserably in jail.

A citizen of Venice, Anthony Ricetti, being apprehended as a protestant, was sentenced to be drowned in the manner we have already described. A few days previous to the time appointed for his execution, his son went to see him, and begged him to recant, that his life might be saved, and himself not left fa-
therless. To which the father replied, A good Christian is bound to relinquish not only goods and children, but life itself, for the glory of his Redeemer: therefore I am resolved to sacrifice everything in this transitory world, for the sake of salvation in a world that will last to eternity. The lords of Venice likewise sent him word, that if he would embrace the Roman catholic religion, they would not only give him his life, but redeem a considerable estate which he had mortgaged, and freely present him with it. This, however, he absolutely refused to comply with, sending word to the nobles, that he valued his soul beyond all other considerations; and being told that a fellow-prisoner, named Francis Sega, had recanted, he answered, If he has forsaken God, I pity him; but I shall continue steadfast in my duty. Finding all endeavours to persuade him to renounce his faith ineffectual, he was executed according to his sentence, dying cheerfully, and recommending his soul fervently to the Almighty.

What Ricetti had been told concerning the apostacy of Francis Sega was absolutely false, for he had never offered to recant, but steadfastly persisted in his faith; and was executed, a few days after Ricetti, in the very same manner.

Francis Spinola, a protestant gentleman of very great learning, being apprehended by order of the inquisitors, was carried before their tribunal. A treatise on the Lord's supper was then put into his hands, and he was asked if he knew the author of it. To which he replied, I confess myself to be the author of it, and at the same time solemnly affirm, that there is not a line in it but what is authorized by, and consonant to, the holy Scriptures. On this confession he was committed close prisoner to a dungeon for several days.

Being brought to a second examination, he charged the pope's legate, and the inquisitors, with being merciless barbarians, and then represented the superstitions and idolatries practised by the church of Rome in so glaring a light, that not being able to refute his arguments, they sent him back to his dungeon, to make him repent of what he had said.

On his third examination, they asked him if he would recant his errors? To which he answered, That the doctrines he maintained were not erroneous, being purely the same as those which Christ and his apostles had taught, and which were handed down to us in the Sacred Writings. The inquisitors then sentenced him to be drowned, which was executed in the manner already described. He went to meet death with the utmost serenity, seeming to wish for dissolution, and declaring, that the prolongation of this life did but tend to retard that real happiness which could be only expected in the world to come.

An Account of several remarkable Individuals, who were martyred in different Parts of Italy, on Account of their Religion.

John Mollius was born at Rome, of reputable parents. At twelve years of age they placed him in the monastery of Gray Friars, where he made such a rapid progress in arts, sciences, and languages, that at eighteen years of age he was permitted to take priest's orders.

He was then sent to Ferrara, where, after pursuing his studies six years longer, he was made theological reader in the university of that city. He now, unhappily, exerted his great talents to disguise the gospel truths, and to varnish over the errors of the church of Rome. After some years residence in Ferrara, he removed to the university of Bononia, where he became a professor. Having read some treatises written by ministers of the reformed religion, he grew fully sensible of the errors of popery, and soon became a zealous protestant in his heart.

He now determined to expound, according to the purity of the gospel, St. Paul's epistle to the Romans, in a regular course of sermons. The concourse of people that continually attended his preaching was surprising; but when the priests found the tenor of his doctrines, they despatched an account of the affair to Rome; when the pope sent a monk, named Cornelius, to Bononia, to expound the same epistle, according to the tenets of the church of Rome. The people, however, found such a disparity between the two preachers, that the audience of Mollius increased, and Cornelius was forced to preach to empty benches.

Cornelius wrote an account of his bad success to the pope, who immediately sent an
order to apprehend Mollius, who was seized
upon accordingly, and kept in close confine-
ment. The bishop of Bononia sent him word
that he must recant, or be burnt: but he ap-
pealed to Rome, and was removed thither.

At Rome he begged to have a public trial,
but that the pope absolutely denied him, and
commanded him to give an account of his op-
inions in writing, which he did under the fol-
lowing heads:

Original sin.
Free-will.
The infallibility of the church of Rome.
The infallibility of the pope.
Justification by faith.
Purgatory.
Transubstantiation.
Mass.
Auricular confession.
Prayers for the dead.
The host.
Prayers to saints.
Going on pilgrimages.
Extreme unction.
Performing service in an unknown tongue,
&c. &c.

And all these he confirmed from Scripture
authority. The pope, upon this occasion, for
political reasons, spared him for the present,
but soon after had him apprehended, and put
to death; he being first hanged, and his body
burnt to ashes, A.D. 1553.

The year after, Francis Gamba, a Lombard,
of the protestant persuasion, was apprehen-
ded, and condemned to death by the senate of
Milan. At the place of execution, a monk pre-
sented a cross to him; to whom he said, My
mind 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 ex-
pression his tongue was bored through, and he
was afterward burnt.

A. D. 1555, Algerius, a student in the uni-
versity of Padua, and a man of great learn-
ing, having embraced the reformed religion,
did all he could to convert others. For these
proceedings he was accused of heresy to the
pope, and being apprehended, was committed
to the prison at Venice, where being allowed
the use of pen, ink, and paper, he wrote to
his converts at Padua, the following celebra-
ted epistle:

LETTER

From Algerius to his Converts at Padua.

Dear Friends,

I cannot omit this opportunity of letting
you know the sincere pleasure I feel in my
confine; to suffer for Christ is delectable
indeed; to undergo a little transitory pain in
this world, for his sake, is cheaply purchasing
a reversion of eternal glory, in a life that is
everlasting.

Hence, I have found honey in the entrails
of a lion; a paradise in a prison; tranquility
in the house of sorrow; where others weep, I
rejoice; where others tremble and faint, I find
strength and courage. The Almighty alone
confers these favours on me; be his the glory
and the praise.

How different do I find myself from what
I was before I embraced the truth in its puri-
ty; 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 griefs, strength-
ens 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, light-
en 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 surprising natural abilities,
thought it would be of infinite service to the
church of Rome, if he could induce him to
forsake the protestant cause. He, therefore,
sent for him to Rome, and tried, by the most
profane promises, to win him to his purpose.
But finding his endeavours ineffectual, he or-
dered him to be burnt, which sentence was
executed accordingly.

A. D. 1559, John Alloysius, being sent from
Geneva to preach in Calabria, was there ap-
prehended as a protestant, carried to Rome,
and burnt by order of the pope; and James
Bovellus, for the same reason, was burnt at
Messina.

A. D. 1560, pope Pius the Fourth ordered
all the protestants to be severely persecuted throughout the Italian states, 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 of them, in a letter to a noble lord:

"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 eyewitness: seventy protestants were cooped up in one filthy dungeon together; the executioner went in among them, picked out one from among the rest, blindfolded him, led him out to an open place before the prison, and cut his throat with the greatest composure. He then calmly walked into the prison again, bloody as he was, and with the knife in his hand selected another, and despatched him in the same manner; and this, my lord, he repeated till the whole number were put to death. I leave it to your lordship's feelings to judge of my sensations upon this occasion; my tears now wash the paper upon which I give you the recital. Another thing I must mention—the patience with which they met death: they seemed all resignation and piety, fervently praying to God, and cheerfully encountering their fate. I cannot reflect without shuddering, how the executioner held the bloody knife between his teeth; what a dreadful figure he appeared, all covered with blood, and with what unconcern he executed his barbarous office."

A young Englishman who happened to be at Rome, was one day passing by a church, when the procession of the host was just coming out. A bishop carried the host, which the young man perceiving, he snatched it from him, threw it upon the ground, and trampled it under his feet, crying out, Ye wretched idolaters, who neglect the true God to adore a morsel of bread. This action so provoked the people, that they would have torn him to pieces on the spot; but the priests persuaded them to let him abide by the sentence of the pope.

When the affair was represented to the pope, he was so greatly exasperated that he ordered the prisoner to be burnt immediately; but a cardinal dissuaded him from this hasty sentence, saying, it was better to punish him by slow degrees, and to torture him, that they might find out if he had been instigated by any particular person to commit so atrocious an act.

This being approved, he was tortured with the most exemplary severity, notwithstanding which they could only get these words from him, It was the will of God that I should do as I did.

The pope then passed this sentence upon him:

1. That he should be led by the executioner, naked to the middle, through the streets of Rome.
2. That he should wear the image of the devil upon his head.
3. That his breeches should be painted with the representation of flames.
4. That he should have his right hand cut off.
5. That after having been carried about thus in procession, he should be burnt.

When he heard this sentence pronounced, he implored God to give him strength and fortitude to go through it. As he passed through the streets he was greatly derided by the people, to whom he said some severe things respecting the Romish superstition. But a cardinal, who attended the procession, overhearing him, ordered him to be gagged.

When he came to the church door, where he trampled on the host, the hangman cut off his right hand, and fixed it on a pole. Then two tormentors, with flaming torches, scorched and burnt his flesh all the rest of the way. At the place of execution he kissed the chains that were to bind him to the stake. A monk presenting the figure of a suit to him, he struck it aside, and then being chained to the stake, fire was put to the faggots, and he was soon burnt to ashes.

A little after the last-mentioned execution, a venerable old man, who had long been a prisoner in the inquisition, was condemned to be burnt, and brought out for execution. When he was fastened to the stake, a priest held a crucifix to him, on which he said, "If you do not take that idol from my sight, you will constrain me to spit upon it." The priest rebuked him for this with great severity; but he bade him remember the first and second com-
mandments, and refrain from idolatry, as God himself had commanded. He was then gagged, that he should not speak any more, and fire being put to the fagots, he suffered martyrdom in the flames.

An Account of the Persecutions in the Marquisate of Saluces.

The Marquisate of Saluces, on the south side of the valleys of Piedmont, was in A. D. 1561 principally inhabited by protestants; when the marquis, who was proprietor of it, began a persecution against them at the instigation of the then pope. He began by banishing the ministers, and if any of them refused to leave their flocks, they were sure to be imprisoned, and severely tortured; however, he did not proceed so far as to put any to death.

Soon 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 conform to go to mass.

The inhabitants of Saluces, upon receiving this letter, returned for answer the following general epistle.

"May it please your Highness,
"We humbly entreat your permission to continue in the practice of the religion which we have always professed, and which our fathers have professed before us. In this we shall acquit our consciences, without offending any; for we are sensible that our religion is founded on the holy Scriptures, by whose precepts we are commanded not to injure our neighbours.

"We likewise implore your protection; for as Jews, infidels, and other enemies to Christ, are suffered to live in your dominions unmolested, we hope the same indulgence may be granted to Christians, whose very faith obliges them to be harmless, honest, inoffensive, and loyal.

We remain your highness's respectful, obedient, and faithful subjects,

The Protestant Inhabitants of the Marquisate of Saluces."

The duke, after reading this letter, did not interrupt the protestants for some time; but, at length, he sent them word, that they must either conform to the mass, or leave his dominions in fifteen days. The protestants, upon this unexpected edict, sent a deputy to the duke to obtain its revocation, or at least to have it moderated. But their remonstrances were in vain, and they were given to understand that the edict was absolute.

Some 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; and many neglected the time so long, that they were obliged to abandon all they were worth, and leave the marquisate in haste. Those, who unhappily staid behind, were seized, plundered, and put to death.

An Account of the Persecutions in the Valleys of Piedmont, in the seventeenth Century.

Pope Clement the Eighth sent missionaries into the valleys of Piedmont, to induce the protestants to renounce their religion; and these missionaries having erected monasteries in several parts of the valleys, became exceedingly troublesome to those of the reformed, where the monasteries appeared, not only as fortresses to curb, but as sanctuaries for all such to fly to, as had any ways injured them.

The protestants petitioned the duke of Savoy against these missionaries, whose insolence and ill-usage became intolerable; but, instead of getting any redress, the interest of the missionaries so far prevailed, that the duke published a decree, in which he declared, that one witness should be sufficient in a court of law against a protestant; and that any witness, who convicted a protestant of any crime whatever, should be entitled to one hundred crowns.

It may be easily imagined, upon the publication of a decree of this nature, that many protestants fell martyrs to perjury and avarice; for several villainous papists would swear any thing against the protestants for the sake of the reward, and then fly to their own priests for absolution from their false oaths. If any Roman catholic, of more conscience than the rest, blamed these fellows for their atrocious
crimes, they themselves were in danger of being informed against, and punished as favourers of heretics.

The missionaries did all they could to get the books of the protestants into their hands, in order to burn them; when the protestants doing their utmost endeavours to conceal their books, the missionaries wrote to the duke of Savoy, who, for the heinous crime of not surrendering their bibles, prayer-books, and religious treatises, sent a number of troops to be quartered on them. These military gentry did great mischief in the houses of the protestants, and destroyed such quantities of provisions, that many families were thereby ruined.

To encourage, as much as possible, the apostacy of the protestants, the duke of Savoy published a proclamation, wherein he said, "To encourage the heretics to turn catholics, it is our will and pleasure, and we do hereby expressly command, that all such as shall embrace the holy Roman catholic faith, shall enjoy an exemption, from all and every tax for the space of five years, commencing from the day of their conversion." The duke of Savoy likewise established a court, called The council for extirpating the heretics. This court was to enter into inquiries concerning the ancient privileges of the protestant churches, and the decrees which had been, from time to time, made in favour of the protestants. But the investigation of these things was carried on with the most manifest partiality; old charters were wrested to a wrong sense, and sophistry was used to pervert the meaning of every thing, which tended to favour the reformed.

As if these severities were not sufficient, the duke, soon after, published another edict, in which he strictly commanded, that no protestant should act as a schoolmaster, or tutor, either in public or private, or dare to teach any art, science, or language, directly or indirectly, to persons of any persuasion whatever.

This edict was immediately followed by another, which decreed, that no protestant should hold any place of profit, trust, or honour; and to wind up the whole, the certain token of an approaching persecution came forth in a final edict, by which it was positively ordered, that all protestants should diligently attend mass.

The publication of an edict, containing such an injunction, may be compared to unfurling the bloody flag; for murder and rapine were sure to follow. One of the first objects that attracted the notice of the papists, was Mr. Sebastian Basan, a zealous protestant, who was seized by the missionaries, confined, tormented for fifteen months, and then burnt.

Previous to the persecution, the missionaries employed kidnappers to steal away the protestants' children, that they might privately be brought up Roman catholics; but now they took away the children by open force, and if they met with any resistance, murdered the parents.

To give greater vigour to the persecution, the duke of Savoy called a general assembly of the Roman catholic nobility and gentry, when a solemn edict was published against the reformed, containing many heads, and including several reasons for extirpating the protestants; among which were the following:

1. For the preservation of the papal authority.
2. That the church livings may be all under one mode of government.
3. To make a union among all parties.
4. In honour of all the saints, and of the ceremonies of the church of Rome.

This severe edict was followed by a most cruel order, published on January 25, A. D. 1655, under the duke's sanction, by Andrew Gastaldo, doctor of civil laws. This order set forth, "That every head of a family, with the individuals of that family, of the reformed religion, of what rank, degree, or condition soever, none excepted, inhabiting and possessing estates in Lucerne, St. Giovanni, Bibiana, Campiglione, St. Secondo, Lucernetta, La Torre, Felile, and Bricherassio, should, within three days after the publication thereof, withdraw and depart, and be withdrawn out of the said places, and translated into the places and limits tolerated by his highness during his pleasure; particularly Bobbio, Angrogna, Villaro, Rorara, and the county of Bonetti.

"And all this to be done on pain of death, and confiscation of house and goods, unless within the limited time they turned Roman catholics."

A flight with such speed, in the midst of winter, may be conceived as no agreeable task, especially in a country almost surrounded by mountains. The sudden order affected all, and things, which would have been scarcely
noticed at another time, now appeared in the most conspicuous light. Women with child, or women just lain-in, were not objects of pity on this order for sudden removal, for all were included in the command; and it unfortunately happened, that the winter was remarkably severe and rigorous.

The papists, however, drove the people from their habitations at the time appointed, without even suffering them to have sufficient clothes to cover them; and many perished in the mountains through the severity of the weather, or for want of food. Some, however, who remained behind after the decree was published, met with the severest treatment, being murdered by the popish inhabitants, or shot by the troops who were quartered in the valleys. A particular description of these cruelties is given in a letter, written by a protestant, who was upon the spot, and who happily escaped the carnage. "The army (says he) having got footing, became very numerous, by the addition of a multitude of the neighbouring popish inhabitants, who finding we were the destined prey of the plunderers, fell upon us with an impetuous fury. Exclusive of the duke of Savoy’s troops, and the popish inhabitants, there were several regiments of French auxiliaries, some companies belonging to Irish brigades, and several bands formed of outlaws, smugglers, and prisoners, who had been promised pardon and liberty in this world, and absolution in the next, for assisting to exterminate the protestants from Piedmont."

"This armed multitude being encouraged by the Roman catholic bishops and monks, fell upon the protestants in a most furious manner. Nothing now was to be seen but the face of horror and despair; blood stained the floors of the houses, dead bodies bestrewed the streets, groans and cries were heard from all parts. Some armed themselves, and skirmished with the troops; and many, with their families, fled to the mountains. In one village they cruelly tormented 150 women and children after the men were fled, beheading the women, and dashing out the brains of the children. In the towns of Villaro and Bobbio, most of those that refused to go to mass, who were upwards of fifteen years of age, they crucified with their heads downwards; and the greater number of those who were under that age were strangled."

Sarah Rastignole des Vignes, a woman of 60 years of age, being seized by some soldiers, they ordered her to say a prayer to some saints, which she refusing, they thrust a sickle into her belly, ripped her up, and then cut off her head.

Martha Constantine, a handsome young woman, was treated with great indecency and cruelty by several of the troops, who first ravished, and then killed her, by cutting off her breasts. These they fried, and set before some of their comrades, who ate them without knowing what they were. When they had done eating, the others told them what they had made a meal of, in consequence of which a quarrel ensued, swords were drawn, and a battle took place. Several were killed in the fray, the greater part of whom were those concerned in the horrid massacre of the woman, and who had practised such an inhuman deception on their companions.

Some of the soldiers seized a man of Thressiniere, and ran the points of their swords through his ears, and through his feet. They then tore off the nails of his fingers and toes with red-hot pincers, tied him to the tail of an ass, and dragged him about the streets; and, finally, fastened a cord round his head, which they twisted with a stick in so violent a manner as to wring it from his body.

Peter Symonds, a protestant, of about eighty years of age, was tied neck and heels, and then thrown down a precipice. In the fall the branch of a tree caught hold of the ropes that fastened him, and suspended him in the midway, so that he languished for several days, and at length miserably perished of hunger.

Essy Garcino, refusing to renounce his religion, was cut into small pieces; the soldiers, in ridicule, saying, they had minced him. A woman, named Armand, had every limb separated from each other, and then the respective parts were hung upon a hedge. Two old women were ripped open, and then left in the fields upon the snow, where they perished; and a very old woman, who was deformed, had her nose and hands cut off, and was left to bleed to death in that manner.

A great number of men, women, and children, were flung from the rocks, and dashed to pieces. Magdalen Bertino, a protestant woman of La Torre, was stripped stark naked, her head tied between her legs, and thrown
down one of the precipices; and Mary Raymondet, of the same town, had her flesh sliced from her bones till she expired.

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, and David, his brother, were flayed alive.

An inhabitant of La Torre, named Giovanni Andrea Michialin, was apprehended, with four of his children; three of them were hacked to pieces before him, the soldiers asking him, at the death of every child, if he would renounce his religion? which he constantly refused. One of the soldiers then took up the last and youngest by the legs, and putting the same question to the father, he replied as before, when the inhuman brute dashed out the child's brains. The father, however, at the same moment started from them, and fled: the soldiers fired after him, but missed him; and he, by the swiftness of his heels, escaped, and hid himself in the Alps.

Further Persecutions in the Valleys of Piedmont, in the seventeenth Century.

Giovanni Pelanchion, for refusing to turn papist, was tied by one leg to the tail of a mule, and dragged through the streets of Lucerne, amidst the acclamations of an inhuman mob, who kept stoning him, and crying out, He is possessed with the devil, so that neither stoning, nor dragging him through the streets, will kill him, for the devil keeps him alive. They then took him to the river side, chopped off his head, and left that and his body unburied, upon the bank of the stream.

Magdalen, the daughter of Peter Fontaine, a beautiful child of ten years of age, was ravished and murdered by the soldiers. Another girl, of about the same age, they roasted alive at Villa Nova; and a poor woman, hearing the soldiers were coming toward her house, snatched up the cradle in which her infant son was asleep, and fled toward the woods. The soldiers, however, saw and pursued her, when she lightened herself by putting down the cradle and child, which the soldiers no sooner came to, than they murdered the infant, and continuing the pursuit, found the mother in a cave, where they first ravished, and then cut her to pieces.

Jacob Michelino, chief elder of the church of Bobbio, and several other protestants, were hung up by means of hooks fixed in their bellies, and left to expire in the most excruciating tortures.

Giovanni Rostagnal, a venerable protestant, upwards of fourscore years of age, had his nose and ears cut off, and slices cut from the fleshy parts of his body, till he bled to death.

Seven persons, viz. Daniel Sceleagio 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, for refusing to change his religion, was stripped quite naked; and after having been very indecently 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 then had a cord tied round his middle, and was led through the streets with a soldier on each side of him. At every turning the soldier on his right hand side cut a gash in his flesh, and the soldier on his left hand side struck him with a bludgeon, both saying, at the same instant, Will you go to mass! will you go to mass? He still replied in the negative to these interrogatories, 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 very pious protestant, had his eyes put out, was then flayed alive, and being divided into four parts, his quarters were placed on four of the principal houses of Lucerne. He bore all his sufferings with the most exemplary patience, praised God as long as he could speak, and plainly evinced, what confidence and resignation a good conscience can inspire.

Daniel Cardon, of Rocappiata, being apprehended by some soldiers, they cut his head off, and having fried his brains, ate them. Two poor old blind women, of St. Giovanni, were burnt alive; and a widow of La Torre, with her daughter, were driven into the river, and there stoned to death.
Paul Giles, on attempting to run away from some soldiers, was shot in the neck: they then slit his nose, sliced his chin, stabbed him, and gave his carcass to the dogs.

Some of the Irish troops having taken eleven men of Garcigliana prisoners, they made a furnace red hot, and forced them to push each other in till they came to the last man, whom they pushed in themselves.

Michael Gonet, a man of 90, was burnt to death; Baptista Oudri, another old man, was stabbed; and Bartholomew Frasche had holes made in his heels, through which ropes being put, he was dragged by them to the jail, where his wounds mortified and killed him.

Magdalene de la Peire being pursued by some of the soldiers, and taken, was thrown down a precipice, and dashed to pieces. Margaret Revella, and Mary Pravillerin, two very old women, were burnt alive; and Michael Bellino, with Ann Bochardno, were beheaded.

The son and daughter of a councillor of Giovanni were rolled down a steep hill together, and suffered to perish in a deep pit at the bottom. A tradesman’s family, viz. himself, his wife, and an infant in arms, were cast from a rock, and dashed to pieces; and Joseph Chairet, and Paul Carniero, were flayed alive.

Cypriania Bustia, being asked if he would renounce his religion and turn Roman 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 he continued a considerable time without food, till he was famished; after which they threw his corpse into the street before the prison, and it was devoured by dogs in the most shocking manner.

Margaret Saretta was stoned to death, and then thrown into the river; Antonio Bartina had his head cleft asunder; and Joseph Pont was cut through the middle of his body.

Daniel Maria, and his whole family, being ill of a fever, several papist ruffians broke into his house, telling him they were practical physicians, and would give them all present ease, which they did by knocking the whole family on the head.

Three infant children of a protestant, named Peter Fine, were covered with snow, and stifled; an elderly widow, named Judith, was beheaded; and a beautiful young woman was stripped naked, and had a stake driven through her body, of which she expired.

Lucy, the wife of Peter Besson, a woman far gone in her pregnancy, who lived in one of the villages of the Piedmontese valleys, determined, if possible, to escape from such dreadful scenes as every where surrounded her: she, accordingly, took two young children, one in each hand, and set off towards the Alps. But on the third day of the journey she was taken in labour among the mountains, and delivered of an infant, who perished through the extreme inclemency of the weather, as did the two other children; for all three were found dead by her, and herself just expiring, by the person to whom she related the above particulars.

Francis Gros, the son of a clergyman, had his flesh slowly cut from his body into small pieces, and put into a dish before him: two of his children were minced before his sight; and his wife was fastened to a post, that she might behold all these cruelties practised on her husband and offspring. The tormentors, at length, being tired of exercising their cruelties, cut off the heads of both husband and wife, and then gave the flesh of the whole family to the dogs.

The sieur Thomas Margher fled to a cave, when the soldiers shut up the mouth, and he perished with famine. Judith Revelin, with seven children, were barbarously murdered in their beds; and a widow of near fourscore years of age, was hewn to pieces by soldiers.

Jacob Roseno was ordered to pray to the saints, which he absolutely refused to do: some of the soldiers beat him violently with bludgeons to make him comply, but he still refusing, several of them fired at him, and lodged a great many balls in his body. As he was almost expiring, they cried to him, Will you call upon the saints? Will you pray to the saints? To which he answered, No! No! No! when one of the soldiers, with a broad sword, clove his head asunder, and put an end to his sufferings in this world; for which undoubtedly, he is gloriously rewarded in the next.

A soldier, attempting to ravish a young woman, named Susanna Giaequin, she made a stout resistance, and in the struggle pushed him over a precipice, when he was dashed to
pieces by the fall. His comrades, instead of admiring the virtue of the young woman, and applauding her for so nobly defending her chastity, fell upon her with their swords, and cut her to pieces.

Giovanni Pulhus, a poor peasant of La Torre, being apprehended as a protestant by the soldiers, was ordered, by the marquis of Pianesta, to be executed in a place near the convent. When he came to the gallows, several monks attended, and did all they could to persuade him to renounce his religion. But he told them, he never would embrace idolatry, and that he was happy in being thought worthy to suffer for the name of Christ. They then put him in mind of what his wife and children, who depended upon his labour, would suffer after his decease; to which he replied, I would have my wife and children, as well as myself, to consider their souls more than their bodies, and the next world before this: and with respect to the distress I may leave them in, God is merciful, and will provide for them while they are worthy of his protection. Finding the inflexibility of this poor man, the monks cried,—Turn him off; turn him off; which the executioner did almost immediately, and the body being afterward cut down, was flung into the river.

Paul Clement, an elder of the church of Rossana, being apprehended by the monks of a neighbouring monastery, was carried to the market-place of that town, where some protestants having just been executed by the soldiers, he was shown the dead bodies, in order that the sight might intimidate him. On beholding the shocking objects, he said, calmly, You may kill the body, but you cannot prejudice the soul of a true believer; but with respect to the dreadful spectacles which you have here shown me, you may rest assured, that God's vengeance will overtake the murderers of 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 in standing at a distance, and shooting at the body as at a mark.

Daniel Rambaut, of Villaro, the father of a numerous family, was apprehended, and, with several others, committed to prison, in the jail of Paysana. Here he was visited by several priests, who with continual importunities, did all they could to persuade him to renounce the protestant religion, and turn papist; but this he peremptorily refused, and the priests finding his resolution, pretended to pity his numerous family, and told him, that he might yet have his life, if he would subscribe to the belief of the following articles:

1. The real presence in the host.
2. Transubstantiation.
3. Purgatory.
4. The pope's infallibility.
5. That masses said for the dead will release souls from purgatory.
6. That praying to saints will procure the remission of sins.

M. Rambaut told the priests, that neither his religion, his understanding, nor his conscience, would suffer him to subscribe to any of the articles, for the following reasons:

1. That to believe the real presence in the host, is a shocking union of both blasphemy and idolatry.
2. That to fancy the words of consecration performs what the papists call transubstantiation, by converting the wafer and wine into the real and identical body and blood of Christ, which was crucified, and which afterward ascended into heaven, is too gross an absurdity for even a child to believe, who was come to the least glimmering of reason; and that nothing but the most blind superstition could make the Roman catholics put a confidence in any thing so completely ridiculous.
3. That the doctrine of purgatory was more inconsistent and absurd than a fairy tale.
4. That the pope's being infallible was an impossibility, and the pope arrogantly laid claim to what could belong to God only, as a perfect being.
5. That saying masses for the dead was ridiculous, and only meant to keep up a belief in the fable of purgatory, as the fate of all is finally decided, on the departure of the soul from the body.
6. That praying to saints for the remission of sins, is misplacing adoration; as the saints themselves have occasion for an intercessor in Christ. Therefore as God only can pardon our errors, we ought to sue to him alone for pardon.

The priests were so highly offended at M. Rambaut's answers to the articles to which
they would have had him subscribe, that they determined to shake his resolution by the most cruel method imaginable: they ordered one joint of his finger to be cut off every day, till all his fingers were gone: they then proceeded in the same manner with his toes; afterward they alternately cut off, daily, a hand and a foot; but finding that he bore his sufferings with the most admirable patience, increased both in fortitude and resignation, and maintained his faith with steadfast resolution, and unshaken constancy, they stabbed him to the heart, and then gave his body to be devoured by dogs.

Peter Gabriola, a protestant gentleman of considerable eminence, being seized by a troop of soldiers, and refusing to renounce his religion, they hung a great number of little bags of gunpowder about his body, and then setting fire to them, blew him up.

Anthony, the son of Samuel Catiéris, a poor dumb lad who was extremely inoffensive, was cut to pieces by a party of the troops; and soon after the same ruffians entered the house of Peter Monriot, and cut off the legs of the whole family, leaving them to bleed to death, as they were unable to assist themselves or to help each other.

Daniel Benech being apprehended, had his nose slit, his ears cut off, and was then divided into quarters, each quarter being hung upon a tree; and Mary Monino had her jaw bones broke, and was then left to languish till she was famished.

Mary Pelanchion, a handsome widow, belonging to the town of Villaro, was seized by a party of the Irish brigades, who having beat her cruelly, and ravished her, dragged her to a high bridge which crossed the river, and stripped her naked in a most indecent manner, hung her by the legs to the bridge, with her head downwards towards the water, and then going into boats, they fired at her till she expired.

Mary Nigrino, and her daughter, who was an idiot, were cut to pieces in the woods, and their bodies left to be devoured by wild beasts: Susanna Bales, a widow of Villaro, was immured till she perished through hunger; and Susanna Calvio running away from some soldiers and hiding herself in a barn, they set fire to the straw and burnt her.

Paul Armand was hacked to pieces; a child named Daniel Bertino was burnt; Daniel Michialino had his tongue plucked out, and was left to perish in that condition; and Andreo Bertino, a very old man, who was lame, 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.

Constantia Bellione, a protestant lady, being apprehended on account of her faith, was asked by a priest if she would renounce the devil and go to mass; to which she replied, "I was brought up in a religion, by which I was always taught to renounce the devil; but should I comply with your desire, and go to mass, I should be sure to meet him there in a variety of shapes." The priest was highly incensed at what she said, and told her to recant, or she should suffer cruelly. The lady, however, boldly answered, that she valued not any sufferings he could inflict, and in spite of all the torments he could invent, she would keep her conscience pure and her faith inviolate. The priest then ordered slices of her flesh to be cut off from several parts of her body, which cruelty she bore with the most singular patience, only saying to the priest, What horrid and lasting torments will you suffer in hell, for the trifling and temporary pains which I now endure. Exasperated at this expression, and willing to stop her tongue, the priest ordered a file of musqueteers to draw up and fire upon her, by which she was soon despatched, and sealed her martyrdom with her blood.

A young woman, named Judith Mandon, for refusing to change her religion and embrace popery, was fastened to a stake, and sticks thrown at her from a distance, in the very same manner as that barbarous custom which was formerly practised on Shrove-Tuesday, of shafting at cocks, as it was termed. By this inhuman proceeding, the poor creature's limbs were beat and mangled in a terrible manner, and her brains were at last dashed out by one of the bludgeons.

David Paglia and Paul Genre, attempting to escape to the Alps, with each his son, were pursued and overtaken by the soldiers in a large plain. Here they hunted them for their diversion, goading them with their swords, and making them run about till they dropped down with fatigue. When they found that their spirits were quite exhausted, and that they
could not afford them any more barbarous sport by running, the soldiers hacked them to pieces, and left their mangled bodies on the spot.

A young man of Bobbio, named Michael Greve, was apprehended in the town of La Torre, and being led to the bridge, was thrown into the river. As he could swim very well, he swam down the stream, thinking to escape, but the soldiers and mob followed on both sides the river, and kept stoning him, till receiving a blow on one of his temples, he was stunned, and consequently sunk and was drowned.

David Armand was ordered to lay his head down on a block, when a soldier, with a large hammer, beat out his brains. David Baridon being apprehended at Villar, was carried to La Torre, where, refusing to renounce his religion, he was tormented by means of brimstone matches being tied between his fingers and toes, and set fire to; and afterward, by having his flesh plucked off with red-hot pincers, till he expired; and Giovanni Barolina, with his wife, were thrown into a pool of stagnant water, and compelled, by means of pitchforks and stones, to duck down their heads till they were suffocated.

A number of soldiers went to the house of Joseph Garniero, and before they entered, fired in at the window, to give notice of their approach. A musquet ball entered one of Mrs. Garniero's breasts, as she was suckling an infant with the other. On finding their intentions, she begged hard that they would spare the life of the infant, which they promised to do, and sent it immediately to a Roman catholic nurse. They then took the husband and hanged him at his own door, and having shot the wife through the head, they left her body weltering in its blood, and her husband hanging on the gallows.

Isaiah Mondon, an elderly man, and a pious protestant, fled from the merciless persecutors to a cliff in a rock, where he suffered the most dreadful hardships; for, in the midst of the winter, he was forced to lay on the bare stone, without any covering; his food was the roots he could scratch up near his miserable habitation; and the only way by which he could procure drink, was to put snow in his mouth till it melted. Here, however, some of the inhuman soldiers found him, and after having beaten him unmercifully, they drove him towards Lucerne, goading him with the points of their swords. Being exceedingly weakened by his manner of living, and his spirits exhausted by the blows he had received, he fell down in the road. They again beat him to make him proceed: when on his knees, he implored them to put him out of his misery, by despatching him. This they at last agreed to do; and one of them stepping up to him, shot him through the head with a pistol, saying, There, heretic, take thy request.

Mary Revel, a worthy protestant, received a shot in her back, as she was walking along the street. She dropped down with the wound, but recovering sufficient strength, she raised herself upon her knees, and lifting her hands towards heaven, prayed in a most fervent manner to the Almighty; when a number of soldiers, who were near at hand, fired a whole volley of shot at her, many of which took place, and put an end to her miseries in an instant.

Several men, women, and children, secreted themselves in a large cave, where they continued for some weeks in safety. It was the custom for two of the men to go when it was necessary, and by stealth 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. The papists that assembled upon this occasion were neighbours, and intimate acquaintances of the protestants in the cave; and some of them were even related to each other. The protestants, therefore, came out, and implored them, by the ties of hospitality, by the ties of blood, and as old acquaintances and neighbours, not to murder them. But superstition overcomes every sensation of nature and humanity; so that the papists, blinded by bigotry, told them they could not show any mercy to heretics, and, therefore, bade them all prepare to die. Hearing this, and knowing the fatal obstinacy of the Roman catholics, the protestants all fell prostrate, lifted their hands and hearts to heaven, prayed with great sincerity and fervency, and then bowing down, put their faces close to the ground, and patiently awaited their fate, which was soon decided, for the papists fell upon them with unremitting fury, and having cut them to pieces, left the mangled bodies and limbs in the cave.
Giovanni Salvagiot, passing by a Roman catholic church, and not taking off his hat, was followed by some of the congregation, who fell upon and murdered him; and Jacob Barrel and his wife, having been taken prisoners by the earl of St. Secco, one of the duke of Savoy's officers, delivered them up to the soldiery, who cut off the woman's breasts, and the man's nose, and then shot both through the head.

Anthony Guigno, a protestant, of a wavering disposition, went to Periero, with an intent to renounce his religion and embrace popery. This design he communicated to some priests, who highly commended it, and a day was fixed upon for his public recantation. In the mean time, Anthony grew fully sensible of his perfidy, and his conscience tormented him so much, night and day, that he determined not to recant, but to make his escape. This he effected, but being soon missed and pursued, he was taken. The troops on the way did all they could to bring him back to his design of recantation; but finding their endeavours ineffectual, they beat him violently on the road, when coming near a precipice, he took an opportunity of leaping down it, and was dashed to pieces.

A protestant gentleman, of considerable fortune, at Bobbio, being highly provoked by the insolence of a priest, retorted with great severity; and, among other things, said, that the pope was Antichrist, mass idolatry, purgatory a farce, and absolution a cheat. To be revenged, the priest hired five desperate ruffians, who, the same evening, broke into the gentleman's house, and seized upon him in a violent manner. The gentleman was terribly frightened, fell on his knees, and implored mercy; but the desperate ruffians despatched him without the least hesitation.

A Narrative of the Piedmontese War.

The massacres and murders, already mentioned to have been committed in the valleys of Piedmont, nearly depopulated most of the towns and villages. One place only had not been assaulted, and that was owing to the difficulty of approaching it; this was the little commonalty of Roras, which was situated upon a rock.

As the work of blood grew slack in other places, the earl of Christopile, one of the duke of Savoy's officers, determined, if possible, to make himself master of it; and, with that view, detached three hundred men to surprise it secretly.

The inhabitants of Roras, however, had intelligence of the approach of these troops, when 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 small defile.

When the troops appeared, and had entered the defile, which was the only place by which the town could be approached, the protestants kept up a smart and well-directed fire against them, and still kept themselves concealed behind bushes from the sight of the enemy. A great number of the soldiers were killed and the remainder receiving a continued fire, and not seeing any to whom they might return it, thought proper to retreat.

The members of this little community then sent a memorial to the marquis of Pianessa, one of the duke's general officers, setting forth, "That they were sorry, upon any occasion, to be under the necessity of taking up arms; but that the secret approach of a body of troops, without any reason assigned, or 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 of Pianessa, that he might have the better opportunity of deluding and surprising the protestants of Roras, sent them word in answer, "That he was perfectly satisfied with their behaviour, for they had done right, and even rendered a service to their country, as the men who had attempted to pass the defile were not his troops, or sent by him, but a band of desperate robbers, who had, for some time, infested those parts, and been a terror to the neighbouring country." To give a greater colour to his treachery, he then published a proclamation, which ran thus;
To the Inhabitants of all the Towns, Villages, 
Hamlets, &c. in Piedmont, and Appendages, 
thereunto belonging; and to the united 
Troops belonging to, or in the pay of, his 
Highness the Duke of Savoy, greeting:

WHEREAS the inhabitants of Roras have 
bravely and loyally routed, killed, or expelled, 
a band of bloody robbers, and desperate out- 
laws, and thereby rendered an essential 
service to the country in general. Be it, there- 
fore, known, that all persons are strictly or- 
dered and commanded, in the duke’s name, 
ot to injure, molest, or disturb any of the 
inhabitants of Roras, but to do them every pos- 
sible service, in return for the benefit which 
the state hath received from them.

PIANESSA.

Given at the Camp near Villaro.

Yet, the very day after this plausible procla- 
mination, and specious conduct, the marquis 
sent 500 men to possess themselves of Roras, 
while the people, as he thought, were lulled 
into perfect security by his specious behaviour.

Captain Gianavel, however, was not to be 
deceived so easily: he, therefore, laid an am- 
buscade for this body of troops, as he had for 
the former, and compelled them to retire with 
very considerable loss.

Though foiled in these two attempts, the 
marquis Pianessa determined on a third, which 
should be still more formidable; but first he im-
prudently published another proclamation, dis-
owning any knowledge of the second attempt.

Soon after, 700 chosen men were sent upon 
the expedition, who, in spite of the fire from 
the protestants, forced the defile, entered Ro-
ras, and began to murder every person they 
met with, without distinction of sex or age. 
The protestant captain Gianavel, at the head 
of a small body, though he had lost the defile, 
determined to dispute their passage through 
a fortified pass that led to the richest and best 
part of the town. Here he was successful, by 
keeping up a continual fire, and by means of 
his men being all complete marksmen. The 
Roman catholic commander was greatly stag-
gered at this opposition, as he imagined that 
he had surmounted all difficulties. He, how- 
ever, did his endeavours 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 breastwork, he found he should be baffled by the handful of men who opposed him.

Enraged at the loss of so many of his troops, 
and fearful of disgrace if he persisted in at-
tempting what appeared so impracticable, he 
thought it the wisest thing to retreat. Unwil-
ing, however, to withdraw his men by the de-
file at which he had entered, on account of the 
difficulty and danger of the enterprise, he de-
signs to retreat towards Villaro, by another 
pass called Piampra, which, though hard of 
access, was easy of descent. But in this he 
met with a disappointment, for captain Gia-
navel 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 that all 
his attempts were frustrated, and that every 
artifice he used was only an alarm-signal to 
the inhabitants of Roras, resolved to act openly, 
and therefore proclaimed, that ample rewards 
should be given to any one who would bear 
arms against the obstinate heretics of Roras, 
as he called them, and that any officer who 
would exterminate them, should be rewarded in 
a princely manner.

This engaged captain Mario, a bigoted 
Roman catholic, and a desperate ruffian, to 
undertake the enterprise. He, therefore, ob-
tained leave to raise a regiment in the follow-
ing six towns: Lucerne, Borges, Famolas, 
Bobbio, Bagnal, and Cavos.

Having completed his regiment, which con-
sisted of 1000 men, he laid his plan not to go 
by the defiles, or the passes, but to attempt 
gaining the summit of a rock, from whence he 
imagined he could pour his men into the town 
without much difficulty or opposition.

The protestants suffered the Roman catho-
lic troops to gain almost the summit of the 
rock, without giving them any opposition, or 
ever appearing in their sight: but when they 
had almost reached the top, they made a most 
furious attack upon them; one party keeping 
up a well-directed and constant fire, and an-
other party rolling down huge stones.

This stopped the career of the papist troops: 
many were killed by the musketry, and more 
by the stones, which beat them down the pre-
cipices. Several fell sacrifices to their hurry, 
for by attempting a precipitate retreat, they 
fell down, and were dashed to pieces; and
captain Mario himself narrowly escaped with life, for he fell from a craggy place into a river which washed the foot of the rock. He was taken up senseless, but afterward recovered, though he was ill of the bruises for a long time; and, at length, fell into a decline at Lucerne, where he died.

Another body of troops was ordered from the camp at Villaro, to make an attempt upon Roras; but these were likewise defeated, by means of the protestants’ ambush-fighting, and compelled to retreat again to the camp at Villaro.

After each of these signal victories, captain Gianavel made a suitable discourse to his men, causing them to kneel down, and return thanks to the Almighty for his providential protection; and usually concluded with the eleventh psalm, where the subject is placing confidence in God.

The marquis of Pianessa was greatly enraged at being so much baffled by the few inhabitants of Roras: he, therefore, determined to attempt their expulsion, in such a manner as could hardly fail of success.

With this view he ordered all the Roman catholic militia of Piedmont to be raised and disciplined. When these orders were completed, he joined to the militia eight thousand regular troops, and dividing the whole into three distinct bodies, he designed that three formidable attacks should be made at the same time, unless the people of Roras, to whom he sent an account of his great preparations, would comply with the following conditions:
1. To ask pardon for taking up arms.
2. To pay the expenses of all the expeditions sent against them.
3. To acknowledge the infallibility of the pope.
4. To go to mass.
5. To pray to the saints.
6. To wear beards.
7. To deliver up their ministers.
8. To deliver up their schoolmasters.
9. To go to confession.
10. To pay loans for the delivery of souls from purgatory.
11. To give up captain Gianavel at discretion.
12. To give up the elders of their church at discretion.

The inhabitants of Roras, on being acquainted with these conditions, were filled with an honest indignation; and, in answer, sent word to the marquis, that sooner than comply with them they would suffer three things, which, of all others, were the most obnoxious to mankind, viz.

1. Their estates to be seized.
2. Their houses to be burnt.
3. Themselves to be murdered.

Exasperated at this message, the marquis sent them this laconic epistle:

To the obstinate Heretics inhabiting 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 then put into motion, and the attacks ordered to be made thus: the first by the rocks of Villaro; the second by the pass of Bagnol; and the third by the defile of Lucerne.

The troops forced their way by the superiority of numbers, and having gained the rocks, pass, and defile, began to make the most horrid depredations, and exercise the greatest cruelties. 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. One hundred and twenty-six suffered in this manner, on the first day of their gaining the town.

Agreeable to the marquis of Pianessa’s orders, they likewise plundered the estates, and burnt the houses of the people. Several protestants, however, made their escape, under the conduct of captain Gianavel, whose wife and children were unfortunately made prisoners, and sent under a strong guard to Turin.

The marquis of Pianessa wrote a letter to captain Gianavel, and released a protestant prisoner that he might carry it him. The contents were, that if the captain would embrace the Roman catholic religion, he should be indemnified for all his losses since the commencement of the war; his wife and children should be immediately released, and himself honourably promoted in the duke of Savoy’s army; but if he refused to accede to the proposals made 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 be tempted to betray him, from the greatness of the sum.

To this epistle the brave Gianavel sent the following answer:

My Lord Marquis,

There is no torment so great or death so cruel, but what I would prefer to the abjuration of my religion: so that promises lose their effects, and menaces only 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 and cruel death. I keenly feel all the tender sensations of husband and parent; my heart is replete with every sentiment of humanity; I would suffer any torment to rescue them from danger; 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.

This brave protestant officer, after writing the above letter, retired to the Alps, with his followers; and being joined by a great number of other fugitive protestants, he harassed the enemy by continual skirmishes.

Meeting one day with a body of papist troops near Bibiana, he, though inferior in numbers, attacked them with great fury, and put them to the rout without the loss of a man, though himself was shot through the leg in the engagement, by a soldier who had hid himself behind a tree; but Gianavel perceiving from whence the shot came, pointed his gun to the place, and despatched the person who had wounded him.

Captain Gianavel hearing that a captain Ja-

hier had collected together a considerable body of protestants, wrote him a letter, proposing a junction of their forces. Captain Jahier immediately agreed to the proposal, and marched directly to meet Gianavel.

The junction being formed, it was proposed to attack a town, (inhabited by Roman catholics) called Garciailliana. The assault was given with great spirit, but a reinforcement of horse and foot having lately entered the town, which the protestants knew nothing of, they were repulsed; yet made a masterly retreat, and only lost one man in the action.

The next attempt of the protestant forces was upon St. Secondo, which they attacked with great vigour, but met with a strong resistance from the Roman catholic troops, who had fortified the streets, and planted themselves in the houses, from whence they poured musket-balls in prodigious numbers. The protestants, however, advanced, under cover of a great number of planks, which some held over their heads, to secure them from the shots of the enemy from the houses, while others kept up a well-directed fire; so that the houses and entrenchments were soon forced, and the town taken.

In the town they found a prodigious quantity of plunder, which had been taken from protestants at various times, and different places, and which were stored up in the warehouses, churches, dwelling-houses, &c. This they removed to a place of safety, to be distributed, with as much justice as possible, among the sufferers.

This successful attack was made with such skill and spirit, that it cost very little to the conquering party; the protestants having only 17 killed, and 26 wounded; while the papists suffered a loss of no less than 450 killed, and 511 wounded.

Five protestant officers, viz. Gianavel, Ja-
hier, Laurentio, Genolet, and Benet, laid a plan to surprise Biqueras. To this end they marched in five respective bodies, and by agreement were to make the attack at the same time. The captains Jahier and Laurentio passed through two defiles in the woods, and came to the place in safety, under covert; but the other three bodies made their approaches through an open country, and, consequently, were more exposed to an attack.

The Roman catholics taking the alarm, a
great number of troops were sent to relieve Biqueras from Cavors, Bibiana, Fenile, Campiglione, and some other neighbouring places. When these were united, they determined to attack the three protestant parties, that were marching through the open country.

The protestant officers, perceiving the intent of the enemy, and not being at a great distance from each other, joined their forces with the utmost expedition, and formed themselves in order of battle.

In the mean time, the captains Jahier and Laurentio had assaulted the town of Biqueras, and burnt all the out-houses, to make their approaches with the greater ease; but not being supported as they expected by the other three protestant captains, they sent a messenger, on a swift horse, towards the open country, to inquire the reason.

The messenger soon returned, and informed them that it was not in the power of the three protestant captains to support their proceedings, as they were themselves attacked by a very superior force in the plain, and could scarcely sustain the unequal conflict.

The captains Jahier and Laurentio, on receiving this intelligence, determined to discontinue the assault on Biqueras, and to proceed, with all possible expedition, to the relief of their friends on the plain. This design proved to be of the most essential service, for just as they arrived at the spot where the two armies were engaged, the papist troops began to prevail, and were on the point of flanking the left wing, commanded by captain Gianavel. The arrival of these troops turned the scale in favour of the protestants; and the papist forces, though they fought with the most obstinate intrepidity, were totally defeated. A great number were killed and wounded on both sides, and the baggage, military stores, &c. taken by the protestants were very considerable.

Captain Gianavel, having information that three hundred of the enemy were to convoy a great quantity of stores, provisions, &c. from La Torre to the castle of Mirabac, determined to attack them on the way. He, accordingly, began the assault at Malbec, though with a very inadequate force. The contest was long and bloody, but the protestants, at length, were obliged to yield to the superiority of numbers, and compelled to make a retreat, which they did with great regularity, and but little loss.

Captain Gianavel advanced to an advantageous post, situated near the town of Villaro, and then sent the following information and commands to the inhabitants:

1. That he should attack the town in twenty-four hours.
2. That with respect to the Roman catholics who had borne arms, whether they belonged to the army or not, he should act by the law of retaliation, and put them to death, for the numerous depredations, and many cruel murders, they had committed.
3. That all women and children, whatever their religion might be, should be safe.
4. That he commanded all male protestants to leave the town, and join him.
5. That all apostates, who had, through weakness, abjured their religion, should be deemed enemies, unless they renounced their abjuration.
6. That all who returned to their duty to God, and themselves, should be received as friends.

The protestants, in general, immediately left the town, and joined captain Gianavel with great satisfaction, and the few, who, through weakness or fear, had abjured their faith, recanted their abjuration, and were received into the bosom of the church. As the marquis of Pianessa had removed the army, and encamped in quite a different part of the country, the Roman catholics in Villaro thought it would be folly to pretend to defend the place with the small force they had. They, therefore, fled with the utmost precipitation, leaving the town, and most of their property, to the discretion of the protestants.

The protestant commanders having called a council of war, resolved to make an attempt upon the town of La Torre, for four particular reasons, viz.

1. Because it was a place of great importance.
2. Because it contained a great quantity of military stores and provisions.
3. Because the inhabitants had been some of the most rigid of all the persecutors of the protestants.
4. Because it was garrisoned by troops drafted from the Irish brigades, who were the most
cruel of all the troops, to the protestants whom they took prisoners.

The papists being apprized of the design, detached some troops to defend a defile, through which the protestants must make their approach; but these were defeated, compelled to abandon the pass, and forced to retreat to La Torre.

The protestants proceeded on their march, and the troops of La Torre, on their approach, made a furious sally, were repulsed with great loss, and compelled to seek shelter in the town. The governor now only thought of defending the place, which the protestants began to attack in form; but after many brave attempts, and furious assaults, the commanders determined to abandon the enterprise for several reasons, particularly, because they found the place itself too strong, their own number too weak, and their cannon not adequate to the task of battering down the walls.

This resolution being taken, the protestant commanders began a masterly retreat, and conducted it with such regularity, that the enemy did not choose to pursue them, or molest their rear, which they might have done, as they passed the defiles.

The next day they mustered, reviewed the army, and found the whole to amount to four hundred and ninety-five men. They then held a council of war, and planned an easier enterprise: this was to make an attack on the commonalty of Crusol, a place inhabited by a number of the most bigoted Roman catholics, and who had exercised, during the persecutions, the most unheard-of cruelties on the protestants.

The people of Crusol, hearing of the design against them, fled to a neighbouring fortress, situated on a rock, where the protestants could not come at them, for a very few men could render it inaccessible to a numerous army. Thus they secured their persons, but were in too much hurry to secure their property, the principal part of which, indeed, had been plundered from the protestants, and now luckily fell again to the possession of the right owners. It consisted of many rich and valuable articles, and what, at that time, was of much more consequence, viz. A great quantity of military stores. Four hundred head of cattle. Six hundred sheep and goats. A greater number of cheeses, many sacks of flour, several butts of wine, and good store of raisins.

The day after the protestants were gone with their booty, eight hundred troops arrived to the assistance of the people of Crusol, having been despatched from Lucerne, Biqueras, Cavors, &c. But finding themselves too late, and that a pursuit would be in vain, not to return empty handed, they began to plunder the neighbouring villages, though what they took was from their friends. After collecting a tolerable booty, they began to divide it, but disagreeing about the different shares, they fell from words to blows, did a great deal of mischief, and then plundered each other.

On the very same day in which the protestants were so successful at Crusol, some papists marched with a design to plunder and burn the little protestant village of Rocappiatta, but by the way they met with the protestant forces belonging to the captains Jahier and Laurentio, who were posted on the hill of Angrognia. A trivial engagement ensued, for the Roman catholics, on the very first attack, retreated in great confusion, and were pursued with much slaughter. After the pursuit was over, some of the straggling papist troops meeting with a poor peasant, who was a protestant, tied a cord round his head, and strained it till his skull was quite crushed.

Captain Gianavel and captain Jahier concerted a design together, to make an attack upon Lucerne; but captain Jahier not bringing his forces at the time appointed, captain Gianavel determined to attempt the enterprise himself.

He, therefore, by a forced march, proceeded towards that place during the whole night, and was close to it by break of day. His first care was to cut the pipes that conveyed water into the town, and then to break down the bridge, by which alone provisions from the country could enter.

He then assaulted the place, and speedily possessed himself of two of the out-ports; but finding he could not make himself master of the place, he prudently retreated with very little loss, blaming, however, captain Jahier, for the failure of the enterprise.

The papists being informed that Captain Gianavel was at Angrognia, with only his own company, determined, if possible, to surprise
him. With this view, a great number of troops were detached from La Torre, and other places: one party of these got on the top of a mountain, beneath which he was posted; and the other party intended to possess themselves of the gate of St. Bartholomew.

The papists thought themselves sure of taking captain Gianavel and every one of his men, as they consisted but of three hundred, and their own force was two thousand five hundred. Their design, however, was providentially frustrated, for one of the popish soldiers imprudently blowing a trumpet before the signal for attack was given, captain Gianavel took the alarm, and posted his little company so advantageously at the gate of St. Bartholomew, and at the defile by which the enemy must descend from the mountains, that the Roman Catholic troops failed in both attacks, and were repulsed, with very considerable loss.

Soon after, captain Jahier came to Angrognia, and joined his forces to those of captain Gianavel, giving sufficient reasons to excuse his before-mentioned failure. Captain Jahier now made several secret excursions with great success, selecting always some of the most active troops, belonging both to Gianavel and himself. One day he had put himself at the head of forty-four men, to proceed upon an expedition, when entering a plain near Ossac, he was suddenly surrounded by a large body of horse. Captain Jahier and his men fought desperately, though oppressed by odds, and killed the commander in chief, three captains, and fifty-seven private men, of the enemy. But captain Jahier himself being killed, with thirty-five of his men, the rest surrendered. One of the soldiers cut off captain Jahier's head, and carrying it to Turin, presented it to the duke of Savoy, who rewarded him with six hundred ducatoons.

The death of this gentleman was a signal loss to the protestants, as he was a real friend to, and champion of, the reformed church. He possessed a most undaunted spirit, so that no difficulties could deter him from undertaking an enterprise, or dangers terrify him in its execution. He was pious without affectation, and humane without weakness; bold in the field, meek in a domestic life, of a penetrating genius, active in spirit, and resolute in all his undertakings.

To add to the affliction of the protestants, captain Gianavel was, soon after, wounded in such a manner that he was obliged to keep his bed. They, however, took new courage from misfortunes, and determining not to let their spirits droop, attacked a body of popish troops with great intrepidity; the protestants were much inferior in numbers, but fought with more resolution than the papists, and at length routed them, with considerable slaughter. During the action, a sergeant, named Michael Bertino, was killed; when his son, who was close behind him, leaped into his place, and said, I have lost my father; but courage, fellow-soldiers, God is a father to us all.

Several skirmishes likewise happened between the troops of La Torre and Tagliaretto, and the protestant forces, which in general terminated in favour of the latter.

A protestant gentleman, named Andron, raised a regiment of horse, and took the command of it himself. The sieur John Leger persuaded a great number of protestants to form themselves into volunteer companies; and an excellent officer, named Michelin, instituted several bands of light troops. These being all joined to the remains of the veteran protestant troops, (for great numbers had been lost in the various battles, skirmishes, sieges, &c.) composed a respectable army, which the officers thought proper to encamp near St. Giovanni.

The Roman catholic commanders, alarmed at the formidable appearance, and increased strength of the protestant forces, determined, if possible, to dislodge them from their encampment. With this view they collected together a large force, consisting of the principal part of the garrisons of the Roman catholic towns, the draft from the Irish brigades, a great number of regulars sent by the marquis of Pianessa, the auxiliary troops, and the independent companies.

These, having formed a junction, encamped near the protestants, and spent several days in calling councils of war, and disputing on the most proper mode of proceeding. Some were for plundering the country, in order to draw the protestants from their camp; others were for patiently waiting till they were attacked; and a third party were for assaulting the protestant camp, and trying to make themselves masters of every thing in it.
The last of them prevailed, and the morning after the resolution had been taken was appointed to put it into execution. The Roman catholic troops were accordingly separated into four divisions, three of which were to make an attack in different places; and the fourth to remain as a body of reserve to act as occasion might require.

One of the Roman catholic officers, previous to the attack, thus harangued his men.

"Fellow-soldiers, you are now going to enter upon a great action, which will bring you fame and riches. The motives for your acting with spirit are likewise of the most important nature; namely, the honour of showing your loyalty to your sovereign, the pleasure of spilling heretic blood, and the prospect of plundering the protestant camp. So, my brave fellows, fall on, give no quarter, kill all you meet, and take all you come near."

After this inhuman speech the engagement began, and the protestant camp was attacked in three places with inconceivable fury. The fight was maintained with great obstinacy and perseverance on both sides, continuing without intermission for the space of four hours; for the several companies on both sides relieved each other alternately, and by that means kept up a continual fire during the whole action.

During the engagement of the main armies, a detachment was sent from the body of reserve to attack the post of Castelas, which, if the papists had carried, it would have given them the command of the valleys of Perosa, St. Martino, and Lucerne; but they were repulsed with great loss, and compelled to return to the body of reserve, from whence they had been detached.

Soon after the return of this detachment, the Roman catholic troops, being hard pressed in the main battle, sent for the body of reserve to come to their support. These immediately marched to their assistance, and for some time longer held the event doubtful, but at length the valour of the protestants prevailed, and the papists were totally defeated, with the loss of upwards of three hundred men killed, and many more wounded.

When the syndic of Lucerne, who was indeed a papist, but not a bigoted one, saw the great number of wounded men brought into that city, he exclaimed, Ah! I thought the wolves used to devour the heretics, but now I see the heretics eat the wolves. This expression being reported to M. Marolles, the Roman catholic commander in chief at Lucerne, he sent a very severe and threatening letter to the syndic, who was so terrified, that the fright threw him into a fever, and he died in a few days.

This great battle was fought just before the harvest was got in; when the papists, exasperated at their disgrace, and resolved on any kind of revenge, spread themselves by night in detached parties over the finest corn-fields of the protestants, and set them on fire in sundry places. Some of these straggling parties, however, suffered for their conduct; for the protestants, being alarmed in the night by the blazing of the fire among the corn, pursued the fugitives early in the morning, and over-taking many, put them to death. The protestant captain Bellin, likewise, by way of retaliation, went with a body of light troops, and burnt the suburbs of La Torre, making his retreat afterward with very little loss.

A few days after, captain Bellin, with a much stronger body of troops, attacked the town of La Torre itself, and making a breach in the wall of the convent, his men entered, driving the garrison into the citadel, and burning both town and convent. After having effected this, they made a regular retreat, as they could not reduce the citadel for want of cannon.

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An Account of the Persecutions of Michael de Molinos a Native of Spain.

Michael de Molinos, a Spaniard of a rich and honourable family, entered, when young, into priest's orders, but would not accept of any preferment in the church. He possessed great natural abilities, which he dedicated to the service of his fellow-creatures, without any view of emolument to himself. His course of life was pious and uniform; nor did he exercise those austerities which are common among the religious orders of the church of Rome.

Being of a contemplative turn of mind, he pursued the track of the mystical divines, and having acquired great reputation in Spain, and being desirous of propagating his sublime mode of devotion, he left his own country, and
settled at Rome. Here he soon connected himself with some of the most distinguished among the literati, who so approved of his religious maxims, that they concurred in assisting him to propagate them; and, in a short time, he obtained a great number of followers, who, from the sublime mode of their religion, were distinguished by the name of Quietists.

In 1675 Molinos published a book, entitled "Il Guida Spirituale," to which were subjoined recommendatory letters from several great personages. One of these was by the archbishop of Reggio; a second by the general of the Franciscans; and a third by father Martin de Esparsa, a Jesuit, who had been divinity-professor both at Salamanca and Rome.

No sooner was the book published, than it was greatly read, and highly esteemed, both in Italy and Spain; and this so raised the reputation of the author, that his acquaintance was coveted by the most respectable characters. Letters were written to him from numbers of people, so that a correspondence was settled between him, and those who approved of his method, in different parts of Europe. Some secular priests, both at Rome and Naples, declared themselves openly for it, and consulted him, as a sort of oracle, on many occasions. But those who attached themselves to him with the greatest sincerity, were some of the fathers of the Oratory; in particular three of the most eminent, namely, Coloredi, Ciceri, and Petrucci. Many of the cardinals also courted his acquaintance, and thought themselves happy in being reckoned among the number of his friends. The most distinguished of them was the cardinal d’Estrees, a man of very great learning, who so highly approved of Molinos’s maxims, that he entered into a close connexion with him. They conversed together daily, and notwithstanding the distrust a Spaniard has naturally of a Frenchman, yet Molinos, who was sincere in his principles, opened his mind without reserve to the cardinal; and by this means a correspondence was settled between Molinos and some distinguished characters in France.

Whilst Molinos was thus labouring to propagate his religious mode, father Petrucci wrote several treatises relative to a contemplative life; but he mixed in them so many rules for the devotions of the Romish church, as mitigated that censure he might have otherwise incurred. They were written chiefly for the use of the nuns, and therefore the sense was expressed in the most easy and familiar style.

Molinos had now acquired such reputation, that the Jesuits and Dominicans began to be greatly alarmed, and determined to put a stop to the progress of this method. To do this, it was necessary to decry the author of it; and as heresy is an imputation that makes the strongest impression at Rome, Molinos and his followers were given out to be heretics. Books were also written by some of the Jesuits against Molinos and his method; but they were all answered with great spirit by Molinos.

These disputes occasioned such disturbance in Rome, that the whole affair was taken notice of by the inquisition. Molinos and his book, and father Petrucci, with his treatises and letters, were brought under a severe examination; and the Jesuits were considered as the accusers. One of the society had, indeed, approved of Molinos’s book; but the rest took care he should not be again seen at Rome. In the course of the examination both Molinos and Petrucci acquitted themselves so well, that their books were again approved, and the answers which the Jesuits had written were censured as scandalous.

Petrucci’s conduct on this occasion was so highly approved, that it not only raised the credit of the cause, but his own emolument; for he was soon after made bishop of Jesus, which was a new declaration made by the pope in their favour. Their books were now esteemed more than ever, their method was more followed, and the novelty of it, with the new approbation given after so vigorous an accusation by the Jesuits, all contributed to raise the credit, and increase the number of the party.

The behaviour of father Petrucci in his new dignity greatly contributed to increase his reputation, so that his enemies were unwilling to give him any further disturbance; and, indeed, there was less occasion given for censure by his writings than those of Molinos. Some passages in the latter were not so cautiously expressed, but there was room to make exceptions to them; while, on the other hand, Petrucci so fully explained himself, as easily to remove the objections made to some parts of his letter.
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 the reputation of it, were reckoned among the number. If these persons were observed to become more strict in their lives and mental devotions, yet there appeared less zeal in their whole deportment as to the exterior parts of the church ceremonies. They were not so assiduous at mass, nor so earnest to procure masses to be said for their friends; nor were they so frequently either at confession, or in processions.

Though the new approbation given to Molinos’s book by the inquisition had checked the proceedings of his enemies; yet they were still inveterate against him in their hearts, and determined if possible to ruin him. They insinuated that he had ill designs, and was, in his heart, an enemy to the Christian religion: that under pretence of raising men to a sublime strain of devotion, he intended to erode from their minds a sense of the mysteries of Christianity. 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 religions which he had since cultivated with no less art than zeal. This last calumny gained but little credit at Rome, though it was said an order was sent to examine the registers of the place where Molinos was baptized.

Molinos finding himself attacked with great vigour, and the most unrelenting malice, took every necessary precaution to prevent these imputations being credited. He wrote a treatise, entitled Frequent and Daily Communion, which was likewise approved by some of the most learned of the Romish clergy. This was printed with his Spiritual Guide, in the year 1675; and in the preface to it he declared, that he had not written it with any design to engage himself in matters of controversy, but that it was drawn from him by the earnest solicitations of many pious people.

The Jesuits, failing in their attempts of crushing Molinos’s power in Rome, applied to the court of France, when, in a short time, they so far succeeded, that an order was sent to cardinal d’Estrees, commanding him to prosecute Molinos with all possible rigour. The cardinal, though so strongly attached to Molinos, resolved to sacrifice all that is sacred in friendship to the will of his master. 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, not only relative to Molinos, but also Petrucci, both of whom, together with several of their friends, were put into the inquisition.

When they were brought before the inquisitors, (which was in the beginning of the year 1634) Petrucci answered the respective questions put to him with so much judgment and temper, that he was soon dismissed; and though Molinos’s examination was much longer, it was generally expected he would have been likewise discharged: but this was not the case. 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 made criminal. They then directed their attention to some suspicious papers found in his chamber; but Molinos so clearly explained their meaning, that nothing could be made of them to his prejudice. At length, cardinal d’Estrees, after producing the order sent him by the king of France for prosecuting Molinos, said, he could prove against him more than was necessary to convince them he was guilty of heresy. To do this he perverted 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: he had 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 saw into the secrets of Molinos; but determined not to take any notice, till a proper opportunity should offer of crushing him and his followers.

In consequence of d’Estrees’s evidence, Molinos was closely confined in the inquisition, where he continued for some time, during
which period all was quiet, and his followers prosecuted their mode without interruption. But on a sudden the Jesuits determined to extirpate them, and the storm broke out with the most inveterate vehemence.

The count Vespiniani and his lady, Don Paulo Rocchi, confessor to the prince Borghese, and some of his family, with several others, (in all seventy persons) were put into the inquisition, among whom many were highly esteemed both for their learning and piety. The accusation laid against the clergy was, their neglecting to say the breviary; and the rest were accused of going to the communion without first attending confession. In a word, it was said, they neglected all the exterior parts of religion, and gave themselves up wholly to solitude and inward prayer.

The countess Vespiniani exerted herself in a very particular manner on her examination before the inquisitors. She said, she had never revealed her method of devotion to any mortal but her confessor, and that it was impossible they should know it without his discovering the secret; that, therefore, it was time to give over going to confession, if priests made this use of it, to discover 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.

Besides those already mentioned, such was the inveteracy of the Jesuits against the quietists, that within the space of a month upwards of two hundred persons 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 a wretched dungeon.

In order, if possible, to extirpate quietism, the inquisitors sent a circular letter to cardinal Cibo, as the chief minister, to disperse it through Italy. It was addressed to all prelates, informing them, that whereas many schools and fraternities were established in several parts of Italy, in which some persons, under a pretence of leading people into the ways of the Spirit, and to the prayer of quietness, instilled into them many abominable heresies, therefore a strict charge was given to dissolve all those societies, and to oblige the spiritual guide to tread in the known paths; and, in particular, to take care none of that sort should be suffered to have the direction of the nunneries. Orders were likewise given to proceed, in the way of justice, against those who should be found guilty of these abominable errors.

After this a strict inquiry was made into all the nunneries in Rome; when most of their directors and confessors were discovered to be engaged in this new method. It was found that the Carmelites, the nuns of the Conception, and those of several other convents, were wholly given up to prayer and contemplation; and that, instead of their beads, and the other devotions to saints, or images, they were much alone, and often in the exercise of mental prayer: that when they were asked, why they had laid aside the use of their beads, and their ancient forms, their answer was, their directors had advised them so to do. Information of this being given to the inquisition, they sent orders that all books written in the same strain with those of Molinos and Petrucci, should be taken from them, and that they should be compelled to return to their original form of devotion.

The circular letter sent to cardinal Cibo produced but little effect, for most of the Italian bishops 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.

During these transactions, Molinos suffered great indignities from the officers of the inquisition; and the only comfort he received was, from being sometimes visited by father Petrucci.
Though he had lived in the highest reputation in Rome for some years, he was now as much despised as he had been admired, being generally considered as one of the worst of heretics.

The greater part of Molinos’s followers, who had been placed in the inquisition, having abjured his mode, were dismissed; but a harder fate awaited Molinos, their leader.

After lying a considerable time in prison, he was at length 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 condemned to imprisonment for life.

When he 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 allotted for his confinement 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.

During his confinement he was several times tortured in the most cruel manner, till, at length, the severity of the punishments overpowered his strength, and finished his existence.

The death of Molinos struck such an impression on his followers, that the greater part of them soon abjured his mode; and by the assiduity of the Jesuits, quietism was totally extirpated throughout the country.

An Account of the Persecutions in Bohemia under the Papacy.

The Roman pontiffs having usurped a power over several churches, were particularly severe on the Bohemians, which occasioned them to send two ministers, and four lay-brothers to Rome, in the year 977, to obtain redress of the pope. After some delay their request was granted, and their grievances redressed. Two things in particular they were permitted to do, viz. to have divine service performed in their own language, and to give the cup to the laity in the sacrament.

The disputes however soon broke out again, the succeeding popes exerting their whole power to impose on the minds of the Bohemians; and the latter, with great spirit, aiming to preserve their religious liberties.

A. D. 1375, some zealous friends of the gospel applied to Charles, king of Bohemia, to call an ecumenical council, for an inquiry into the abuses that had crept into the church, and to make a full and thorough reformation. The king, not knowing how to proceed, sent to the pope for directions how to act; but the pontiff was so incensed at the affair, that his only reply was, Severely punish those rash and profane heretics. The monarch, accordingly, banished every one who had been concerned in the application, and to oblige the pope, laid a great number of additional restraints upon the religious liberties of the people.

John Huss, and Jerom of Prague, two holy and pious men, being condemned by order of the council of Constance, fifty-eight of the principal Bohemian nobility interposed in their favour. Nevertheless they were cruelly burnt, and the pope, in conjunction with the council of Constance, ordered the Romish clergy, everywhere, to excommunicate such as adopted their opinions, or commiserated their fate.

These orders occasioned great contentions between the papists and reformed Bohemians, which was the cause of a violent persecution against the latter. At Prague the persecution was extremely severe, till, at length, the reformed being driven to desperation, armed themselves, attacked the senate-house, and threw twelve senators, with the speaker, out of the senate-house windows, whose bodies fell upon spears, which were held up by others of the reformed in the street, to receive them.

Being informed of these proceedings, the pope came to Florence, and publicly excommunicated the reformed Bohemians, exciting the emperor of Germany, and all kings, princes, dukes, &c. to take up arms, in order to extirpate the whole race; and promising, by way of encouragement, full remission of all sins whatever to the most wicked person, if he did but kill one Bohemian protestant.
This occasioned a bloody war; for several popish princes undertook the extirpation, or at least expulsion, of the proscribed people; and the Bohemians, arming themselves, prepared to repel force by force, in the most vigorous and effectual manner. The popish army prevailing against the protestant forces at the battle of Cuttenburgh, the prisoners of the reformed were taken to three deep mines near that town, and several hundreds were cruelly thrown into each, where they miserably perished.

A merchant of Prague, going to Breslaw, in Silesia, happened to lodge in the same inn with several priests. Entering into conversation upon the subject of religious controversy, he passed many encomiums upon the martyrized John Huss, and his doctrines. The priests taking umbrage at this, laid an information against him the next morning, and he was committed to prison as a heretic. Many endeavours were used to persuade him to embrace the Roman catholic faith; but he remained steadfast to the pure doctrines of the reformed church. Soon after his imprisonment, a student of the university was committed to the same jail; when, being permitted to converse with the merchant, they mutually comforted each other. On the day appointed for execution, when the jailer began to fasten the ropes to their feet, by which they were to be dragged through the streets, the student appeared quite terrified, and offered to abjure his faith, and turn Roman catholic if he might be saved. The offer was accepted, his abjuration was taken by a priest, and he was set at liberty. A priest applying to the merchant to follow the example of the student, he nobly said, “Lose no time in hopes of my recantation, your expectations will be vain; I sincerely pity that poor wretch, who has miserably sacrificed his soul for a few more uncertain years of a troublesome life; and, so far from having the least idea of following his example, I glory in the very thoughts of dying for the sake of Christ.” On hearing these words, the priest ordered the executioner to proceed; and the merchant, being drawn through the city, was brought to the place of execution, and there burnt.

Pichel, a bigoted popish magistrate, apprehended 24 protestants, among whom was his daughter’s husband. As they all owned they were of the reformed religion, he indiscriminately condemned them to be drowned in the river Abbis. On the day appointed for the execution, a great concourse of people attended, among whom was Pichel’s daughter. This worthy wife threw herself at her father’s feet, bedewed them with tears, and in the most pathetic manner, implored him to commiserate her sorrow, and 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 name 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 the death of this, have a much worthier husband?” No, sir, (replied she) my affections are fixed upon this, and death itself shall not dissolve my marriage vow. Pichel, however, continued inflexible, and ordered the prisoners to be tied with their hands and feet behind them, and in that manner to be thrown into the river. As soon as this was put into execution, the young lady watched her opportunity, leaped into the waves, and embracing the body of her husband, both sunk together into one watery grave. An uncommon instance of conjugal love in a wife, and of an inviolable attachment to, and personal affection for, her husband.

The emperor Ferdinand, whose hatred to the Bohemian protestants was without bounds, 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, and always to be attended by a body of troops.

These reformers consisted chiefly of Jesuits, and from their decisions there was no appeal, by which it may be easily conjectured, that it was a dreadful tribunal indeed.

This bloody court, attended by a body of troops, made the tour of Bohemia, in which they seldom examined or saw a prisoner, suffering the soldiers to murder the protestants as they pleased, and then to make a report of the matter to them afterward.

The first victim of their cruelty was an aged minister, whom they killed as he lay sick in bed; the next day they robbed, and murdered
another, and soon after shot a third, as he was preaching in his pulpit.

A nobleman and clergyman, who resided in a protestant village, hearing of the approach of the high court of reformers and the troops, fled from the place, and secreted themselves. The soldiers, however, on their arrival, seized upon a schoolmaster, and asked him where the lord of that place and the minister were concealed, and where they had hid their treasures. The schoolmaster replied, he could not answer either of the questions. They then stripped him naked, bound him with cords, and beat him most unmercifully with cudgels. This cruelty not extorting any confession from him, they scorched him in various parts of his body; when, to gain a respite from his torments, he promised to show them where the treasures were hid. The soldiers gave ear to this with pleasure, and the schoolmaster led them to a ditch full of stones, saying, Beneath those stones are the riches ye seek for. Eager after money, they went to work, and soon removed those stones, but not finding what they sought after, beat the schoolmaster to death, buried him in the ditch, and covered him with the very stones he had made them remove.

Some of the soldiers ravished the daughters of a worthy protestant before his face, and then tortured him to death. A minister and his wife they tied back to back and burnt. 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.

As their principal rage was directed against the clergy, they took a pious protestant minister, and tormented him daily for a month together, in the following manner, making their cruelty regular, systematic, and progressive.

1. They placed him amidst them, and made him the subject of their derision and mockery, during a whole day's entertainment, trying to exhaust his patience, but in vain, for he bore the whole with a true Christian fortitude.

2. They spit in his face, pulled his nose, and pinched him in most parts of his body.

3. He was hunted like a wild beast, till ready to expire with fatigue.

4. They made him run the gantlet between two ranks of them, each striking him with a twig.

5. He was beat with their fists.

6. He was beat with ropes.

7. They scourged him with wires.

8. He was beat with cudgels.

9. They tied him up by the heels with his head downwards, till the blood started out of his nose, mouth, &c. His flesh was torn with red-hot pincers.

10. They hung him up by the right arm till it was dislocated, and then had it set again.

11. The same was repeated with his left arm.

12. Burning papers, dipped in oil, were placed between his fingers and toes.

13. His flesh was torn with red-hot pincers.

14. He was put to the rack.

15. They pulled off the nails of his right hand.

16. The same repeated with his left hand.

17. He was bastinadoed on his feet.

18. A slit was made in his right ear.

19. The same repeated on his left ear.

20. His nose was slit.

21. They whipped him through the town upon an ass.

22. They made several incisions in his flesh.

23. They pulled off the toe nails of his right foot.

24. The same repeated with his left foot.

25. He was tied up by the loins, and suspended for a considerable time.

26. The teeth of his upper jaw were pulled out.

27. The same was repeated with his lower jaw.

28. Boiling lead was poured upon his fingers.

29. The same repeated with his toes.

30. A knotted cord was twisted about his forehead in such a manner as to force out his eyes.

During the whole of these horrid cruelties, particular care was taken that his wounds should not mortify, and not to injure him mortally till the last day, when the forcing out of his eyes proved his death.

Innumerable were the other murders and depredations committed by those unfeeling brutes, and shocking to humanity were the cruelties which they inflicted on the poor Bohemian protestants. The winter being far advanced, however, the high court of reform-
ers, with their infernal band of 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, which had just suggested itself to the diabolical imagination of one of the soldiers. This was to strip the minister naked, and alternately to cover him with ice and burning coals. This novel mode of tormenting a fellow-creature was immediately put into practice, and the unhappy victim expired beneath the torments, which seemed to delight his inhuman persecutors.

A secret order was soon after issued by the emperor, for apprehending all noblemen and gentlemen, who had been principally concerned in supporting the protestant cause, and in nominating Frederic, elector Palatine of the Rhine, to be king of Bohemia. These, to the number of fifty, were apprehended in one night, and at one hour, and brought from the places where they were taken, to the castle of Prague, and the estates of those who were absent from the kingdom were confiscated, themselves were made outlaws, and their names fixed upon a gallows, as marks of public ignominy.

The high court of reformers then proceeded to try the fifty, who had been apprehended, and two apostate protestants were appointed to examine them. These examiners asked a great number of unnecessary and impertinent questions, which so exasperated one of the noblemen, who was naturally of a warm temper, 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 suffer death.”

As none of the prisoners would change their religion, or acknowledge they had been in an error, they were all pronounced guilty; but the sentence was referred to the emperor. When that monarch had read their names, and an account of the respective accusations against them, he passed judgment on all, but in a different manner, as his sentences were of four kinds, viz. death, banishment, imprisonment for life, and imprisonment during pleasure.

Twenty being ordered for execution, were informed they might send for Jesuits, monks, or friars, to prepare for the awful change they were to undergo; but that no protestants would be permitted to come near them. This proposal they rejected, and strove all they could to comfort and cheer each other upon the solemn occasion.

On the morning of the day appointed for the execution, 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 were drawn up to attend the tragic scene.

The prisoners left the castle with as much cheerfulness as if they had been going to an agreeable entertainment, instead of a violent death.

Exclusive of soldiers, Jesuits, priests, executioners, attendants, &c. a prodigious concourse of people attended, to see the exit of these devoted martyrs, who were executed in the following order:

I. Lord Schilk.

This nobleman was about fifty years of age, and was possessed of great natural and acquired abilities. When he was told he was to be quartered, and his parts scattered in different places, he smiled with great serenity, saying, “The loss of a sepulchre is but a trifling consideration. A gentleman who stood by, crying, Courage, my lord: he replied, I have God’s favour, which is sufficient to inspire any one with courage: the fear of death does not trouble me; formerly I have faced him in fields of battle to oppose Antichrist; and now dare face him on a scaffold, for the sake of Christ. Having said a short prayer, he told the executioner he was ready, who cut off his right hand and his 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.

II. Lord Viscount Wenceslaus.

This venerable nobleman, who had attained the age of seventy years, was equally respectable for learning, piety, and hospitality. His temper was so remarkably patient, that when his house was broke 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 could engage in so dangerous a cause as
that of attempting to support the elector Palatine Frederic, against the power of the emperor, he replied, I acted strictly according to the dictates of my conscience, and, to this day, deem him my king. I am now full of years, and wish to lay down life, that I may not be a witness of the farther evils which are to attend my country. You have long thirsted for my blood; take it, for God will be my avenger. Then approaching the block, he stroked his long gray beard, and said, Venerable hairs, the greater honour now attends ye, a crown of martyrdom is your portion. Then laying down his head, it was severed from his body at one stroke, and placed upon a pole in a conspicuous part of the city.

III. Lord Harant.

Lord Harant was a man of good sense, great piety, and much experience gained by travel, as he had visited the principal places in Europe, Asia, and Africa. Hence he was free from national prejudices, and had collected much knowledge.

The accusations against this nobleman were, his being a protestant, and having taken an oath of allegiance to Frederic, elector Palatine of the Rhine, as king of Bohemia. When he came upon the scaffold, he said, "I have travelled through many countries, and traversed various barbarous nations, yet never found so much cruelty as at home. I have escaped innumerable perils both by sea and land, and surmounted inconceivable difficulties, to suffer innocently in my native place. My blood is likewise sought by those for whom I, and my forefathers, have hazarded our lives and estates; but, Almighty God! forgive them, for they know not what they do." He then went to the block, 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, and a period put to the temporary pains of this life.

IV. Lord Frederic de Bile.

This nobleman suffered as a protestant, and a promoter of the late war: he met his fate with serenity, and only said, he wished well to the friends whom he left behind, forgave the enemies who caused his death, denounced the authority of the emperor in that country, acknowledged Frederic to be the only true king of Bohemia, and hoped for salvation in the merits of his blessed Redeemer.

V. Lord Henry Otto.

When lord Otto first came upon the scaffold, he seemed greatly confounded, and said, with some asperity, as if addressing himself to the emperor, "Thou tyrant Ferdinand, your throne is established in blood; but if you kill my body, and disperse my members, they shall still rise up in judgment against you. He then was silent, and having walked about for some time, seemed to recover his fortitude, and growing calm, said to a gentleman who stood near, I was, a few minutes since, greatly discomposed, but now I feel my spirits revive; God be praised for affording me such comfort; death no longer appears as the king of terrors, but seems to invite me to participate of some unknown joys. 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 executioner put this nobleman to considerable pain, by making several strokes before he severed the head from the body.

VI. The Earl of Rucenia.

Superior abilities, and unaffected piety, distinguished this nobleman. 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, 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 be speedily with Christ, and received the crown of martyrdom with great courage.

VII. Sir Gasper Kaplitz.

This gentleman was 36 years of age. When he came 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.” One of the officers told him, in consideration of his great age, that 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, to whom I never gave any offence: should I sue for pardon, it might be justly suspected I had committed some crime for which I deserved this condemnation. No, no, as I die innocent, and with a clear conscience, I would not be separated from this noble company of ‘martyrs;’” so saying, he cheerfully resigned his neck to the block.

VIII. Procopius Dorzecki.
This gentleman on the scaffold said, “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 of Bohemia, he presented it to one of the officers; at the same time uttering these words, “As a dying man, I request, if ever king Frederic is restored to the throne of Bohemia, that 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 laid down his head, and submitted to the fatal blow.

IX. Dionysius Zervius.
This gentleman was brought up a Roman catholic, but had embraced the reformed religion for some years. When upon the scaffold the Jesuits used their utmost endeavours to make him recant, and return to his former faith, but he paid not the least attention to their exhortations. Kneeling down he said, They may destroy my body, but cannot injure my soul, that I commend to my Redeemer; and then patiently submitted to martyrdom, being at that time fifty-six years of age.

X. Valentine Cockan.
This was a person of considerable fortune and eminence, perfectly pious and honest, but of trifling abilities; yet his imagination seemed to grow bright, and his faculties to improve on death's approach, as if the impending danger refined the understanding. Just before he was beheaded, he expressed himself with such eloquence, energy, and precision, as greatly amazed those who knew his former deficiency in point of capacity.

XI. Tobias Steffick.
This gentleman was remarkable for his affability and serenity of temper. He was perfectly resigned to his fate, and a few minutes before his death spoke in this singular manner, “I have received, during the whole course of my life, many favours 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?”

XII. Dr. Jessenius.
This able student of physic was accused of having spoken disrespectful words of the emperor, of treason in swearing allegiance to the elector Frederic, and of heresy in being a Protestant: for the first accusation he had his tongue cut out; for the second he was beheaded; and for the third, and last, he was quartered, and the respective parts exposed on poles.

XIII. Christopher Chober.
This gentleman, as soon as he stepped upon the scaffold, 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.” The executioner obeyed, and he instantly received the crown of martyrdom.

XIV. John Shultis.
No person ever lived more respected, or died more lamented, than this gentleman. The only words he spoke, before receiving the fatal stroke, 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.”

XV. Maximilian Hostialick.
This gentleman was famed for his learning, piety, and humanity. When he first came on the scaffold, he seemed exceedingly terrified at the approach of death. The officer taking
notice of his agitation, he said, "Ah! sir, now the sins of my youth crowd upon my mind; but I hope God will enlighten me, lest I sleep the sleep of death, and lest mine enemies say, we have prevailed." Soon after he said, "I hope my repentance is sincere, and will be accepted, in which case the blood of 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; at which words his head was struck off at one blow.

XVI. JOHN KUTNAUR.

When this gentleman came to the place of execution, a Jesuit said to him, "Embrace the Roman catholic faith, which alone can save and arm you against the terrors of death." To which he replied, "Your superstitious faith I abhor, it leads to perdition, and I wish for no other arms against the terrors of death, than a good conscience." The Jesuit turned away, saying, sarcastically, The protestants are impenetrable rocks. You are mistaken, said Kutnaur, it is Christ that is the rock, and we are firmly fixed upon him.

This person not being born independent, but having acquired a fortune by a mechanical employment, 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."

XVII. SIMEON Sussickey.

Sussickey was father-in-law to Kutnaur, and, like him, was ordered to be executed on a gallows. He went cheerfully to death, and appeared impatient to be executed, saying, "Every moment delays me from entering into the kingdom of Christ."

XVIII. Nathaniel Wodnianskey.

This person was hanged for having supported the protestant cause, and the election of Frederic to the crown of Bohemia. At the gallows, the Jesuits did all in their power to induce him to renounce his faith. Finding their endeavours ineffectual, 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."

Wodnianskey's own son then approached the gallows, and said to his father, "Sir, if life should be offered to you on condition of apostacy, I entreat you to remember Christ, and reject such pernicious overtures." To this the father replied, "It is very acceptable, my son, to be exorted to constancy by you; but suspect me not; rather endeavour to confirm in their faith your brothers, sisters, and children, and teach them to imitate that constancy of which I shall leave them an example." He had no sooner concluded these words, than he was turned off, receiving the crown of martyrdom with great fortitude.

XIX. WENCESLAUS GISBIZKEY.

This person, during his whole confinement, had great hopes of life given him, which made his friends fear for the safety of his soul. He, however, continued steadfast in his faith, prayed fervently at the gallows, and met his fate with singular resignation.

XX. MARTIN FOSTER.

This was an ancient cripple; the accusations against whom were, being charitable to heretics, and lending money to the elector Frederic. His great wealth, however, seems to have been his principal crime; and that he might be plundered of his treasures, was the occasion of his being ranked in this illustrious list of martyrs.

General Persecutions in Germany.

The general persecutions in Germany were principally occasioned by the doctrines and ministry of Martin Luther. Indeed, the pope was so terrified at the success of that courageous reformer, that he determined to engage the emperor, Charles the Fifth, at any rate, in the scheme to attempt their extirpation.

To this end;

1. He gave the emperor two hundred thousand crowns in ready money.
2. He promised to maintain twelve thousand foot, and five thousand horse, for the space of six months, or during a campaign.

3. He allowed the emperor to receive one half the revenues of the clergy of the empire, during the war.

4. He permitted the emperor to pledge the abbey lands for five hundred thousand crowns, to assist in carrying on hostilities against the protestants.

Thus prompted and supported, the emperor undertook the extirpation of the protestants, against whom, indeed, he was particularly enraged himself; and, for this purpose, a formidable army was raised in Germany, Spain, and Italy.

The protestant princes, in the mean time, formed a powerful confederacy, in order to repel the impending blow. A great army was raised, and the command given to the elector of Saxony, and the landgrave of Hesse. The imperial forces were commanded by the emperor of Germany in person, and the eyes of all Europe were turned on the event of the war.

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 fatal blow was succeeded by a horrid persecution, the severities of which were such, that exile might be deemed a mild fate, and concealment in a dismal wood pass for happiness. In such times a cave is a palace, a rock a bed of down, and wild roots delicacies.

Those who were taken experienced the most cruel tortures that infernal imaginations could invent; and, by their constancy evinced, that a real Christian can surmount every difficulty, and despise every danger, to acquire a crown of martyrdom.

Henry Voes and John Esch, being apprehended as protestants, were brought to examination: when Voes, answering for himself and the other, gave the following answers to some questions asked by a priest, who examined them by order of the magistracy.

Priest. Were you not both, some years ago, Augustine friars?

Voes. Yes.

Priest. How came you to quit the bosom of the church of Rome?

Voes. On account of her abominations.

Priest. In what do you believe?

Voes. In the Old and New Testaments.

Priest. Do you believe in the writings of the fathers, and the decrees of the councils?

Voes. Yes, if they agree with Scripture.

Priest. Did not Martin Luther seduce you both?

Voes. He seduced us even in the very same manner as Christ seduced the apostles; that is, he made us sensible of the frailty of our bodies, and the value of our souls.

This examination was sufficient: they were both condemned to the flames, and, soon after, suffered with that manly fortitude which becomes Christians, when they receive a crown of martyrdom.

Henry Sutphen, an eloquent and pious preacher, was taken out of his bed in the middle of the night, and compelled to walk barefoot a considerable way, so that his feet were terribly cut. He desired a horse, but his conductors said, in derision, A horse for a heretic! no, no, heretics may go barefoot. When he arrived at the place of his destination, he was condemned to be burnt; but, during the execution, many indignities were offered him, as those who attended, not content with what he suffered in the flames, cut and slashed him in a most terrible manner.

Many were murdered at Halle; Middleburg being taken by storm, all the protestants were put to the sword, and great numbers were burned at Vienna.

An officer being sent to put a minister to death, pretended, when he came to the clergyman’s house, that his intentions were only to pay him a visit. The minister, not suspecting the intended cruelty, entertained his supposed guest in a very cordial manner. As soon as dinner was over, the officer said to some of his attendants, “Take this clergyman, and hang him.” The attendants themselves were so shocked, after the civility they had seen, that they hesitated to perform the commands of their master; and the minister said, “Think what a sting will remain on your conscience, for thus violating the laws of hospitality.” The officer, however, insisted upon being obeyed, and the attendants, with reluctance, performed the execrable office of executioners.

Peter Spengler, a pious divine, of the town of Schalet, was thrown into the river, and
drowned. Before he was taken to the banks of the stream, which was to become his grave, they led him to the market-place, that his crimes might be proclaimed; which were, not going to mass, not making confession, and not believing in transubstantiation. After this ceremony was over, he made a most excellent discourse to the people, and concluded with a kind of hymn of a very edifying nature.

A protestant gentleman being ordered to lose his head for not renouncing his religion, went cheerfully to the place of execution. A friar came to him, and said these words in a low tone of voice, “As you have a great reluctance publicly to abjure your faith, whisper your confession in my ear, and I will absolve your sins.” To this the gentleman loudly replied, “Trouble me not, friar, I have confessed my sins to God, and obtained absolution through the merits of Jesus Christ.” Then turning to the executioner, he said, “Let me not be pestered with these men, but perform your duty.” On which his head was struck off at a single blow.

Wolfgang Scuch, and John Huglin, two worthy ministers, were burned, as was Leonard Keyser, a student of the university of Wertemburgh; and George Carpenter, a Bavarian, was hanged for refusing to recant protestantism.

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

The imperialists having laid siege to the town of Passewalk, (which was defended by the Swedes) took it by storm, and committed the most horrid cruelties on the occasion. They pulled down the churches, burnt the houses, pillaged the properties, massacred the ministers, put the garrison to the sword, hanged the townspeople, ravished the women, smothered the children, &c. &c.

A most bloody tragedy was transacted at Magdeburg, in the year 1631. The generals Tilly and Pappenheim, having taken that protestant city by storm, upwards of 20,000 persons, without distinction of rank, sex, or age, were slain during the carnage, and 6,000 were drowned in attempting to escape over the river Elbe. After this fury had subsided, the remaining inhabitants were stripped naked, severely scourged, had their ears cropped, and being yoked together like oxen, were turned adrift.

The town of Hoxter was taken by the papish army, and all the inhabitants as well as the garrison were put to the sword; when the houses being set on fire, the bodies were consumed in the flames.

At Gripenburg, when the imperial forces prevailed, they shut up the senators in the senate-chamber, and surrounding it by lighted straw, suffocated them.

Franhendal surrendered upon articles of capitulation, yet the inhabitants were as cruelly used as at other places, and at Heidelberg, many were shut up in prison and starved.

The cruelties used by the imperial troops, under count Tilly in Saxony, are thus enumerated.

Half strangling, and recovering the persons again repeatedly.
Rolling sharp wheels over the fingers and toes.
Pinching the thumbs in a vice.
Forcing the most filthy things down the throat, by which many were choked.
Tying cords round the head so tight that the blood gushed out of the eyes, nose, ears, and mouth.
Tying burning matches to the fingers, toes, ears, arms, legs, and even tongue.
Putting powder in the mouth and setting fire to it, by which the head was shattered to pieces.
Fastening burning matches to the end of clothes, tying bags of powder to all parts of the body, by which the person was blown up.
Drawing cords backwards and forwards through the fleshy parts.
Making incisions with bodkins and knives in the skin.
Running wires through the nose, ears, lips, &c.

Hanging protestants up by the legs, with their heads over a fire, by which they were smoke dried.

Hanging up by one arm till it was dislocated.
Hanging upon hooks by the ribs.
Forcing people to drink till they burst.
Baking many in hot ovens.
Fixing weights to the feet, and drawing up several with pulleys.

Hanging, stifling, roasting, stabbing, frying, racking, ravishing, ripping open, breaking the bones, rasping off the flesh, tearing with wild horses, drowning, strangling, burning, broiling, crucifying, immuring, poisoning, cutting off tongue, nose, ears, &c. sawing off the limbs, hacking to pieces, and drawing by the heels through the streets.

These enormous cruelties will be a perpetual stain on the memory of count Tilly, who not only permitted, but even commanded the troops to put them in practice. Wherever he came, the most horrid barbarities, and cruel depredations ensued: famine and conflagration marked his progress; for he destroyed all the provisions he could not take with him, and burnt all the towns before he left them; so that the full result of his conquests were murder, poverty, and desolation.

An aged and pious divine they stripped naked, tied him on his back upon a table, and fastened a large fierce cat upon his belly. They then pricked and tormented the cat in such a manner, that the creature with rage tore his belly open, and gnawed his bowels.

Another minister, and his family, were seized by these inhuman monsters; when they ravished his wife and daughter before his face, stuck his infant son upon the point of a lance, and then surrounding him with his whole library of books, they set fire to them, and he was consumed in the midst of the flames.

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 all 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 afterward. 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 count Tilly’s soldiers meeting a company of merchants belonging to Basil, who were returning from the great market of Strasbourg, they attempted to surround them: all escaped, however, but ten, leaving their properties 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.

The same soldiers met with two countesses, who, together with some young ladies, the daughters of one of them, were taking an airing in a landau. The soldiers spared their lives, but treated them with the greatest indecency, and having stripped them all stark naked, bade the coachman drive on.

By means and mediation of Great Britain, peace was at length restored to Germany, and the protestants remained unmolested for several years, till some new disturbances broke out in the Palatinate, which were thus occasioned:

The great church of the Holy Ghost, at Heidelberg, had, for many years, been shared equally by the protestants and Roman catholics, in this manner: the protestants performed divine service in the nave or body of the church; and the Roman catholics celebrated mass in the choir. Though this had been the custom time immemorial, the elector Palatine, at length, took it into his head not to suffer it any longer, declaring, that as Heidelberg was the place of his residence, and the church of the Holy Ghost the cathedral of his principal city, divine service ought to be performed only according to the rites of the church of which he was a member. He then forbade the protestants to enter the church, and put the papists in possession of the whole.

The aggrieved people applied to the protestant powers for redress, which so much exasperated the elector that he suppressed the Heidelberg catechism. The protestant powers, however, unanimously agreed to demand satisfaction, as the elector, by this conduct, had broke an article of the treaty of Westphalia; and the courts of Great Britain, Prussia, Holland, &c. sent deputies to the elector, to represent the injustice of his proceedings, and to threaten, unless he changed his behaviour to the protestants in the Palatinate, that they would treat their Roman catholic subjects with the greatest severity. Many violent disputes
took place between the protestant powers and those of the elector, and these were greatly augmented by the following incident: the coach of the Dutch minister standing before the door of the resident sent by the prince of Hesse, the host was by chance carrying to a sick person; the coachman took not the least notice, which those who attended the host observing, pulled him from his box, and compelled him to kneel: this violence to the domestic of a public minister, was highly resented by all the protestant deputies; and, still more to heighten these differences, the protestants presented to the deputies three additional articles of complaint.

1. That military executions were ordered against all protestant shoemakers who should refuse to contribute to the masses of St. Crispin.

2. That the protestants were forbid to work on popish holydays, even in harvest time, under very heavy penalties, which occasioned great inconveniences, and considerably prejudiced public business.

3. That several protestant ministers had been dispossessed of their churches, under pretence of their having been originally founded and built by Roman catholics.

The protestant deputies, at length, became so serious, as to intimate to the elector, that force of arms should compel him to do the justice he denied to their representations. This menace brought him to reason, as he well knew the impossibility of carrying on a war against the powerful states who threatened him. He, therefore, agreed, that the body of the church of the Holy Ghost should be restored to the protestants. He restored the Heidelberg catechism, put the protestant ministers again in possession of the churches of which they had been dispossessed, allowed the protestants to work on popish holydays, and ordered, that no person should be molested for not kneeling when the host passed by.

These things he did through fear; but to show his resentment to his protestant subjects, in other circumstances where protestant states had no right to interfere, he totally abandoned Heidelberg, removing all the courts of justice to Manheim, which was entirely inhabited by Roman catholics. He likewise built a new palace there, making it his place of residence; and, being followed by the Roman catholics of Heidelberg, Manheim became a flourishing place.

In the mean time the protestants of Heidelberg sunk into poverty, and many of them became so distressed, as to quit their native country, and seek an asylum in protestant states. A great number of these coming into England, in the time of queen Anne, were cordially received here, and met with a most humane assistance, both by public and private donations.

In 1732, above 30,000 protestants were, contrary to the treaty of Westphalia, driven from the archbishopric of Salzburg. They went away in the depth of winter, with scarce clothes to cover them, and without provisions, not having permission to take anything with them. The cause of these poor people not being publicly espoused by such states as could obtain them redress, they emigrated to various protestant countries, and settled in places where they could enjoy the free exercise of their religion, without hurting their consciences, and live free from the trammels of popish superstition, and the chains of papal tyranny.

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An Account of the Persecutions in the Netherlands.

The light of the gospel having successfully spread over the Netherlands, the pope instigated the emperor to commence a persecution against the protestants; when many thousands fell martyrs to superstitious malice and barbarous bigotry; among whom the most remarkable were the following:

Wendelinuta, a pious protestant widow, was apprehended on account of her religion, when several monks, unsuccessfully, endeavoured to persuade her to recant. As they could not prevail, a Roman catholic lady of her acquaintance desired to be admitted to the dungeon in which she was confined, and promised to exert herself strenuously towards inducing the prisoner to abjure the reformed religion. When she was admitted to the dungeon, she did her utmost to perform the task she had undertaken; but finding her endeavours ineffectual, she said, 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. As she positively refused to recant, her goods were confiscated, and she was condemned to be burnt. At the place of execution a monk held a cross to her, and bade her kiss and worship God. To which she answered, "I worship no wooden god, but the eternal God, who is in heaven." She was then executed, but through the before-mentioned Roman catholic lady, the favour was granted, that she should be strangled before fire was put to the fagots.

Two protestant clergymen were burnt at Colen; a tradesman of Antwerp, named Nicholas, was tied up in a sack, thrown into the river, and drowned; and Pistorius, a learned student, was carried to the market of a Dutch village in a fool's coat, and committed to the flames.

Sixteen protestants having received sentence to be beheaded, a protestant minister was ordered to attend the execution. This gentleman performed the function of his office with great propriety, exhorted them to repentance, and gave them comfort in the mercies of their Redeemer. As soon as the sixteen were beheaded, the magistrate cried out to the executioner, "There is another stroke remaining yet; you must behead the minister; he can never die at a better time than with such excellent precepts in his mouth, and such laudable examples before him." He was accordingly beheaded, though even many of the Roman catholics themselves reprobated this piece of treacherous and unnecessary cruelty.

George Scherter, a minister of Saltzburg, was apprehended and committed to prison for instructing his flock in the knowledge of the gospel. While he was in confinement he wrote a confession of his faith; soon after which he was condemned, first to be beheaded, and afterward to be burnt to ashes. In his way to the place of execution he said to the spectators, "That you may know I die a true Christian, I will give you a sign." This was indeed verified in a most singular manner; for after his head was cut off, the body lying a short space of time with the belly to the ground, it suddenly turned upon the back, when the right foot crossed over the left, as did also the right arm over the left: and in this manner it remained till it was committed to the flames.

In Louviana, a learned man, named Percival, was murdered in prison; and Justus Insparp was beheaded, for having Luther's sermons in his possession.

Giles Tilleman, a cutler of Brussels, was a man of great humanity and piety. Among others he was apprehended as a protestant, and many endeavours were made by the monks to persuade him to recant. He had once, by accident, a fair opportunity of escaping from prison, and being asked why he did not avail himself it, 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 granting him an opportunity, by martyrdom, to glorify his name. Perceiving, at the place of execution, a great quantity of fagots, he desired the principal part of them might be given to the poor, saying, a small quantity will suffice to consume me. The executioner offered to strangle him before the fire was lighted, but he would not consent, telling him, that he defied the flames; and, indeed, he gave up the ghost with such composure amidst them, that he hardly seemed sensible of their effects.

In the year 1543 and 1544, the persecution was carried on throughout all Flanders in a most violent and cruel manner. Some were condemned to perpetual imprisonment, others to perpetual banishment: but most were put to death either by hanging, drowning, immuring, burning, the rack, or burying alive.

John de Boscane, a zealous protestant, was apprehended on account of his faith, in the city of Antwerp. On his trial he steadfastly professed himself to be of the reformed religion, which occasioned his immediate condemnation. The magistrate, however, was afraid to put him to death publicly, as he was popular through his great generosity, and almost universally beloved for his inoffensive life, and exemplary piety. A private execution being determined on, an order was given to drown him in prison. The executioner, accordingly, put him into a large tub; but Boscane struggling, and getting his head above the water, the executioner stabbed him with a dagger in several places, till he expired.
John de Buisons, another protestant, was, about the same time, secretly apprehended, and privately executed at Antwerp. The number of protestants being great in that city, and the prisoner much respected, the magistrates feared an insurrection, and for that reason ordered him to be beheaded in prison.

A. D. 1568, three persons were apprehended in Antwerp, named Scoblant, Hues, and Coomans. During their confinement they behaved with great fortitude and cheerfulness, confessing that the hand of God appeared in what had befallen them, and bowing down before the throne of his providence. In an epistle to some worthy protestants, they express themselves in the following words: Since it is the will of the Almighty that we should suffer for his name, and be persecuted for the sake of his gospel, we patiently submit, and are joyful upon the occasion; though the flesh may rebel against the spirit, and hearken to the counsel of the old serpent, yet the truths of the gospel shall prevent such advice from being taken, and Christ shall bruise the serpent’s head. We are not comfortless in confinement, for we have faith; we fear not affliction, for we have hope; and we forgive our enemies, for we have charity. Be not under apprehensions for us, we are happy in confinement through the promises of God, glory in our bonds, and exult in being thought worthy to suffer for the sake of Christ. We desire not to be released, but to be blessed with fortitude; we ask not liberty, but the power of perseverance; and wish for no change in our condition, but that which places a crown of martyrdom upon our heads.

Scoblant was first brought to his trial; when, persisting in the profession of his faith, he received sentence of death. On his return to prison, he earnestly requested the jailer 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 put which I firmly my trust, hath washed me from my iniquities. I am now going to throw off this earthly mantle of clay, to be clad in robes of eternal glory, by whose celestial brightness I shall be freed from all errors. I hope I may be the last martyr to papal tyranny, and the blood already spilt found sufficient to quench the thirst of popish 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 fervently said the Lord’s Prayer, and sung the fortieth psalm: then commending his soul to God, he was burnt alive.

Hues, soon after, died in prison; upon which occasion Coomans wrote thus 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. Pray unto God to strengthen me to the end, as I expect every hour to be freed from this tenement of clay.”

On his trial he freely confessed himself of the reformed religion, answered with a manly fortitude to every charge against him, and proved the scriptural part of his answers from the gospel. The judge told him the only alternatives were, recantation or death; and concluded by saying, “Will you die for the faith you profess?” To which Coomans replied, “I am not only willing to die, but to suffer the most excruciating torments 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 the most manly fortitude, and Christian resignation.

William Nassau fell a sacrifice to treachery, being assassinated in the fifty-first year of his age, by Beltazar Gerard, a native of Franche Compte, in the province of Burgundy. This murderer, in hopes of a reward here and hereafter, for killing an enemy to the king of Spain, and an enemy to the catholic religion, undertook to destroy the prince of Orange. Having procured firearms, he watched him as he passed through the great hall of his palace to dinner, and demanded a passport. The princess of Orange, observing that the assassin spoke with a hollow and confused voice, asked who he was? saying, she did not like his countenance. The prince answered, it was one that demanded a passport, which he should presently have.

Nothing farther passed before dinner, but on the return of the prince and princess through
the same hall, after dinner was over, the assassin, standing concealed as much as possible by one of the pillars, fired at the prince, the balls entering at the left side, and passing through the right, wounding in their passage the stomach and vital parts. On receiving the wounds, the prince only said, Lord, have mercy upon my soul, and upon these poor people, and then expired immediately.

The lamentations throughout the United Provinces were general, on account of the death of the prince of Orange; and the assassin, who was immediately taken, received sentence to be put to death in the most exemplary manner; yet such was his enthusiasm, or folly, that when his flesh was torn by red-hot pincers, he coolly said, If I was at liberty, I would commit such an action over again.

The prince of Orange’s funeral was the grandest ever seen in the Low Countries, and perhaps the sorrow for his death the most sincere, as he left behind him the character he honestly deserved, viz. that of Father of his people.

To conclude, multitudes were murdered in different parts of Flanders; 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; and great numbers were suffered to languish in confinement, till they perished through the ineclemency of their dungeons.

An Account of the 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 Cossacks was such, that even the Tartars, at last, grew ashamed of it, and rescued some of the intended victims from their hands.

The barbarities exercised were these: skinning alive, cutting off hands, taking out the bowels, cutting the flesh open, putting out the eyes, beheading, scalping, cutting off feet, boring the shin bones, pouring melted lead into the flesh, hanging, stabbing, and sending to perpetual banishment.

The Russians, taking advantage of the devastations which had been made in the country, and of its incapability of defence, entered it with a considerable army, and, like a flood, bore down all before them. Every thing they met with was an object of destruction; they razed cities, demolished castles, ruined fortresses, sacked towns, burnt villages, and murdered people. The ministers of the gospel were peculiarly marked out as the objects of their displeasure, though every worthy Christian was liable to the effects of their cruelty.

As Lithuania recovered itself after one persecution, succeeding enemies again destroyed it. The Swedes, the Prussians, and the Courlanders, carried fire and sword through it, and continual calamities, for some years, attended that unhappy district. It was then attacked by the prince of Transylvania, who had in his army, exclusive of his own Transylvanians, Hungarians, Moldavians, Servians, Walachians, &c. These, as far as penetrated, they wasted the country, destroyed the churches, rifled the nobility, burnt the houses, enslaved the healthy, and murdered the sick.

A clergymen, who wrote an account of the misfortunes of Lithuania, in the seventeenth century, says, “In consideration of these extremities, we cannot but adore the judgment of God poured upon us for our sins, and deplore our sad condition. Let us hope for a deliverance from his mercy, and wish for restitution in his benevolence. Though we are brought low, though we are wasted, troubled, and terrified, yet his compassion is greater than our calamities, and his goodness superior to our afflictions. Our neighbours hate us at present, as much as our more distant enemies did before: they persecute the remnant of us still remaining, deprive us of our few churches left, banish our preachers, abuse our schoolmasters, treat us with contempt, and oppress us in the most opprobrious manner. In all our afflictions the truth of the gospel shone among us, and gave us comfort; and we only wished for the grace of Jesus Christ, (not only to ourselves, but to soften the hearts of our enemies) and the sympathy of our fellow Christians.”

An Account of the Persecutions Poland.

It hath been the fate of many pious people, in all ages of the world, to bear the cross of
Christ, and suffer persecutions on account of their opinions; for those who are born after the flesh have always been enemies to such as are born after the Spirit.

The protestants of Poland were persecuted in a dreadful manner. The ministers in particular were treated with the most unexampled barbarity; some having their tongues cut out, because they had preached the gospel truths; others being deprived of their sight on account of their having read the Bible; and great numbers were cut to pieces for not recanting.

Private persons were put to death by various methods; the most cruel being usually preferred. Women were murdered without the least regard to their sex; and the persecutors even went so far as to cut off the heads of sucking babes, and fasten them to the breasts of the mothers.

Even the solemnity of the grave did not exempt the bodies of protestants from the malice of persecutors; for they sacrilegiously dug up the bodies of many eminent persons, and either cut them to pieces, and exposed them to be devoured by birds and beasts, or hung them up in conspicuous or public places.

The city of Lesna particularly suffered in this persecution; for being besieged and taken, the inhabitants were all put to the sword.

An Account of the Persecutions in China.

Christianity was first established in China by three Italian missionaries, called Roger the Neapolitan, Pasis of Bologne, and Matthew Ricci of Mazerata, in the marquisate of Ancona. These entered China about the beginning of the sixteenth century, being well circumstanced to perform their important commission with success, as they had previously studied the Chinese language.

These three missionaries were very assiduous in the discharge of their duty; but Roger and Pasis returning to Europe in a few years, the whole labour fell upon Ricci, who aimed to establish Christianity with a degree of zeal that was indefatigable.

Ricci, though much disposed to indulge his converts as far as possible, made great hesitation at their ceremonies, which seemed to amount to idolatry. At length, after eighteen years consideration, he began to soften his opinion, and tolerated all the parts of those customs which were ordered by the laws of the empire, but strictly enjoined his Chinese Christians to omit the rest.

This was the condition of Christianity in China, when the Christian church established there was governed only by Ricci, who, by his moderation, made innumerable converts. In 1630, however, this tranquillity was disturbed by the arrival of some new missionaries: these being unacquainted with the Chinese customs, manners, and language, and with the arguments on which Ricci's toleration was founded, were astonished when they saw Christian converts prostrate before Confucius and the tables of their ancestors, and condemned the custom accordingly.

A warm controversy now ensued between Ricci, seconded by his converts, and the new missionaries; and the latter wrote an account of the whole 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, and the pope confirmed the sentence. In this both the society and the pope were excusable, as the matter had been misrepresented to them; for the enemies of Ricci had affirmed the halls, in which the ceremonies were performed, to be temples, and the ceremonies themselves idolatrous sacrifices.

The sentence above mentioned was sent over to China, but treated with contempt, and matters remained as they were for some time. At length, a true representation of the matter was sent over, setting forth, that the Chinese customs and ceremonies alluded to were entirely free from idolatry, being merely political, and tending only to the peace and welfare of the empire. The pope, finding that he had made himself ridiculous, by confirming an absurd sentence upon a false report, wanted to get rid of the affair, and therefore referred the representation to the inquisition, which reversed the sentence immediately, at the private desire of the pope, as may be naturally supposed.

The Christian church, for all these divisions, flourished in China till the death of the first Tartar emperor, whose successor was a minor. During this minority of the young emperor Cang-hi, the regents and nobles conspired to
extirpate the Christian religion. The execution of this design was begun with expedition, and carried on with severity, so that every Christian teacher in China, as well as those who professed the faith, were struck with amazement. John Adam Schall, a German ecclesiastic, and one of the principals of the mission, was thrown into a dungeon in the year 1664, being then in the seventy-fourth year of his age, and narrowly escaped with his life.

The ensuing year, viz. 1665, the ministers of state publicly and unanimously resolved, and made a decree specifying, viz.:

1. That the Christian doctrines were false.
2. That they were dangerous to the interest of the empire.
3. That they should not be practised under pain of death.

The publication of this decree occasioned a furious general persecution, in which some were put to death; many were ruined, and all were, in some manner, oppressed. This decree was general, and the persecution universal accordingly throughout the empire; for, previous to this, the Christians had been partially persecuted at different times, and in different provinces.

Four years after, viz. 1669, the young emperor was declared of age, and took the reins of government upon himself, when the persecution immediately ceased by his order.

An Account of the Persecutions in Japan.

Christianity was first introduced into the idolatrous empire of Japan, by some Portuguese missionaries in the year of our Lord 1552, and their endeavours in making converts to the light of the gospel met with a degree of success equal to their most sanguine wishes.

This continued till the year 1616, when the missionaries being accused of having concerned themselves in politics, and formed a plan to subvert the government, and dethrone the emperor, great jealousies subsisted till 1622, when the court ordered a dreadful persecution to commence against both foreign and native Christians. Such was the rage of this persecution, that, during the first four years, no less than 20,570 Christians were massacred. The public profession of Christianity was prohibited under pain of death, and the churches were shut up by an express edict.

Many who were informed against, as privately professing Christianity, 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.

The Japanese army pursued the Christians, and laid siege to the place. The Christians defended themselves with great bravery, and held out against the besiegers for the space of three months, but were at length compelled to surrender, when men, women, and children, were indiscriminately murdered; and Christianity, in their martyrdoms, entirely extirpated from Japan.

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

Towards the conclusion of the fifteenth century, and soon after the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, some Portuguese missionaries made a voyage to Abyssinia, and were indefatigable in propagating the Roman Catholic doctrine among the Abyssinians, who professed Christianity before the arrival of the missionaries.

The priests, employed in this mission, 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. He soon after consented to receive a patriarch from Rome, and to acknowledge the pope's supremacy.

Many of the most powerful lords, and a majority of the people who professed the primi-
tive Christianity, as first established in Abyssinia, opposed these innovations, and took up arms against the emperor. Thus, by the artifices of the court of Rome, and its emissaries, a most furious civil war was begun, and the whole empire thrown into commotion. This war was carried on through several reigns, its continuance being above 100 years, and the court constantly siding with the Roman catholics, the primitive Christians of Abyssinia were severely persecuted, and multitudes perished by the most inhuman means.

An Account of the Persecutions against the Christians in Turkey.

Mahomet, (the impostor) in the infancy of his new religion, tolerated Christianity through a political motive, as he was sensible, that even in those early times it had several powerful espousers among the princes, who were his cotemporaries. As a proof that this was his sole view, as soon as he found his doctrine was established on a more permanent situation, he altered his forbearance to a system of the most rigid and barbarous persecution; which diabolical plan he has particularly recommended to his misguided followers, in that part of his Alcoran, entitled The Chapter of the Sword; and as proofs of the blind zeal his followers have adopted from his infernal tenets, the many bloody battles of the Turks with the whole of the professors of Christ's gospel, and their cruel massacres of them at various periods, sufficiently evince.

Constantine was, in the year 1453, besieged in Constantinople, by Mahomet the Second, with an army of 300,000 men, when, after a bloody siege of about six weeks, on the 29th of May, 1453, it fell into the hands of the infidels, after being an imperial Christian city for some centuries; and the Turks have, to this day, retained possession of it, as well as of the adjoining suburb of Pera.

On entering Constantinople, the Turks exercised on the wretched Christians the most unremitting barbarity, destroying them by every method the most hellish cruelty could invent, or the most unfeeling heart could practise: some they roasted alive on spits; others they flayed alive, and in that horrid manner left to expire with hunger; many were sawed asunder, and others torn to pieces by horses. For full three days and nights the Turks were striving to exceed each other in the exercise of their shocking carnage, and savage barbarity; murdering, without distinction of age or sex, all they met, and bluntly violating the chastity of women, of every distinction and age.

During the year 1529, Solyman the First retook Buda from the Christians, and showed the most horrible persecution of the inhabitants; some had their eyes torn out, others their hands, ears, and noses cut off, and the children their privities, the virgins were deflowered, the matrons had their breasts cut off, and such as were pregnant had their wombs ripped open, and their unborn babes thrown into the flames. Not content with this, he repeated these horrid examples all the way on his march to Vienna, which he ineffectually besieged, during which, this diabolical barbarian, having made a body of Christians prisoners, he sent three of them into the city to relate the great strength of his army, and the rest he ordered to be torn limb from limb by wild horses in sight of their Christian brethren, who could only lament by their cries and tears their dreadful fate.

In many places the tender children were in sight of their wretched parents torn to pieces by beasts, others dragged at horses' heels, some famished with hunger, and others buried up to their necks in earth, and in that manner left to perish. In short, were we to relate the innumerable massacres and deplorable tragedies acted by the infidels, the particulars would at least make a volume of themselves, and from their horrid similarity be not only shocking, but disgusting to the reader.

Persecutions and Oppressions in Georgia and Mingrelia.

The Georgians are Christians, and being very handsome people, the Turks and Persians persecute them by the most cruel mode of taxation ever invented, namely, in lieu of money, they compel them to deliver up their children for the following purposes.

The females to increase the number of concubines in their seraglios; to serve as maids
of honour to sultanas, the ladies of bashaws, &c. and to be sold to merchants of different nations, by whom the price is proportioned to the beauty of the purchased fair one.

The males are used as mutes and eunuchs in the seraglio, as clerks in the offices of state, and as soldiers in the army.

To the west of Georgia is Mingrelia, a country likewise inhabited by Christians, who are persecuted and oppressed in the same manner as the Georgians by the Turks and Persians, their children being extorted from them, or they murdered for refusing to consent to the sale.

An Account of the Persecutions in the States of Barbary.

In Algiers the Christians are treated with particular severity; as the Algerines are some of the most perfidious, as well as the most cruel of all the inhabitants of Barbary. By paying a most exorbitant fine, some Christians are allowed the title of Free Christians; and 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 punishments among the Algerines are various, viz.
1. If they join any of the natives in open rebellion, they are strangled with a bowstring, or hanged on an iron hook.
2. If they speak against Mahomet, they must either turn Mahometan, or be impaled alive.
3. If they turn Christians again, after having changed to the Mahometan persuasion, they are roasted alive, or thrown from the city walls, and caught upon large sharp hooks, where they hang in a miserable manner several days, and expire in the most exquisite tortures.
4. If they kill a Turk, they are burnt.
5. Those Christians who attempt to escape from slavery, and are retaken, suffer death in the following manner, which is equally singular and brutal: the criminal is 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 he is left till death relieves him from his cruel sufferings.

Other punishments, for trifling crimes committed by the Christians, are left to the discretion of the respective judges, who being usually of malicious and vindictive dispositions, decree them in the most inhuman manner.

In Tunis, if a Christian slave is caught in attempting to escape, his limbs are all broken, and if he murders his master, he is fastened to the tail of a horse, and dragged about the streets till he expires.

Morocco and Fez conjointly form an empire, and are together the most considerable of the Barbary states. In this empire Christian slaves are treated with the greatest cruelty: the rich have exorbitant ransoms fixed upon them; the poor are hard worked, and half starved, sometimes murdered by the emperor, or their masters, for mere amusement.

An Account of the Persecutions in Spanish America.

The bloody tenets of the Roman catholic persuasion, and the cruel disposition of the votaries of that church, cannot be more amply displayed, or truly depicted, than by giving an authentic and simple narrative of the horrid barbarities exercised by the Spaniards on the innocent and unoffending natives of America. Indeed, the barbarities were such, that they would scarce seem credible from their enormity, and the victims so many, that they would startle belief by their numbers, if the facts were not indisputably ascertained, and the circumstances admitted by their own writers, some of whom have even gloried in their inhumanity, and, as Roman catholics, deemed those atrocious actions meritorious, which would make a protestant shudder to relate.

The West Indies, and the vast continent of America, were discovered by that celebrated navigator, Christopher Columbus, in 1492.—This distinguished commander landed first in the large island of St. Domingo, or Hispaniola, which was at that time exceedingly populous; but this population was of very little consequence, the inoffensive inhabitants being murdered by multitudes, as soon as the Spaniards gained a permanent footing on the island. Blind superstition, bloody bigotry, and craving
avarice, rendered that, in the course of years, a dismal desert, which, at the arrival of the Spaniards, seemed to appear as an earthly paradise; so that at present there is scarce a remnant of the ancient natives remaining.

The natives of Guatemala, a country of America, were used with great barbarity.— They were formerly active and valiant, but from ill usage and oppression, grew slothful, and so dispirited, that they not only trembled at the sight of fire-arms, but even at the very looks of a Spaniard. Some were so plunged into despair, that after returning home from labouring hard for their cruel taskmasters, and receiving only contemptuous language and stripes for their pains, they have sunk down in their cabins, with a full resolution to prefer death to such slavery; and, in the bitterness of their anguish, have refused all sustenance till they perished.

By repeated barbarities, and the most execrable cruelties, the vindictive and merciless Spaniards not only depopulated Hispaniola, Porto-Rico, Cuba, Jamaica, and the Bahama islands, but destroyed above 12,000,000 of souls upon the continent of America, in the space of forty years.

The cruel methods by which they massacred and butchered the poor natives, were innumerable, and of the most diabolical nature.

The Spaniards stripped a large and very populous town of all its inhabitants, whom they drove to the mines, leaving all the children behind them, without the least idea of providing for their subsistence, by which inhuman proceeding six thousand helpless infants perished.

Whenever the people of any town had the reputation of being rich, an order was immediately sent, that every person in it should turn Roman catholics: if this was not directly complied with, the town was instantly plundered, and the inhabitants murdered; and if it was complied with, a pretence was soon after made to strip the inhabitants of their wealth.

One of the Spanish governors seized upon a very worthy and amiable Indian prince, and in order to extort from him where his treasures were concealed, caused his feet to be burnt till the marrow dropped from his bones, and he expired through the extremity of the torments he underwent.

In the interval, between the years 1514 and 1522, the governor of Terra Firma put to death, and destroyed, 300,000 of the inhabitants of that country.

Between the years 1523 and 1533, five hundred thousand natives of Nicaragua were transported to Peru, where they all perished by incessant labour in the mines.

In the space of twelve years, from the first landing of Cortez on the continent of America, to the entire reduction of the populous empire of Mexico, the amazing number of 4,000,000 of Mexicans perished, through the unparalleled barbarity of the Spaniards. To come to particulars, the city of Cholula consisted of 30,000 houses, by which its great population may be imagined. The Spaniards seized on all the inhabitants, who refusing to turn Roman catholics, as they did not know the meaning of the religion they were ordered to embrace, the Spaniards put them all to death, cutting to pieces the lower sort of people, and burning those of distinction.

An Account of the Persecutions in Great Britain and Ireland, prior to the Reign of Queen Mary I.

GILDAS, the most ancient British writer extant, who lived about the time that the Saxons left the island of Great Britain, has drawn a most shocking instance of the barbarity of those people.

The Saxons, on their arrival, being heathens like the Scots and Picts, destroyed the churches and murdered the clergy wherever they came: but they could not destroy Christianity, for those who would not submit to the Saxon yoke, went and resided beyond the Severn. Neither have we the names of those Christian sufferers transmitted to us, especially those of the clergy.

The most dreadful instance of barbarity under the Saxon government, was the massacre of the monks of Bangor, A. D. 586. These monks were in all respects different from those men who bear the same name at present.

In the eighth century, the Danes, a roving crew of barbarians, landed in different parts of Britain, both in England and Scotland.

At first they were repulsed, but in A. D. 857, a party of them landed somewhere near Southampton, and not only robbed the people,
but burnt down the churches, and murdered the clergy.

In A.D. 868, these barbarians penetrated into the centre of England, and took up their quarters at Nottingham; but the English, under their king Ethelfrid, drove them those posts, and obliged them to retire to Northumberland.

In 870, another body of these barbarians landed in Norfolk, and engaged in battle with the English at Hertford. Victory declared in favour of the pagans, who took Edmund, king of the East Angles, prisoner, and after treating him with a thousand indignities, transfixed his body with arrows, and then beheaded him.

In Fifeshire, in Scotland, they burnt many of the churches, and among the rest that belonging to the Culdees, at St. Andrews. The piety of these men made them objects of abhorrence to the Danes, who, wherever they went, singled out the Christian priests for destruction, of whom no less that 200 were massacred in Scotland.

It was much the same in that part of Ireland now called Leinster; there the Danes murdered and burnt the priests alive in their own churches; they carried destruction along with them wherever they went, sparing neither age nor sex, but the clergy were the most obnoxious to them, because they ridiculed their idolatry, and persuaded their people to have nothing to do with them.

In the reign of Edward III. the church of England was extremely corrupted with errors and superstition; and the light of the gospel of Christ was greatly eclipsed and darkened with human inventions, burthensome ceremonies, and gross idolatry.

The followers of Wickliffe, then called Lollards, were become extremely numerous, and the clergy were vexed to see them increase, whatever power or influence they might have to molest them in an underhand manner, they had no authority by law to put them to death. However, the clergy embraced the favourable opportunity, and prevailed upon the king to suffer a bill to be brought into parliament, by which all Lollards who remained obstinate, should be delivered over to the secular power, and burnt as heretics. This act was the first in Britain for the burning of people for their religious sentiments; it passed in the year 1401, and was soon after put into execution.

The first person who suffered in consequence of this cruel act was William Santree, or Sawtree, a priest, who was burnt to death in Smithfield.

Soon after this, lord Cobham, in consequence of his attachment to the doctrines of Wickliffe, was accused of heresy, and being condemned to be hanged and burnt, was accordingly executed in Lincoln's-Inn Fields, A.D. 1419.

The next man who suffered under this bloody statute was Thomas Badley, a tailor, and a layman; and a letter having been tendered to him, which he refused, he was declared an obstinate heretic, and tied to the stake in Smithfield; where he was burnt alive, rejoicing in the Lord his God.

The next person we read of who was tried upon this abominable statute, was William Thorpe, a man of some knowledge, who adhered to all the doctrines taught by Wickliffe. He was brought many times before archbishop Arundel, and at last committed a close prisoner, where he died, but in what manner cannot now be ascertained.

About this time 36 persons, denominated Lollards, suffered death in St. Giles's, for no other reason than professing their attachment to the doctrines of Wickliffe. They were hung on gibbets, and fagots being placed under them, as soon as they were suspended, fire was set to them, so that they were burnt while hanging. Only one of their names has been transmitted to us, which is that of Sir Roger Archer, whom they distinguished from the rest by stripping him stark naked, and executing him in that indecent manner.

Much about the same time one Richard Turning was burnt alive in Smithfield, and suffered with all that constancy, fortitude, and resignation, which have so much distinguished the primitive Christians.

In 1428, Abraham, a monk of Colchester, Milburn White, a priest, and John Wade, a priest, were all three apprehended on a charge of heresy.

Soon after father Abraham suffered at Colchester, and with him John Whaddon; both of whom died in a constant adherence to the truth of the gospel. Milburn White and John
Wade suffered also about the same time in London.

In the year 1430, Richard Ilvedon, a woolcomber, and a citizen of London, was brought before the archbishop, and being declared an obstinate heretic, was burnt alive on Tower-hill, for no other reason than that he embraced and professed the doctrines of Wickliffe.

In the year 1431, Thomas Bagley, a priest, who had a living near Malden, in Essex, was brought before the bishop of London, and being declared an obstinate heretic, was condemned and burnt alive in Smithfield.

In the year 1439, Richard Wick, a priest, was burnt alive on Tower-hill, for preaching the doctrines of Wickliffe.

In 1440, some of the greatest persons in the kingdom were condemned to perpetual imprisonment for heresy, as being Lollards; among whom was the duchess of Gloucester, who had long been a follower of Wickliffe. It was otherwise, however, with Roger Only, a priest, who being condemned as an obstinate heretic, was burnt alive in Smithfield.

In August, 1473, one Thomas Granter was apprehended in London; he was accused of professing the doctrines of Wickliffe, for which he was condemned as an obstinate heretic. This pious man being brought to the sheriff’s house, on the morning of the day appointed for his execution, desired a little refreshment, and having ate some, he said to the people present, “I eat now a very good meal, for I have a strange conflict to engage with before I go to supper;” and having eaten, he returned thanks to God for the bounties of his almsgroious providence, requesting that he might be instantly led to the place of execution, to bear testimony to the truth of those principles which he had professed. Accordingly he was chained to a stake on Tower-hill, where he was burnt alive, professing the truth with his last breath.

April 23th, 1494, Joan Boughton, a lady of considerable rank, was burnt in Smithfield for professing the doctrines of Wickliffe. This lady was a widow, and no less than 80 years of age.

In 1493, the king being then at Canterbury, a priest was brought before him, accused of heresy, who was immediately ordered to be burnt alive.

In the year 1499, one Babram, a pious man, was brought before the bishop of Norwich, having been accused by some of the priests, with holding the doctrines of Wickliffe. He confessed he did believe every thing that was objected against him. For this, he was condemned as an obstinate heretic, and a warrant was granted for his execution; accordingly he was brought to the stake at Norwich, where he suffered with great constancy.

In 1506, one William Tilfery, a pious man, was burnt alive at Amersham, in a close called Stoneyprat, and at the same time, his daughter, Joan Clarke, a married woman, was obliged to light the fagots that were to burn her father.

This year also one father Roberts, a priest, was convicted of being a Lollard before the bishop of Lincoln, and burnt alive at Buckingham.

In 1507, one Thomas Norris was burned alive for the testimony of the truth of the gospel, at Norwich. This man was a poor, inoffensive, harmless person, but his parish priest conversing with him one day, conjectured he was a Lollard. In consequence of this supposition he gave information to the bishop, and Norris was apprehended.

In 1508, one Lawrence Guale, who had been kept in prison two years, was burnt alive at Salisbury, for denying the real presence in the sacrament. It appeared, that this man kept a shop in Salisbury, and entertained some Lollards in his house; for which he was informed against to the bishop; but he abode by his first testimony, and was condemned to suffer as a heretic.

A pious woman was burnt at Chippen Sudburne, by order of the chancellor, Dr. Whittemham. After she had been consumed in the flames, and the people were returning home, a bull broke loose from a butcher, and singling out the chancellor from all the rest of the company, he gored him through the body, and on his horns carried his entrails. This was seen by all the people, and it is remarkable, that the animal did not meddle with any other person whatever.

October 18, 1511, William Suceling and John Bannister, who had formerly recanted, returned again to the profession of the faith, and were burnt alive in Smithfield.

In the year 1517, one John Brown, (who had recanted before in the reign of Henry VII.
and borne a fagot round St. Paul’s,) was condemned by Dr. Wonhaman, archbishop of Canterbury, and burnt alive at Ashford. Before he was chained to the stake, the archbishop Wonhaman, and Yester, bishop of Rochester, caused his feet to be burnt in a fire till all the flesh came off, even to the bones. This was done in order to make him again recant, but he persisted in his attachment to the truth till the last.

Much about this time one Richard Hunn, a merchant tailor of the city of London, was apprehended, having refused to pay the priest his fees for the funeral of a child; and being conveyed to the Lollards’ Tower, in the palace of Lambeth, was there privately murdered by some of the servants of the archbishop.

September 24, 1518, John Stilincen, who had before recanted, was apprehended, brought before Richard Fitz-James, bishop of London, and on the 25th of October was condemned as a heretic. He was chained to the stake in Smithfield amidst a vast crowd of spectators, and sealed his testimony to the truth with his blood. He declared that he was a Lollard, and that he had always believed the opinions of Wickliffe; and although he had been weak enough to recant his opinions, yet he was now willing to convince the world that he was ready to die for the truth.

In the year 1519, Thomas Mann was burnt in London, as was one Robert Celin, a plain honest man, for speaking against image worship and pilgrimages.

Much about this time, was executed in Smithfield, in London, James Brewster, a native of Colchester. His sentiments were the same as the rest of the Lollards, or those who followed the doctrines of Wickliffe; but notwithstanding the innocence of his life, and the regularity of his manners, he was obliged to submit to papal revenge.

During this year, one Christopher, a shoemaker, was burnt alive at Newbury, in Berkshire, for denying those popish articles which we have already mentioned. This man had got some books in English, which were sufficient to render him obnoxious to the Romish clergy.

In 1521, Thomas Bernard was burnt alive at Norwich, for denying the real presence.

About the beginning of the year 1522, Mr. Wrigsham, a glover; Mr. Langdale, a hosier; Thomas Bond, Robert Harchets, and William Archer, shoemaker, with Mrs. Smith, a widow, were apprehended on Ash Wednesday, and committed to prison. After examination, the bishop of Litchfield declared them to be heretics, and they were all condemned and burnt alive at Coventry.

Robert Silks, who had been condemned in the bishop’s court as a heretic, made his escape out of prison, but was taken two years afterward, and brought back to Coventry, where he was burnt alive. The sheriffs always seized the goods of the martyrs for their own use, so that their wives and children were left to starve.

In 1532, Thomas Harding, who, with his wife, had been accused of heresy, was brought before the bishop of Lincoln, and condemned for denying the real presence in the sacrament. He was then chained to a stake, erected for the purpose, at Chesham in the Pell, near Botely; and when they had set fire to the fagots, one of the spectators dashed out his brains with a billet. The priests told the people, that whoever brought fagots to burn heretics would have an indulgence to commit sins for forty days.

During the latter end of this year, Worham, archbishop of Canterbury, apprehended one Hitten, a priest, at Maidstone; and after he had been long tortured in prison, and several times examined by the archbishop, and Fisher, bishop of Rochester, he was condemned as a heretic, and burnt alive before the door of his own parish church.

Thomas Bilney, professor of civil law, at Cambridge, was brought before the bishop of London, and several other bishops, in the Chapter-house, Westminster, and being several times threatened with the stake and flames, he was weak enough to recant; but he repent ed severely afterward.

For this he was brought before the bishops a second time, and condemned to death. Before he went to the stake he confessed his adherence to those opinions which Luther held; and, when at it, he smiled, and said, “I have had many storms in this world, but now my vessel will soon be on shore in heaven.” He stood unmoved in the flames, crying out, “Jesus, I believe;” and these were the last words he was heard to utter.

A few weeks after Bilney had suffered, Ri-
HISTORY OF THE MARTYRS.

Richard Byfield was cast into prison, and endured some whipping, for his adherence to the doctrines of Luther: this Mr. Byfield had been some time a monk, at Barnes, in Surry, but was converted by reading Tindal's version of the New Testament. The sufferings this man underwent for the truth were so great, that it would require a volume to contain them. Sometimes he was shut up in a dungeon, where he was almost suffocated, by the offensive and horrid smell of filth and stagnated water. At other times he was tied up by the arms, till almost all his joints were dislocated. He was whipped at the post several times, till scarce any flesh was left on his back; and all this was done to make him recant. He was then taken to the Lollards' Tower in Lambeth palace, where he was chained by the neck to the wall, and once every day beaten in the most cruel manner by the archbishop's servants. At last he was condemned, degraded, and burnt in Smithfield.

The next person that suffered was John Tewksbury. This was a plain simple man, who had been guilty of no other offence against what was called the holy mother church, than that of reading Tindal's translation of the New Testament. At first he was weak enough to abjure, but afterward repented, and acknowledged the truth. For this he was brought before the bishop London, who condemned him as an obstinate heretic. He suffered greatly during the time of his imprisonment, so that when they brought him out to execution, he was almost dead. He was conducted to the stake in Smithfield, where he was burnt, declaring his utter abhorrence of popery, and professing a firm belief that his cause was just in the sight of God.

Much about this time Valentine Treest, and his wife, were apprehended in Yorkshire, and having been examined by the archbishop, were deemed as obstinate heretics, and burnt.

The next person that suffered in this reign was James Baynham, a reputable citizen in London, who had married the widow of a gentleman in the Temple. When chained to the stake he embraced the fagots, and said, "Oh, ye papists, behold! ye look for miracles; here now may you see a miracle; for in this fire I feel no more pain than if I were in bed; for it is as sweet to me as a bed of roses." Thus he resigned his soul into the hands of his Redeemer.

Soon after the death of this martyr, one Traxnal, an inoffensive countryman, was burnt alive at Bradford, in Wiltshire, because he would not acknowledge the real presence in the sacrament, nor own the papal supremacy over the consciences of men.

In the year 1533, John Frith, a noted martyr, died for the truth. When he was brought to the stake in Smithfield, he embraced the fagots, and exhorted a young man named Andrew Hewit, who suffered with him, to trust his soul to that God who had redeemed it. Both these sufferers endured much torment, for the wind blew the flames away from them, so that they were above two hours in agony before they expired.

At the latter end of this year, one Mr. Thomas Bennet, a schoolmaster, was apprehended at Exeter, and being brought before the bishop, refused to recant his opinions, for which he was delivered over to the secular power, and burnt alive near that city.

In the year 1538, one Collins, a madman, suffered death with his dog in Smithfield. The circumstances were as follow: Collins happened to be in church when the priest elevated the host: and Collins, in derision of the sacrifice of the mass, lifted up his dog above his head. For this crime Collins, who ought to have been sent to a mad-house, or whipped at the cart's tail, was brought before the bishop of London; and although he was really mad, yet such was the force of popish power, such the corruption in church and state, that the poor madman, and his dog, were both carried to the stake in Smithfield, where they were burned to ashes, amidst a vast crowd of spectators.

There were some other persons who suffered the same year, of whom we shall take notice in the order they lie before us.

One Cowbridge suffered at Oxford; and although he was reputed to be a madman, yet he showed great signs of piety when he was fastened to the stake, and after the flames were kindled around him.

About the same time one Purderve was put to death, for saying privately to a priest, after he had drunk the wine, "He blessed the hungry people with the empty chalice."
At the same-time was condemned William Letton, a monk of great age, in the county of Suffolk, who was burned at Norwich for speaking against an idol that was carried in procession; and for asserting, that the sacrament should be administered in both kinds.

Some time before the burning of these men, Nicholas Peke was executed at Norwich; and when the fire was lighted, he was so scorched that he was as black as pitch. Dr. Reading standing before him, with Dr. Hearne and Dr. Spragwell, having a long white wand in his hand, struck him upon the right shoulder, and said, Peke, recant, and believe in the sacrament. To this he answered, "I despise thee and it also;" and with great violence he spit blood, occasioned by the anguish of his sufferings. Dr. Reading granted forty days indulgence for the sufferer, in order that he might recant his opinions. But he persisted in his adherence to the truth, without paying any regard to the malice of his enemies; and he was burned alive, rejoicing that Christ had counted him worthy to suffer for his name's sake.

On July 28, 1540, or 1541, (for the chronology differs) Thomas Cromwell, earl of Essex, was brought to a scaffold on Tower-hill, where he was executed with some striking instances of cruelty. He made a short speech to the people, and then meekly resigned himself to the axe.

It is, we think, with great propriety, that this nobleman is ranked among the martyrs; for although the accusations preferred against him did not relate to any thing in religion, yet had it not been for his zeal to demolish popery, he might have to the last retained the king's favour. To this may be added, that the papists plotted his destruction, for he did more towards promoting the reformation, than any man in that age, except the good Dr. Cranmer.

Soon after the execution of Cromwell, Dr. Cuthbert Barnes, Thomas Garnet, and William Jerome, were brought before the ecclesiastical court of the bishop of London, and accused of heresy.

Being before the bishop of London, Dr. Barnes was asked whether the saints prayed for us? To this he answered, that he would leave that to God; but (said he) I will pray for you.

On the 13th of July, 1541, these men were brought from the Tower to Smithfield, where they were all chained to one stake; and there suffered death with a constancy that nothing less than a firm faith in Jesus Christ could inspire.

One Thomas Sommers, an honest merchant, with three others, was thrown into prison, for reading some of Luther's books; and they were condemned to carry those books to a fire in Cheapside; there they were to throw them into the flames; but Sommers threw his over, for which he was sent back to the Tower, where he was stoned to death.

Dreadful persecutions were at this time carried on at Lincoln, under Dr. Longland, the bishop of that diocese. At Buckingham, Thomas Bainard, and James Moreton, the one for reading the Lord's prayer in English, and the other for reading St. James's epistles in English, were both condemned, and burned alive.

Anthony Parsons a priest, together with two others, were sent to Windsor, to be examined concerning heresy; and several articles were tendered to them to subscribe, which they refused. This was carried on by the bishop of Salisbury, who was the most violent persecutor of any in that age, except Bonner. When they were brought to the stake, Parsons asked for some drink, which being brought him, he drank to his fellow-sufferers, saying, "Be merry, my brethren, and lift up your hearts to God; for after this sharp breakfast I trust we shall have a good dinner in the kingdom of Christ, our Lord and Redeemer." At these words Eastwood, one of the sufferers, lifted up his eyes and hands to heaven, desiring the Lord above to receive his spirit. Parsons pulled the straw near to him, and then said to the spectators, This is God's armour, and now I am a Christian soldier prepared for battle: I look for no mercy but through the merits of Christ; he is my only Saviour, in him do I trust for salvation; and soon after the fires were lighted, which burned their bodies, but could not hurt their precious and immortal souls. Their constancy triumphed over cruelty, and their sufferings will be held in everlasting remembrance.

In 1546, one Saites, a priest, was, by order of bishop Gardiner, hanged in Southwark without a council process; and all that was alleged against him was, that of reading Tindal's New Testament.
This year one Kirby was burned in Ipswich, for the testimony of the truth, for denying the real presence in the sacrament. When this martyr was brought to the stake, he said to one Mr. Wingfield, who attended him, "Ah! Mr. Wingfield, be at my death, and you shall say, there standeth a Christian sufferer in the fire."

An Account of a horrid Plot, concerted by the Papists, for destroying the City of London by Fire, in the Reign of King Charles II.

Stimulated by revenge, and prompted by the force of superstitious principles, the papists still dedicated their thoughts to every machination their invention could project, to obtain their wished-for purposes, namely, the destruction of the protestants in this island.

Having failed in several efforts, they, at length, bethought themselves of a scheme for destroying the capital of the kingdom, which they flattered themselves might be productive of facilitating their farther intentions of exterminating the protestants, and, once more, establishing popery in the English dominions.

Though their 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 a few days after;

"Whitehall, Sept. 8, 1666.

"On the second instant, at one o’clock in the morning, there happened to break out a sad and deplorable fire, at a baker’s, in Pudding-lane, near Fish-street, which falling out at that hour of the night, and in a quarter of the town so close built with wooden pitched houses, spread itself so far before day and with such distraction to the inhabitants and neighbours, that care was not taken for the timely preventing the 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 Gracechurch-street, and downwards to Cannon-street to the water-side, as far as the Three Cranes in the Vintry.

The people, in all parts about it, were distracted by the vastness of it, and their particular care to carry away their goods. Many attempts were made to prevent the spreading of it, by pulling down houses, and making great intervals, but all in vain, the fire seizing upon the timber and rubbish, and so continuing itself even through those spaces, and raging in a bright flame all Monday and Tuesday, notwithstanding his majesty’s own, and his royal highness’s indefatigable and personal pains to apply all possible remedies to prevent it, calling upon, and helping the people with their guards, and a great number of nobility and gentry unweariedly assisting therein, for which they were requited with a thousand blessings from the poor distressed people.

By the favour of God, the wind slackened a little on Tuesday night, and the flames meeting with brick buildings at the Temple, by little and little it was observed to lose its force on that side, so that on Wednesday morning we began to hope well, and his royal highness never despairing, or slackening his personal care, wrought so well that day, assisted in some parts by the lords of the council before and behind it, that a stop was put to it at the Temple church, near Holborn-bridge, Pecorner, Aldersgate, Cripplegate, near the lower end of Coleman-street, at the end of Basing-hall-street, by the Postern, at the upper end of Bishopsgate-street, and Leadenhall-street, at the standard in Cornhill, at the church in Fenchurch-street, near Clothworkers-hall in Minning-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 labours and diligence used, and especially by applying powder, to blow up the houses about it, before day most happily mastered it.

His majesty then sat hourly in council, and ever since hath continued making rounds about the city, in all parts of it where the danger and mischief was the greatest, till this morn-
ing that he hath sent his grace the duke of Albemarle, whom he hath called for to assist him on this great occasion, to put his happy and successful hand to the finishing this memorably 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, 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 huts could be erected for their relief. 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 in 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 373 acres of ground within the walls, and burnt 13,200 houses, 89 parish churches, besides chapels; and that only eleven parish churches within the walls were left standing.

To this account may also be added the magnificent buildings of St. Paul's cathedral, Guildhall, the Royal Exchange, Custom-house, and Blackwell-hall; many hospitals and libraries, fifty-two 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. And notwithstanding all this destruction, yet 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 afterward appeared to have been done from the malice and horrid contrivances of the papists. Several suspected persons were taken into custody; but no positive proof being produced against them, they were discharged.

Though this diabolical scheme took place, in a great measure, to the wishes of the wicked 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 distinguished 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 uniformity, convenience, 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 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 of itself to generate putrid disorders, and disposed to harbour any pestilential taint it might receive. All these inconveniences were removed, by the streets being made more open, and the buildings principally formed of brick; so that if, either by accident or otherwise, a fire should happen in future, its progress would be soon stopped, and the direful consequences which generally arise from such circumstances rendered trifling.

Besides the conveniences already mentioned, the fire of London was certainly productive of an 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 horrid disease had made great devastation among the inhabitants, not only of the metropolis, but different parts of the kingdom, at various periods; but, thank God, its baneful influence has never taken place here since the before-mentioned catastrophe, and there is great reason to suppose that the fire materially contributed to the production of so happy a circumstance.

To perpetuate, however, the remembrance of so singular an occurrence, a monument was erected in that part of the city near which the fire began. It is esteemed the noblest modern column in the world; and may, in some
An Account of the Persecution in Scotland during the Reign of King Henry VIII.

The first person we meet with who suffered in Scotland on the score of religion, was one Patrick Hamilton, a gentleman of an independent fortune, and descended from a very ancient and honourable family.

Having acquired a liberal education, and being desirous of farther improving himself in useful knowledge, he left Scotland, and went to the university of Wirtenberg, in Germany, in order to finish his studies.

During his residence there, he became intimately acquainted with those eminent lights of the gospel, Martin Luther and Philip Melancthon; from whose writings and doctrines he strongly attached himself to the protestant religion.

The archbishop of St. Andrews (who was a rigid papist) hearing of Mr. Hamilton’s proceedings, caused him to be seized, and being brought before him, after a short examination relative to his religious principles, he committed him a prisoner to the castle, at the same time ordering him to be confined in the most loathsome part of the prison.

The next morning Mr. Hamilton was brought before the bishop, and several others, for examination, when the principal articles exhibited against him were, his publicly disapproving of pilgrimages, purgatory, prayers to saints, for the dead, &c.

These articles Mr. Hamilton acknowledged to be true, in consequence of which he was immediately condemned to be burnt; and that his condemnation might have the greater authority, they caused it to be subscribed by all those of any note who were present, and to make the number as considerable as possible, even admitted the subscription of boys who were sons of the nobility.

So anxious was this bigoted and persecuting prelate for the destruction of Mr. Hamilton, that he ordered his sentence to be put in execution on the afternoon of the very day it was pronounced. He was accordingly led to the place appointed for the horrid tragedy, and was attended by a prodigious number of spectators. The greatest part of the multitude would not believe it was intended he should be put to death; but that it was only done to frighten him, and thereby bring him over to embrace the principles of the Romish religion. But they soon found themselves mistaken.

When he arrived at the stake he kneeled down, and, for some time, prayed with great fervency. After this he was fastened to the stake, and the fagots placed round him. A quantity of gunpowder having been placed under his arms, was first set on fire, which scorched his left hand and one side of his face, but did no material injury, neither did it communicate with the fagots. In consequence of this, more powder and combustible matter were brought, which being set on fire took effect, and the fagots being kindled, he called out, with an audible voice, “Lord Jesus, receive my spirit! How long shall darkness overwhelm this realm? And how long wilt thou suffer the tyranny of these men?”

The fire burning slow put him to great torment; but he bore it with Christian magnanimity. What gave him the greatest pain was, the clamour of some wicked men set on by the friars, who frequently cried, “Turn, thou heretic; call upon our lady; says, Salve Regina, &c.” To whom he replied, “Depart from me, and trouble me not, ye messengers of Satan.” One Campbell, a friar, who was the ringleader, still continuing to interrupt him by opprobrious language; he said to him, “Wicked man, God forgive thee.” After which, being prevented from farther speech by the violence of the smoke, and the rapidity of the flames, he resigned up his soul into the hands of him who gave it.

This steadfast believer in Christ suffered martyrdom in the year 1527.

One Henry Forest, a young inoffensive Benedictine, being charged with speaking respectfully of the above Patrick Hamilton, was thrown into prison; and, in confessing himself to a friar, owned that he thought Hamilton a good man; and that the articles, for which he was sentenced to die, might be defended. This being revealed by the friar, it was received as evidence; and the poor Benedictine was sentenced to be burnt.

Whilst consultation was held, with regard
to the manner of his execution, John Lindsay, one of the archbishop’s gentlemen, offered his advice, to burn friar Forest in some cellar; for, said he, the smoke of Patrick Hamilton hath infected all those on whom it blew.

This advice was taken, and the poor victim was rather suffocated than burnt.

The next who fell victims for professing the truth of the gospel were, David Stratton and Norman Gourlay.

When they arrived at the fatal spot, they both kneeled down, and prayed for some time with great fervency. They then arose, when Stratton, addressing himself to the spectators, exhorted them to lay aside their superstitious and idolatrous notions, and employ their time in seeking the true light of the gospel. He would have said more, but was prevented by the officers who attended.

Their sentence was then put into execution, and they cheerfully resigned up their souls to that God who gave them, hoping, through the merits of the great Redeemer, for a glorious resurrection to life immortal.—They suffered in the year 1534.

The martyrdoms of the two before-mentioned persons were soon followed by that of Mr. Thomas Forret, who, for a considerable time, had been dean of the Romish church; Killor and Beverage, two blacksmiths; Duncan Simson, a priest; and Robert Forrester, a gentleman. They were all burnt together, on the Castle-hill at Edinburgh, the last day of February, 1538.

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. In the course of which, Russel, being a very sensible man, reasonedlearnedly against his accusers; while they in return made use of very opprobrious language.

The examination being over, and both of them deemed heretics, the archbishop pronounced the dreadful sentence of death, and they were immediately delivered over to the secular power in order for execution.

The next day they were led to the place appointed for them to suffer; in their way to which Russel, seeing his fellow-sufferer have the appearance of timidity in his countenance, thus addressed him: “Brother, fear not; greater is he that is in us, than he that is in the world. The pain that we are to suffer is short, and shall be light; but our joy and consolation shall never have an end. Let us, therefore, strive to enter into our Master and Saviour’s joy, by the same strait way which he hath taken before us. Death cannot hurt us, for it is already destroyed by him, for whose sake we are now going to suffer.”

When they arrived at the fatal spot, they both kneeled down and prayed for some time; after which, being fastened to the stake, and the fagots lighted, they cheerfully resigned their souls into the hands of him who gave them, in full hopes of an everlasting reward in the heavenly mansions.

In 1543, the archbishop of St. Andrews made a visitation into various parts of his diocese, where several persons were informed against at Perth for heresy. Among these the following were condemned to die, viz. William Anderson, Robert Lamb, James Finlayson, James Hunter, James Raveleson, and Helen Stark.

The accusations laid against these respective persons were as follow:

The four first were accused of having hung up the image of Sir Francis, nailing rams’ horns on his head, and fastening a cow’s tail to his rump; but the principal matter on which they were condemned was, having regaled themselves with a goose on a fast day.

James Raveleson was accused of having ornamented his house with the three crowned diadem of Peter, carved in wood, which the archbishop conceived to be done in mockery to his cardinal’s cap.

Helen Stark was accused of not having accustomed herself to pray to the virgin Mary, more especially during the time she was in childbed.

On these respective accusations they were all found guilty, and immediately received sentence of death; the four men for eating the goose to be hanged; James Raveleson to be burnt; and the woman, with her 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.
Besides the above-mentioned persons, many others were cruelly persecuted, some being banished, and others confined in loathsome dungeons. Among whom were Mr. John Knox, the celebrated Scottish reformist; and John Rogers, a pious and learned man, who was murdered in prison, and his body thrown over the walls into the street; after which a report was spread, that he had met with his death by attempting to make his escape.

An Account of the Life, Sufferings, and Death of Mr. George Wishart, who was Strangled and afterward Burned, in Scotland, for professing the Truth of the Gospel.

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.

In order to improve himself as much as possible in the knowledge of literature, he travelled into various parts abroad, where he distinguished himself for his great learning and abilities, both in philosophy and divinity.

After being some time abroad he returned to England, and took up his residence at Cambridge, where he was admitted a member of Bennet College. Having taken up his degrees, he entered into holy orders, and expounded the gospel in so clear and intelligible a manner, as highly to delight his numerous auditors.

Being desirous of propagating the true gospel in his own country, he left Cambridge in 1544, and on his arrival in Scotland he first preached at Montrose, and afterward at Dundee. In this last place he made a public exposition of the epistle to the Romans, which he went through with such grace and freedom, as greatly alarmed the papists.

In consequence of this, (at the instigation of cardinal Beaton, the archbishop of St. Andrews) one Robert Miln, a principal man at Dundee, went to the church where Wishart preached, and in the middle of his discourse publicly told him not to trouble the town any more, for he was determined not to suffer it. This sudden rebuff greatly surprised Wis-
be called, not knowing whether they might have such a comforter again with them.

After this the plague abated; though, in the midst of it, Wishart constantly visited those that lay in the greatest extremity, and comforted them by his exhortations.

When he took his leave of the people of Dundee, he said, “That God had almost put an end to that plague, and that he was now called to another place.”

He went from thence to Montrose, where he sometimes preached, but spent most of his time in private meditation and prayer.

It is said, that before he left Dundee, and while he was engaged in the labours of love to the bodies, as well as to the souls, of those poor afflicted people, cardinal Beaton engaged a desperate popish priest, called John Weigh
ton, to kill him; the attempt to execute which was as follows: one day, after Wishart had finished his sermon, and the people departed, the priest stood waiting at the bottom of the stairs, with a naked dagger in his hand under his gown. But Mr. Wishart having a sharp, piercing eye, and seeing the priest as he came from the pulpit, said to him, “My friend, what would you have? and immediately clapping his hand upon the dagger, took it from him. The priest being terrified, fell on his knees, confessed his intention, and craved pardon. A noise being hereupon raised, and it coming to the ears of those who were sick, they cried, “Deliver the traitor to us, we will take him by force;” and they burst in at the gate. But Wishart, taking the priest in his arms, said, Whatsoever hurts him shall hurt me; for he hath done me no mischief, but much good, by teaching me 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 Kennier, 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 men armed, to lie in wait within a mile and a half of Montrose, in order to murder him as he passed that way.

The letter coming to Wishart’s hand by a boy, who also brought him a horse for the journey. Wishart, accompanied by some ho-

nest men, his friends, set forward; but something particular striking his mind by the way, he returned back, which they wondering at, asked him the cause; to whom he said, “I will not go; I am forbidden of God; I am assured there is treason. Let some of you go to yonder place, and tell me what you find.” Which doing, they made the discovery; and hastily returning, they told Mr. Wishart; whereupon he said, “I know I shall end my life by that blood-thirsty man’s hands, but it will not be in this manner.”

A short time after this he left Montrose, and proceeded to Edinburgh, 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.”

Soon after, cardinal Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrews, being informed that Mr. Wishart was at the house of Mr. Cockburn, of Ormiston, in East Lothian, he applied to the regent to cause him to be apprehended; with which, after great persuasion, and much against his will, he complied.

In consequence of this the cardinal immediately proceeded to the trial of Wishart, against whom no less than eighteen articles were exhibited. Mr. Wishart answered the respective articles with great composure of mind, and in so learned and clear a manner, as greatly surprised most of those who were present.

After the examination was finished, the
archbishop endeavoured to prevail on Mr. Wishart to recant; but he was too firmly fixed in his religious principles, and too much enlightened with the truth of the gospel, to be in the least moved.

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.

As soon as he arrived at the stake, the executioner put a rope round his neck, and a chain about his middle; upon which he fell on his knees, and thus exclaimed:

"O thou Saviour of the world, have mercy upon me! Father of heaven, I commend my spirit into thy holy hands."

After 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."

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." Which prediction was soon after fulfilled. The executioner then 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.

The next person who fell a martyr to popish bigotry, 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 endeavouring 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.

After examination, sentence of death was passed upon 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 endeavoured to prevail on him to recant; but he stood so steadfast in the faith he professed, and used such forcible arguments in vindication of the 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.

The last who suffered martyrdom in Scotland, for the cause of Christ, was one Walter Mill, 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, in the time of cardinal Beaton, he was forced to abandon his charge, and abscond. But he was soon apprehended, and committed to prison.

Being interrogated by sir Andrew Oliphant, whether he would recant his opinions, he answered in the negative, saying, He would sooner forfeit ten thousand lives, than relinquish a particle of those heavenly principles he had received from the suffrages of his blessed Redeemer.

In consequence of this, sentence of condemnation was immediately passed on him, and he was conducted to prison in order for execution the following day.

This steadfast believer in Christ was eighty-two years of age, and exceedingly infirm; from whence it was supposed, that he could scarcely be heard. However, when he was taken to the place of execution, he expressed his religious sentiments with such courage, and at the same time composure of mind, as astonish ed 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 and joyfully 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.—And then added, "That he trusted he should be the last who would suffer death in Scotland upon a religious account."

Thus did this pious Christian cheerfully give up his life, in defence of the truth of Christ's gospel, not doubting but he should be made a partaker of his heavenly kingdom.

An Account of the Persecutions against the Protestants in Ireland, distinguished by the Name of The Irish Massacre.

Though the various attempts made by the Irish against the English usually go under the denomination of rebellion, yet they more properly deserve the epithet persecution, as all their destructive efforts were particularly levelled at the protestants only, whom they were determined, if possible, totally to extirpate from the kingdom. They had, indeed, hitherto miscarried; but they at length hit upon a project that succeeded to their wishes, and produced a catastrophe that will remain in characters of blood to the latest posterity.

That the Romish clergy of Ireland were the principal fomenters of the rebellions in that kingdom, already mentioned, is particularly evident from their treacherous and disloyal behaviour under queen Elizabeth and king James I. they continually urging to the people the lawfulness of killing all protestants, who supported the right of the crown of England to Ireland; and assuring them, that all papists who should die fighting against the protestants, would go immediately to heaven.

These Irish ecclesiastics, under Charles I. were greatly increased by the 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 after 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 of Ireland had presented a remonstrance to the lords-justice of that kingdom, demanding the free exercise of their religion, and a repeal of all laws to the contrary; to which both houses of parliament in England solemnly answered, that they would never grant any toleration to the popish religion in that kingdom.

This farther irritated the papists to put in execution the diabolical plot concerted for the destruction of the protestants; and it failed not of the success wished for by its malicious and rancorous projectors.

The design of this horrid conspiracy was, that a general insurrection should take place at the same time throughout the kingdom; and that all the protestants, without exception, should be murdered. The day fixed for this horrid massacre was, the 23d of October, 1641, the feast of Ignatius Loyola, founder of the Jesuits; and the chief conspirators, in the principal parts of the kingdom, made the necessary preparations for the intended conflict.

In order that this detested scheme might the more infallibly succeed, the most distinguished artifices were practised by the papists; and their behaviour, in their visits to the protestants, at this time, was with more seeming kindness than they had hitherto shown, which was done the more completely to effect the inhuman and treacherous designs then meditating against them.

The execution of this savage conspiracy was delayed till the approach of winter, that the sending troops from England might be attended with greater difficulty. Cardinal Rich-
money; and many Irish officers had given the strongest assurances, that they would heartily concur with their catholic brethren, as soon as the insurrection appeared.

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 them 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 neighbours, 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 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 carcases of the defenceless children of the English.

Nor was the avarice of the Irish sufficient to produce the least restraint on their cruelty. Such was their phrensy, 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 their 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 imbibe 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 nature.

The ignorant Irish were more strongly instigated to execute the infernal business by the Jesuits, priests, and friars, who, when the day for the execution of the plot was agreed on, recommended, in their prayers, diligence in the great design, which they said would greatly tend to the prosperity of the kingdom, and to the advancement of the catholic cause. They every where declared to the common people, that the protestants were heretics, and ought not to be suffered to live any longer among them; adding, that it was no more sin
to kill an Englishman than to kill a dog; and that the relieving or protecting them was a crime of the most unpardonable nature.

The papists having besieged the town and castle of Longford, and the inhabitants of the latter, who were protestants, surrendering on condition of being allowed quarter, the besiegers, the instant the towns-people appeared, attacked them in the most unmerciful manner, their priest, as a signal for the rest to fall on, first ripping open the belly of the English protestant minister; after which his followers murdered all the rest, some of whom they hung, others were stabbed or shot, and great numbers knocked on the head with axes provided for the purpose.

The garrison at Sligo was treated in like manner by O'Connor Sylagh; 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 loathsome jail, allowing them only grains for their food. Afterward, 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 river, where they were soon destroyed. It is added, that this wicked company of White-friars went, some time after, in solemn procession, with holy water in their hands, to sprinkle the river; on pretence of cleansing and purifying it from the stains and pollution of the blood and dead bodies of the heretics, as they called the unfortunate protestants who were inhumanly slaughtered at this very 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 day 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 churchyard was holy ground, and should be no longer desecrated 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 veneration for him while living, attended his remains to the grave. At his interment, they discharged a volley of shot, crying out, "Requiescat in pace ultimas 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 the 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 afterward 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 Moncah not less than 100 were all put to the sword. Great numbers were also murdered at the castle of Tullah, which was delivered up to McGuire on condition of having fair quarter; but no sooner had that base villain got possession of the place, than he ordered his followers to murder the people, which was immediately done with the greatest cruelty.

Many others were put to deaths of the most horrid nature, and such as could have been invented only by demons instead of men.

Some of them were laid with the centre of their backs on the axle-tree of a carrige, with their legs resting on the ground on one side, and their arms and head on the other. In this position one of the savages scourged the wretched object on the thighs, legs, &c. while another set on furious dogs, who tore to pieces the arms and upper parts of the body; and in this dreadful manner were they deprived of their existence.

Great numbers were fastened to horses' tails, and the beasts being set on full gallop by their riders, the wretched victims were dragged along till they expired.

Others were hung on lofty gibbets, and a fire being kindled under them, they finished their lives, partly by hanging, and partly by suffocation.

Nor did the more tender sex escape the least particle of cruelty that could be projected by their merciless and furious persecutors. Many women, of all ages, were put to deaths of the most cruel nature. Some, in particular, were fastened with their backs to strong posts, and being stripped to the waists, the inhuman monsters cut off their right breasts with shears, which, of course, put them to the most excruciating torments; and in this position they were left, till, from the loss of blood, they expired.

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 offsprings were 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 a hundred Scottish protestants, showing them no more mercy than they did to the English.

McGuire, going to the castle of that town, desired to speak with the governor, when being admitted, he immediately burnt the records of the county, which were kept there. He then demanded £1000 of the governor, which having received, he immediately compelled him to hear mass, and to swear that he would continue so to do. And to complete, his horrid barbarities, he ordered the wife and children of the governor to be hung before his face; besides massacring at least 100 of the inhabitants.

Upwards of 1000 men, women, and children, were driven, in different companies, to Porterdoun bridge, which was broken in the middle, and there compelled to throw themselves into the water, and such as attempted to reach the shore were knocked on the head.

In the same part of the country, at least four thousand persons were drowned in differ-
ent places.  The inhuman papists, after first stripping them, drove them like beasts to the spot fixed on for their destruction; and if any, through fatigue, or natural infirmities, were slack in their pace, they pricked them with their swords and pikes; and to strike terror on the multitude, they murdered some by the way. Many of these poor wretches, when thrown into the water, endeavoured to save themselves by swimming to the shore; but their merciless persecutors prevented their endeavours taking effect, by shooting them in the water.

In one place one hundred and forty 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 Phe- fim O’Neal, to Porterdown 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 to-gether.

In Killoman they massacred forty-eight fa- maries, among whom twenty-two were burnt together in one house. The rest were either hanged, shot, or drowned.

In Kilmore the inhabitants, which consisted of about two hundred families, all fell victims to their rage. Some of them sat in the stocks till they confessed where their money was; after which they put them to death. The whole county was one common scene of butchery, and many thousands perished, in a short time, by sword, famine, fire, water, and other the most cruel deaths, that rage and malice could invent.

These bloody villains showed so much fa- vour to some as to despatch them immediate-
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, when they butchered them they would say, “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 the protestants, even to the hilt.

When any one of them had killed a protestant, others would come and receive a gratification in cutting and mangling the body; after which they left it exposed to be devoured by dogs; and when they had slain a number of them they would boast, that the devil was beholden to them for sending so many souls to hell.

But it is no wonder they should thus treat the innocent Christians, when they hesitated not to commit blasphemy against God and his most holy word.

In one place they burnt two protestant Bibles, and then said they had burnt hell-fire. In the church at Powerscourt they burnt the pulpit, pews, chests, and Bibles belonging to it. They took other Bibles, and after wetting them with dirty water, dashed them in the faces of the protestants, saying, “We know you love a good lesson; here is an excellent one for you; come to-morrow, and you shall have as good a sermon as this.”

Some of the protestants they dragged by the hair of their heads into the church, where they stripped and whipped them in the most cruel manner, telling them, at the same time, “That if they came to-morrow, they should hear the like sermon.”

In Munster they put to death several ministers in the most shocking manner. One, in particular, they stripped stark naked, and driving him before them, pricked him with swords and darts 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 manner turned them into the fields, there to wander out their miserable existence.

They obliged many young men to force their aged parents to a river, where they were drowned: wives to assist in hanging their husbands; and mothers to cut the throats of their children.

In one place they compelled a young man to kill his father, and then immediately hanged him. In another they forced a woman to kill her husband, then obliged the son to kill her, and afterward shot him through the head.

At a place called Glaslow, a popish priest, with some others, prevailed on forty protestants to be reconciled to the church of Rome. They had no sooner done this, than they told them they were in a good faith, and that they would prevent their falling from it, and turning heretics, by sending them out of the world, which they did by immediately cutting their throats.

In the county of Tipperary upwards of thirty protestants, men, women, and children, fell into the hands of the papists, who, after stripping them naked, murdered them with stones, pole-axes, swords, and other weapons.

In the county of Mayo about sixty protestants, fifteen 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 placed 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 top. Over this branch hung one arm, which principally supported the
weight of the body; and one of the legs was turned up, and fastened to the trunk, while the other hung straight. In this dreadful and uneasy posture did they remain, as long as life would permit, pleasing spectacles to their blood-thirsty persecutors.

At Clowries seventeen men were buried alive; and an Englishman, his wife, five children, and a servant maid, were all hung together, and afterward 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 twelve-month old, the latter of whom was hung by the neck with the hair of its mother's head, and in that manner finished its short but miserable existence.

In the county of Tyrone no less than three hundred 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 person, in his examination, taken upon oath before the king's commissioners, declared, that the Irish papists owned to him, that they, at several times, had destroyed, in one place, 12,000 protestants, whom they inhumanly slaughtered at Glynwood, in their flight from the county of Armagh.

As the river Bann was not fordable, and the bridge broken down, the Irish forced thinner, at different times, a great number of unarmed, defenceless protestants, and with pikes and swords violently thrust above one thousand into the river, where they miserably perished.

Nor did the cathedral of Armagh escape the fury 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 Colerain; 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 afterward made of the number who were sacrificed to gratify the diabolical souls of the papists, it amounted to one hundred and fifty thousand. But it now remains that we proceed to the particulars that followed.

These desperate wretches, flushed and grown insolent with success, (though by methods attended with such excessive barbarities as perhaps 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 afterward 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 Ticheborne, 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 ten thousand troops were sent from Scotland to the remaining protestants in Ireland, which being properly divided in the most capital parts of the kingdom, happily eclipsed the power of the Irish savages; and the protestants, for a time, lived in tranquillity.

In the reign of king James II., they were again interrupted, for in a parliament held at Dublin in the year 1089, 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 Inniskillin, 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 twenty thousand 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 seven thousand three hundred and sixty-one 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 became at last so heavy, that for a considerable time before the siege was raised, a pint of coarse barley, a small quantity of greens, a few spoonfuls of starch, with a very moderate proportion of horse flesh, were reckoned a week’s provision for a soldier. And they were, at length, reduced to such extremities, that they ate dogs, cats, and mice.

Their miseries increasing with the siege, many, through mere hunger and want, pined and languished away, or fell dead in the streets. And it is remarkable, that when their long-expected succours arrived from England, they were upon the point of being reduced to this alternative, either to preserve their existence by eating each other, or attempting to fight their way through the Irish, which must have infallibly produced their destruction.

These succours were most happily brought by the ship Mountjoy, of Derry, and the Phoenix of Colerain, 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 seven thousand three hundred and sixty-one fighting men were reduced to four thousand three hundred, one-fourth part of whom were rendered unserviceable.

As the calamities of the besieged were 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 succours from England happily arriving, put an end to their affliction; and the siege was raised on the 31st of July, having been continued upwards of three months.

The day before the siege of Londonderry was raised, the Inniskillers engaged a body of six thousand Irish Roman Catholics, at Newton Butler, or Crown-Castle, of whom near five thousand were slain. This, with the defeat at Londonderry, dispirited the papists, and they gave up all farther attempts to persecute the protestants.

The year following, viz. 1690, the Irish took up arms in favour of the abdicated prince, King James II. but they were totally defeated by his successor King William the Third. That monarch, before he left the country, reduced them to a state of subjection, in which they have ever since continued; and it is to be hoped will so remain as long as time shall be.

By a report made in Ireland, in the year 1731, it appeared, that a great number of ecclesiastics had, in defiance of the laws, flocked into that kingdom: 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 burthen.

But notwithstanding all this, the protestant interest at present stands upon a much stronger basis than it did a century ago. The Irish, who formerly led an unsettled and roving life, in the woods, bogs, and mountains, and lived on the depredation of their neighbours; who they, in the morning, seized the prey, and at night divided the spoil, have, for many years past, become 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 manufactures. They are received also into English families; and treated with great humanity by the protestants.

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 reading, whereby the mist of ignorance is dispelled from their eyes, which was the great source of the cruel transactions that have taken place, at different periods, in that kingdom.

In order to preserve the protestant interest in Ireland upon a solid basis, it behooves all in whom that power is invested, to discharge it with the strictest assiduity and attention; for should it once again lose ground, there is no doubt but the papists would take those advantages they have hitherto done, and thousands might yet fall victims to their malicious bigotry.
BOOK IX.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE RISE, PROGRESS, PERSECUTIONS, AND SUFFERINGS, OF THE PEOPLE COMMONLY CALLED QUAKERS.

In treating of these people in a historical manner, we are obliged to have recourse to much tenderness. That they differ from the generality of protestants in some of the capital points of religion cannot be denied, and yet, as Protestant Dissenters, they are included under the description of the toleration act. It is not our business to inquire whether people of similar sentiments had any existence in the primitive ages of Christianity: perhaps, in some respects, they had not; but we are to write of them not as what they were, but what they now are. That they have been treated by several writers in a very contemptuous manner, is certain; that they did not deserve such treatment, is equally certain.

The appellation Quakers was bestowed upon them as a term of reproach, in consequence of their apparent convulsions which they laboured under when they delivered their discourses, because they imagined they were the effect of Divine inspiration.

It is not our business, at present, to inquire whether the sentiments of these people are agreeable to the gospel, but this much is certain, that the first leader of them, as a separate body, was a man of obscure birth, who had his first existence in Leicestershire, about the year 1624. In speaking of this man we shall deliver our own sentiments in a historical manner, and joining these to what have been said by the Friends themselves, we shall endeavour to furnish out a complete narrative.

He was descended of honest and respected parents, who brought him up in the national religion: but from a child he appeared religious, still, solid, and observing, beyond his years, and uncommonly knowing in divine things. He was brought up to husbandry, and other country business, and was particularly inclined to the solitary occupation of a shepherd; "an employment," says our author, "that very well suited his mind in several respects, both for its innocency and solitude; and was a just emblem of his after ministry and service." In the year 1646, he entirely forsook the national church, in whose tenets he had been brought up, as before observed; and in 1647, he travelled into Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire, without any set purpose of visiting particular places, but in a solitary manner he walked through several towns and villages, which way soever his mind turned. "He fasted much," says Sewell, "and walked often in retired places, with no other companion than his Bible." "He visited the most retired and religious people in those parts," says Penn, "and some there were, short of few, if any, in this nation, who waited for the consolation of Israel night and day; as Zacharias, Anna, and Simeon, did of old time. To these he was sent; and these he sought out in the neighbouring counties, and among them he sojourned till his more ample ministry came upon him. At this time he taught, and was an example of silence, endeavouring to bring them from self-performances; testifying of, and turning them to the light of Christ within them, and encouraging them to wait in patience, and to feel the power of it to stir in their hearts, that their knowledge and worship of God might stand in the power of an endless life, which was to be found in the light, as it was obeyed in the manifestation of it in man: for in the word was life, and that life is the light of men. Life in the word, light in men; and life in men too, as the light is obeyed; the children of the light living by the life of
the word, by which the word begets them again to God, which is the generation and new birth, without which there is no coming into the kingdom of God, and to which whoever comes is greater than John; that is, than John's dispensation, which was not that of the kingdom, but the consummation of the legal, and forerunning of the gospel times, the time of the kingdom. Accordingly several meetings were gathering in those parts; and thus his time was employed for some years.

In the year 1652, "he had a visitation of the great work of God in the earth, and of the way that he was to go forth, in a public ministry, to begin it." He directed his course northward, "and in every place where he came, if not before he came to it, he had his particular exercise and service shown to him, so that the Lord was his leader indeed." He made great numbers of converts to his opinions, and many pious and good men joined him in his ministry. These were drawn forth especially to visit the public assemblies to reprove, reform, and exhort them; sometimes in markets, fairs, streets, and by the highway-side, "calling people to repentance, and to return to the Lord, with their hearts as well as their mouths; directing them to the light of Christ within them, to see, examine, and to consider their ways by, and to eschew the evil, and to do the good and acceptable will of God."

They were not without opposition in the work they imagined themselves called to, being often set in the stocks, stoned, beaten, whipped, and imprisoned, though, as our author observes, honest men of good report, that had left wives, children, houses, and lands, to visit them with a living call to repentance. But these coercive methods rather forwarded than abated their zeal, and in those parts they brought over many proselytes, and amongst them several magistrates, and others of the better sort. They apprehended the Lord had forbidden them to pull off their hats to any one, high or low, and required them to speak to the people, without distinction, in the language of thou and thee. They scrupled bidding people good-morrow, or good-night; nor might they bend the knee to any one, even in supreme authority. Both men and women went in a plain and simple dress, different from the fashion of the times. They neither gave nor accepted any titles of respect or honour, nor would they call any man master on earth. Several texts of Scripture they quoted in defence of these singularities; such as, Swear not at all. How can ye believe who receive honour one of another, and seek not the honour which comes from God only? &c. &c. They placed the basis of religion in an inward light, and an extraordinary impulse of the Holy Spirit.

In 1654, their first separate meeting in London was held in the house of Robert Dring, in Watling-street, for by that time they had spread themselves into all parts of the kingdom, and had in many places set up meetings or assemblies, particularly in Lancashire, and the adjacent parts, but they were still exposed to great persecutions and trials of every kind. One of them, in a letter to the protector, Oliver Cromwell, represents, that though there are no penal laws in force obliging men to comply with the established religion, yet the Quakers are exposed upon other accounts; they are fined and imprisoned for refusing to take an oath; for not paying their tithes; for disturbing the public assemblies, and meeting in the streets, and places of public resort; some of them have been whipped for vagabonds, and for their plain speeches to the magistrate.

Under favour of the then toleration, they opened their meetings at the Bull and Mouth, in Aldersgate-street, where women, as well as men, were moved to speak. Their zeal transported them to some extravagancies, which laid them still more open to the lash of their enemies, who exercised various severities upon them throughout the next reign. Upon the suppression of Venner's mad insurrection, the government having published a proclamation, forbidding the Anabaptists, Quakers, and Fifth monarchy men, to assemble or meet together under pretence of worshipping God, except it be in some parochial church, chapel, or in private houses, by consent of the persons there inhabiting, all meetings in other places, being declared to be unlawful and riotous, &c. &c. the Quakers thought it expedient to address the king thereon, which they did in the following words:

"Oh King Charles!

"Our desire is, that thou mayest live for ever in the fear of God, and thy council. We
beseech thee and thy council, to read these following lines in tender bowels, and compassion for our souls, and for your good

"And this consider, we are about four hundred imprisoned, in and about this city, of men and women from their families, besides, in the county jails, about ten hundred; we desire that our meetings may not be broken up, but that all may come to a fair trial, that our innocence may be cleared up.

"London, 16th day, eleventh month, 1660."

On the 28th of the same month, they published the declaration referred to in their address, entitled, "A declaration from the harmless and innocent people of God, called Quakers, against all sedition, plotters, and fighters in the world, for removing the ground of jealousy and suspicion, from both magistrates and people in the kingdom, concerning wars and fightings." It was presented to the king the 21st day of the eleventh month, 1660, and he promised them upon his royal word, that they should not suffer for their opinions, as long as they lived peaceably; but his promises were very little regarded afterward.

In 1661, they assumed courage to petition the house of lords for a toleration of their religion, and for a dispensation from taking the oaths, which they held unlawful, not from any disaffection to the government, or a belief that they were less obliged by an affirmation, but from a persuasion that all oaths were unlawful; and that swearing upon the most solemn occasions was forbidden in the New Testament. Their petition was rejected, and instead of granting them relief, an act was passed against them, the preamble to which set forth, "That whereas several persons have taken up an opinion, that an oath, even before a magistrate, is unlawful, and contrary to the word of God; and whereas, under pretense of religious worship, the said persons do assemble in great numbers in several parts of the kingdom, separating themselves from the rest of his majesty's subjects, and the public congregations and usual places of divine worship: be it therefore enacted, that if any such persons, after the 24th of March, 1661-2, shall refuse to take an oath when lawfully tendered, or persuade others to do it, or maintain in writing or otherwise, the unlawfulness of taking an oath; or if they shall assemble for religious worship, to the number of five or more, of the age of fifteen, they shall for the first offence forfeit five pounds; for the second, ten pounds; and for the third shall abjure the realm, or be transported to the plantations: and the justices of peace at their open sessions may hear and finally determine in the affair."

This act had a most dreadful effect upon the Quakers, though it was well known and notorious these conscientious persons were far from sedition or disaffection to the government. George Fox, in his address to the king, acquaints him, that three thousand and sixty-eight of their friends had been imprisoned since his majesty's restoration; that their meetings were daily broken up by men with clubs and arms; and their friends thrown into the water, and trampled under foot till the blood gushed out, which gave rise to their meeting in the open streets. A relation was printed, signed by twelve witnesses, which says, that more than four thousand two hundred Quakers were imprisoned; and of them five hundred were in and about London, and the suburbs; several of whom were dead in the jails.

However, they even gloried in their sufferings, which increased every day; so that in 1665, and the intermediate years, they were harassed without example. As they persisted resolutely to assemble, openly, at the Bull and Mouth, before mentioned, the soldiers, and other officers, dragged them from thence to prison, till Newgate was filled with them, and multitudes died of close confinement, in that and other jails.

Six hundred of them, says an account published at this time, were in prison, merely for religion's sake, of whom several were banished to the plantations. In short, says Mr. Neale, the Quakers gave such full employment to the informers, that they had less leisure to attend the meetings of other Dissenters.

Yet, under all these calamities, they behaved with patience and modesty towards the government, and upon occasion of the Rye-house plot, in 1682, thought proper to declare their innocence of that sham plot, in an address to the king, wherein, appealing to the Searcher of all hearts, they say, their principles do not allow them to take up defensive arms, much less to avenge themselves for the injuries they receive from others: that they continually
pray for the king's safety and preservation; and therefore take this occasion humbly to beseech his majesty to compassionate their suffering friends, with whom the jails are so filled, that they want air, to the apparent hazard of their lives, and to the endangering an infection in divers places. Besides, many houses, shops, barns, and fields are ransacked, and the goods, corn, and cattle swept away, to the discouraging trade and husbandry, and impoverishing great numbers of quiet and industrious people; and this, for no other cause, but for the exercise of a tender conscience in the worship of Almighty God, who is sovereign Lord and King of men's consciences.

On the accession of James II. they addressed that monarch honestly and plainly, telling him, "We are come to testify our sorrow for the death of our good friend Charles, and our joy for thy being made our governor. We are told thou art not of the persuasion of the church of England, no more than we; therefore we hope thou wilt grant us the same liberty which thou allowest thyself, which doing, we wish thee all manner of happiness."

When James, by his dispensing power, granted liberty to the Dissenters, they began to enjoy some rest from their troubles; and indeed it was high time, for they were swelled to an enormous amount. They, the year before this, to them glad release, in a petition to James for a cessation of their sufferings, set forth, "that of late above one thousand five hundred of their friends, both men and women, and that now there remain one thousand three hundred and eighty-three; of which two hundred are women, many under sentence of praemunire; and more than three hundred near it, for refusing the oath of allegiance, because they could not swear. Three hundred and fifty have died in prison since the year 1680; in London, the jail of Newgate has been crowded, within these two years, sometimes with near 20 in a room, whereby several have been suffocated, and others, who have been taken out sick, have died of malignant fevers within a few days. Great violences, outrageous distresses, and woful havoc and spoil, have been made upon people's goods and estates, by a company of idle, extravagant, and merciless informers, by persecutions on the conventicle-act, and others, also on QUI TAM writs, and on other processes, for twenty pounds a month, and two-thirds of their estates seized for the king. Some had not a bed to rest on, others had no cattle to till the ground, nor corn for feed or bread, nor tools to work with; the said informers and bailiffs in some places breaking into houses, and making great waste and spoil, under pretence of serving the king and the church. Our religious assemblies have been charged at common law with being rioters and disturbers of the public peace, whereby great numbers have been confined in prison without regard to age, and many confined in holes and dungeons. The seizing for £20 a month has amounted to many thousands, and several who have employed some hundreds of poor people in manufactures, are disabled to do so any more, by reason of long imprisonment. They spare neither widow nor fatherless, nor have they so much as a bed to lie on. The informers are both witnesses and prosecutors, to the ruin of great numbers of sober families; and justices of the peace have been threatened with the forfeiture of one hundred pounds, if they do not issue out warrants upon their informations.

With this petition they presented a list of their friends in prison, in the several counties, amounting to four hundred and sixty.

During the reign of King James II. these people were, through the intercession of their friend Mr. Penn, treated with greater indulgence than ever they had been before. They were now become extremely numerous in many parts of the country, and the settlement of Pennsylvania taking place soon after, many of them went over to America. There they enjoyed the blessings of a peaceful government, and cultivated the arts of honest industry.

As the whole colony was the property of Mr. Penn, so he invited people of all denominations to come and settle with him. A universal liberty of conscience took place; and in this new colony the natural rights of mankind were, for the first time, established.

These Friends are, in the present age, a very harmless inoffensive body of people; but of that we shall take more notice hereafter. By their wise regulations, they not only do honour to themselves, but they are of vast service to the community: and here we are led to consider their tenets, with respect to the grand articles of the Christian faith, and their discipline concerning church communion.
They profess faith in God, by his only begotten Son Jesus Christ, as being their light and life, as well as their only way to the Father, and a Mediator with the Father. That God created all things by his Son Jesus Christ; and that the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit are one Divine Being, inseparable, one true living and eternal God, blessed for ever. That the Word, or Son of man, in the fulness of time, took our nature upon him, and became a perfect man, according to the flesh; was miraculously conceived by the power of the Holy Ghost, and born of the Virgin Mary; declared to be the Son of God, according to the spirit of sanctification, by the resurrection of the dead. That in this Word was life, and the same life was the light of men, the life and light within us; and that men are to believe in this light, Christ Jesus.

That as man he died for our sins, rose again, and was raised up into glory; he having, by that one great universal offering, become a sacrifice for peace, atonement, and reconciliation between God and man. That Jesus, who sitteth on the right hand of the Majesty of Heaven, is our king, high-priest, and prophet, in his church, and by his Spirit also maketh intercession in our hearts. That the gospel of this grace should be preached in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, being one in power, wisdom, and goodness, in the work of man's salvation, and that all our prayers are answered by the Father through the Son.

That Christ's body that was crucified was not the Godhead, yet, by the power of God, it was raised from the dead, changed into a more glorious condition, and ascended into heaven.

Firm and living faith in Jesus Christ the Son of the living God respects his being and fullness, and also his making himself known in the soul in every degree of his light, life, spirit, grace, and truth, the immediate cause, author, object, and strength of our living faith; which light and life of the Son of God, when truly observed and followed, will bring us to the adoption of sons.

It is true, we are not to undervalue the holy Scriptures, nor slight the preaching of the word, as being outward helps and instruments in the hand of God for the conversion of sinners, nor do we set them up in opposition to the light of the Spirit of God or Christ within; for his faithful messengers are ministers there-

of to turn people to the same spirit and light within them.

It is certain, that great is the mystery of godliness in itself; that God should be manifested in the flesh; and it is a great and precious mystery of godliness and Christianity, that Christ should be spiritually and effectually manifested in men's hearts. Christ is revealed to all true believers, freeing them from the bondage of sin, in their wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption. This mystery of godliness in its own being and glory, hath been and must be testified, preached and believed, where God is pleased to give commission, and prepare people's hearts for the same.

As touching the resurrection of the dead, we believe, as the Scripture testifies, "That if in this life we only have hope, we are of all men the most miserable." That the soul or spirit of every man or woman shall be resumed in its own distinct and proper being, and every soul shall have its proper body, as God is pleased to give it. A natural body is sown, a spiritual body is raised; and though this corruptible shall put on incorruption, and this mortal shall put on immortality, the change shall be such as flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God, so we expect our bodies to be spiritual in the resurrection, and that they shall far excel what our bodies are at present; but how the dead are raised, or with what body they come, we submit to the wisdom and pleasure of Almighty God; for we cannot presume to determine.

As to the doctrine of the final judgment, we believe, that God hath committed all judgment unto his Son Jesus Christ, and he is appointed to be both the judge of quick and dead, and of the states and end of all mankind. That Jesus Christ, who hath so deeply suffered, and endured so many indignities, shall in the last and great day manifestly appear in glory, attended with all his glorious and heavenly host and retinue, to the terror and amazement of all who have denied him; but to the glory and triumph of the righteous, the faithful followers, and friends of Christ. It is a righteous thing with God, that they who suffer with him, shall appear with him in glory and dignity, when he shall appear at last to judge the world and the princes thereof.

Whilst those who now evade and reject the
inward convictions and judgment of the light, and shut up the records or books thereof in their own consciences; they shall be at last opened, and every thing judged of the things recorded therein, according to their works.

These articles are generally approved of by most of those Christians whom we call orthodox; but as a charge was brought against the Quakers for having embraced the notion of Socinus, in vindication of themselves they added a few more articles to their creed. These are as follow:

I. That Jesus of Nazareth, who was born of the Virgin Mary, is the true Messiah, the Christ, the Son of God, to whom all the prophets are witness; and we do highly value his death, sufferings, works, offices, and merits, for the redemption of mankind, with his laws, doctrines, and ministry.

II. That this very Christ of God, who is the Lamb of God that taketh away all the sins of the world, was slain, was dead, and is alive for ever in his eternal glory, dominion, and power, with the Father.

III. That the holy Scriptures are of Divine authority, as being given by the inspiration of God.

IV. And that magistracy, or civil government, is God’s ordinance, the good ends thereof being for the punishment of evil-doers, and the praise of them that do well.

These articles were added by one George Whitehead, a noted man among them; and here it may be necessary to observe, that these people pay very great regard to the Scriptures, and to many other doctrines of the gospel.

Baptism is not practised by these people. They say, that it is not outward washing with water that makes the heart clean, by which men are fitted for heaven. Mr. Barclay, in his Apology, endeavours to prove this proposition in the following manner, viz. “As there is one Lord, and one faith, so there is one baptism, which is not the putting away the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience before God, by the resurrection of Jesus Christ. And this baptism is a pure and spiritual thing; that is, the baptism of the Spirit, and by which we are buried with him; that being washed and buried from our sins, we may walk in newness of life; of which the baptism of John was only a figure, which was commanded for a time, and not to continue for ever.” Such are the sentiments of this learned man concerning infant baptism, or in general all water baptism whatever. He adds further, that infant baptism is a mere human invention; for which neither precept nor practice is to be found in Scripture.

Concerning the sacrament of the Lord’s supper, he advances, “That the communion of the body and blood of Christ is inward and spiritual, which is the participation of his flesh and blood, by which the infant man is daily nourished in the hearts of those in whom Christ dwells; of which things the breaking of bread by Christ with his disciples was a figure, which they even used in the church for a time, who had received the substance for the cause of the weak; even in abstaining from things strangled, and from blood; the washing of one another’s feet, and the anointing of the sick with oil; all which are commanded with less authority and solemnity than the former; yet seeing they are only the shadows of better things, so they cease in such as have obtained the substance.”

It is not our business to inquire whether Mr. Barclay’s sentiments be true or not; his Apology, however, was, soon after its first publication, translated into Latin, which even led foreigners read it; and the author has seen translations of it into French, German, and Low Dutch.

Having thus far considered the principles of the Friends, commonly Quakers, we shall proceed to give some account of the various parts of their discipline. In 1667, George Fox recommended the setting up of monthly meetings throughout the nation, the friends having only had their quarterly meetings. “And the Lord appeared (says George) unto me, and bid me see what I must do, and how men and women’s monthly and quarterly meetings should be ordered and established in England, and other nations, and that I should write to them where I came not, to do the same. Accordingly, having recommended the setting up of two monthly meetings in London to take care of God’s glory, and to admonish and exhort such as walked disorderly, and not according to the truth; then I passed forth into the counties again, and ad-
vised that monthly meetings should be settled there also, for the same purpose, which was according to the gospel order, in and by the power of God; and in the year 1668, I went over for the same purpose to Ireland. From thence I went to Scotland, Holland, to Barbadoes, and to many parts of America, advising friends to settle monthly meetings in those countries; all which was accordingly done.

The good effects of these monthly meetings discovered themselves in the reformation that took place among our friends, and they were acknowledged even by those who did not join us." These monthly meetings were more or less in number, as the case required, in every respective county; and three monthly meetings make a quarterly one in each county. These meetings called quarterly, determined every thing too hard for the monthly ones, and prepared matters for the general yearly meetings. In all these meetings they are equal in power, they have no person to preside over them, because they acknowledge none but Christ for their head. They have no disputes concerning differences, but endeavour to convince each other in the spirit of love and meekness. In these meetings they inquire into all the wants of their brethren.

In their proceedings against offenders, they are as follow: He is visited by some of the friends, and the fact he is charged with is laid before him. They labour with much love and zeal to convince his conscience that he has been out of the way of his duty. They keep in view the glory of God, the good of his soul, and the honour of their profession. It commonly happens, that he is prevailed on to own his fault, and profess sincere repentance; and then the thing is never mentioned to him afterward.

The monthly meeting choose some of the gravest of their friends to visit such as are absent, to converse with them, to take care that the poor be provided for, to promote piety, charity, and friendship in families, to take care that the children of the poor be instructed, clothed, and in all things provided for.

Although they supply the wants of all their own poor, yet this does not prevent them from being charitable to the poor of other religious denominations.

The first questions asked by those whom we have already mentioned as visitors are the following.

I. How are ministering friends in love and unity with one another, and with faithful brethren in their own meetings?
II. Do none of them travel abroad in the works of the ministry, without a certificate from their own monthly meetings?
III. Do they give way to each other, and to strangers?
IV. Do none overcharge themselves with business to the hinderance of their service?
V. Are they found in their ministry?
VI. Do any of them burden their hearers with words without life?
VII. Do they adorn their doctrine by a suitable conduct and conversation, as good example in all respects?

The sensible reader will acknowledge, that these are very important questions; but their discipline concerning marriage, merits the attention of protestants of all denominations.

The man and woman present themselves to the men and women at the monthly meetings where they reside, and there deliver their intention of taking each other as husband and wife, if the said meeting have no material objections against it.

The principal conditions of their acceptance, are the following:

First, It is an established rule, that no man propose marriage to a woman, without the previous consent of his own and her parents, or guardians; and if the unbridled affections of any should have precipitated him into a breach of this rule, he is required to remove the offence, as is also the woman, and give satisfaction to such parents and guardians, and to the meeting to which they belong, by a due and open acknowledgment of the offence, and condemnation of themselves for it, and to get the consent of their guardians before they can proceed with the marriage.

Secondly, That the parties be of the same opinion and judgment in matters of religion, and profess members of this society.

Thirdly, That none shall marry within such degrees of consanguinity or affinity, as are forbidden by the law of God.

Fourthly, If either of the parties has given
offence to their friends formerly, by some act of scandal, they are to acknowledge it, which is generally done in writing.

If no objections are then made, notice of the intended marriage is published in the meetings, which must be done before the marriage is solemnized, in order that convenient time may be granted for satisfaction concerning their clearances of all scandal of previous contract, and every thing else.

The parties are required to give their attendance a second time at the monthly meeting, which is usually the next ensuing, when the parties appointed to make the inquiry, return and give the answer, which if proved satisfactory, the parties are at liberty to proceed to the accomplishment of the marriage.

These marriages are solemnized in the common ordinary meetings, which hath had this good effect, to make public, and strongly recommend this decent and comely order to all sober friends.

Here the man and woman take each other as husband and wife, and promise, with God’s assistance, to be loving and faithful in that relation, till death separates them. Of all these proceedings, a narrative is kept in the manner of a certificate, to which the husband and wife set their hands, thereby making it their own act and deed, and some of the persons present do the same. This certificate is afterward written into the record of the meeting.

As for second marrying, they attend to the following things:

First, If the man be a widower, or the woman a widow, and have children by a former husband or wife, that provision be previously made for such children, where it can conveniently be done.

Secondly, Friends should not proceed to second marriages, till at least one year is elapsed from the death of the former wife, or husband, and the practice accordingly has been such; for to do otherwise would look indecent.

To their general meeting at London, which assembles at Whitsuntide, are admitted friends from all the churches they have in the world, to give an account of the state of every particular church, which from some parts is done only by writing, and then a general epistle is sent to all the churches.

These epistles, from their general meetings in London, have something in them of a very pious and moral tendency, of which we shall afterward give a specimen. In the mean time, we cannot help observing, that of all religious denominations, these people suffer more than others. They are obliged to pay all sorts of taxes, and yet none of their poor become burdensome to the parishes.

The papists have had greater indulgences shown them than the Friends, and there are numbers of papists in the workhouses in England. It is true, those of the Quakers or Friends, must be likewise admitted, on condition of their applying for it; but we cannot say but it is rather cruel, to make men pay for the support of the poor, seeing they support all their own, and that in so decent a manner.

The following epistle was written by that great ornament of the literary world, Dr. John Fothergill, at the yearly meeting at London, May 29, 1779. It will serve to show what were the sentiments of those peaceable people under the unhappy circumstances of affairs at that time.

A LETTER

FROM DR. JOHN FOTHERGILL.

Dearly beloved Friends and Brethren,

In the love of God, and the fellowship of the gospel, which we have, with deep thankfulness of heart, in a good degree experienced to attend us, both in our meetings for worship, and those for transacting the affairs of the church, we affectionately salute you; with fervent desires that brotherly love, peace, and concord, may continue and increase among us, and that a tender and Christian concern may come upon all, in their respective stations, for the maintenance of good order, and the promotion of truth and righteousness upon earth.

By accounts received from the several quarterly meetings in England, and by epistles from Wales, North Britain, Ireland, Holland, New-England, New-York, Pennsylvania, New-Jersey, Maryland, North and South Carolina, and Georgia, we are informed that love and unity are generally preserved in the churches, to many of which divers have been joined through conviction; and that a considera-
ble number of well-disposed youth appears in various parts.

The sufferings of our brethren in America have been great in many places, especially in Pennsylvania, the Jerseys, Long Island, Rhode Island, and Nantucket. These sufferings have principally arisen from that confusion and distress which are inseparable from war, from the laws enacted for promoting military services, and from acts enforcing declarations of allegiance to those in power.

The friends who were banished from Philadelphia have been permitted to return to their habitations, excepting two, who died in exile; and some of those who were imprisoned have been set at liberty.

It is with satisfaction we understand, that their meetings for worship and discipline are duly kept, and that notwithstanding the difficulties and dangers that surround them, friends attend them with diligence, and many from remote places; their minds are often tendered therein, and united in love one to another, and in deep sympathy with the sufferers among them. And it evidently appears, that the turning of the mighty hand of the Lord upon them hath not been in vain; but that, having learned by the things they have suffered, and from the apprehension of future probations, they are engaged to wait for that Divine help, protection, and support, which alone can enable them to endure with patience and holy resignation the trials that are permitted to attend them.

Our brethren in those parts gratefully acknowledge the kindness and regard of friends in England and Ireland, in so early and liberally contributing to the relief of their distresses. Many from easy circumstances, have been reduced to great hardships and necessities, but have been measurably kept in a state of contentment: these have shared the benevolence of those who have been preserved from the like sufferings. It appears, that their afflictions, though grievous in divers places, have tended to awaken many to a proper sense of their condition, and to increase a watchfulness and care, that they may walk answerable to the mercies received, and faithful in the testimonies committed to their charge, against wars and other antichristian practices.

May a deep sympathy with our afflicted brethren affect every mind; and may we all watch unto prayer, that it may please the Divine Majesty to shorten the day of their distress.

The sufferings of friends brought in this year from England and Wales, being chiefly for tithes, and for those called church-rates, amount to £3763, and those from Ireland to £1254.

Inasmuch as we have sufficient ground to believe that the true gospel ministry is freely received from the Holy Head and unchangeable High Priest of the Christian church, and by him commanded to be freely given; we cannot esteem the laws of men, made in the apostatized state of the professing churches, as of any force to supersede his divine law, or to warrant us to act in violation thereof; we therefore exhort you, brethren, to be true and steadfast in the faith once delivered to the saints, and deeply suffered for by divers of the protestant martyrs, as well as by our own faithful predecessors. However any among us, to whom blindness in part hath happened, may swerve from the law, and from the testimony, suffer it not to fall as in the streets, through your weakness, or the want of your example; lest for your denial of Christ before men, he also deny you before his Father and the holy angels.

Let us also remind such as may be remiss in attention to the teachings of the grace of God in their own hearts, that the kingdom of Christ is a peaceable kingdom; and though his servants walk in the flesh, they do not war after the flesh. He commands them to love their enemies: and many who have followed him in the regeneration, and abode under his government, have found themselves restrained from wars and fightings; which are not of the spirit of the Saviour, but that of the destroyer of mankind. Believing this, we cannot consistently take any part therein; nor be concerned as owners of armed vessels, in letters of marque, or as purchasers of prize goods; neither can we assist in the sale of them: for whoever among us be so confederate with the captors, afford evident tokens that they either prefer the gain of a corrupt interest to the convictions of divine light in their own consciences, or that they are become insensible of them; both which must tend to their condemnation.

Now, dear friends, seeing our time is ever
silently upon the wing, and the opportunity afforded us for the important work of preparation daily shortening; knowing also, that the solemn period advances, wherein every individual, however occupied in this transient mode of being, must soon be called hence, and may, in a moment unexpected, be broken off from every temporal connexion, by that awful command, “Give an account of thy stewardship; for thou mayest be no longer steward;” let us be vigilant, and in earnest so to improve the precious time allotted us, that when his awakening call approaches, our consciences may not accuse us; but our faith may be firm, and an admittance granted us into that city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God!

“See that ye walk circumspectly, not as fools, but as wise, redeeming the time, because the days are evil. Peace be to the brethren, and love with faith from God the Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ. Grace be to all them that love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity.” Eph. v. 15.—vi. 23.

It may be necessary here to observe, that as the Friends, commonly called Quakers, will not take an oath in a court of justice, so their affirmation is permitted in all civil affairs; but they cannot prosecute a criminal, because, in the English courts of justice, all evidence must be upon oath.

__An Account of the Persecution of Friends, commonly called Quakers, in the United States.__

About the middle of the seventeenth century, much persecution and suffering were inflicted on a sect of protestant dissenters, commonly called Quakers: a people which arose at that time in England; some of whom sealed their testimony with their blood.

For an account of the above people, see Sewel's, or Gough's history of them.

The principal points in which their conscientious nonconformity rendered them obnoxious to the penalties of the law, were,

1. The Christian resolution of assembling publicly for the worship of God, in a manner most agreeable to their consciences.
2. Their refusal to pay tithes, which they esteemed a Jewish ceremony, abrogated by the coming of Christ.
3. Their testimony against wars and fighting, the practice of which, they judged inconsistent with the command of Christ: “Love your enemies,” &c. Matt. v. 44.
4. Their constant obedience to the command of Christ: “Swear not at all,” &c. Matt. v. 34.
5. Their refusal to pay rates or assessments for building and repairing houses for a worship which they did not approve.
6. Their use of the proper and Scriptural language, of “thou,” and “thee,” to a single person: and their disuse of the custom of uncovering their heads, or pulling off their hats, by way of homage to man.
7. The necessity many found themselves under, of publishing what they believed to be the doctrine of truth; and sometimes even in the places appointed for the public national worship.

Their conscientious noncompliance in the preceding particulars, exposed them to much persecution and suffering, which consisted in prosecutions, fines, cruel beatings, whippings, and other corporal punishments; imprisonment, banishment, and even death.

To relate a particular account of their persecutions and sufferings, would extend beyond the limits of this work: we shall therefore refer, for that information, to the histories already mentioned, and more particularly to Besse's Collection of their sufferings; and shall confine our account here, mostly to those who sacrificed their lives, and evinced, by their disposition of mind, constancy, patience, and faithful perseverance, that they were influenced by a sense of religious duty.

Numerous and repeated were the prosecutions against them; and sometimes for transgressions or offences which the law did not contemplate or embrace.

Many of the fines and penalties exacted of them, were not only unreasonable and exorbitant, but as they could not consistently pay them, were sometimes distrained to several times the value of the demand; whereby many poor families were greatly distressed, and obliged to depend on the assistance of their friends.

Numbers were not only cruelly beaten and whipped in a public manner, like criminals,
but some were branded, and others had their ears cut off.

Great numbers were long confined in loathsome prisons; in which, some ended their days in consequence thereof.

Many were sentenced to banishment; and a considerable number were transported. Some were banished on pain of death; and four were actually executed by the hands of the hangman, as we shall here relate, after inserting copies of some of the laws of the country where they suffered.

"At a General Court held at Boston, the 14th of October, 1656.

"Whereas, there is a cursed sect of heretics, lately risen up in the world, which are commonly called quakers, who take upon them to be immediately sent from God, and infallibly assisted by the Spirit, to speak and write blasphemous opinions, despising government, and the order of God, in the church and commonwealth, speaking evil of dignities, reproaching and reviling magistrates and ministers, seeking to turn the people from the faith, and gain proselytes to their pernicious ways: this court, taking into consideration the premises, and to prevent the like mischief, as by their means is wrought in our land, doth hereby order, and by authority of this court, be it ordered and enacted, that what master or commander of any ship, bark, pink, or ketch, shall henceforth bring into any harbour, creek, or cove, within this jurisdiction, any quaker or quakers, or other blasphemous heretics, shall pay, or cause to be paid, the fine of one hundred pounds to the treasurer of the country, except it appear he want true knowledge or information of their being such; and, in that case, he hath liberty to clear himself by his oath, when sufficient proof to the contrary is wanting: and, for default of good payment, or good security for it, shall be cast into prison, and there to continue till the said sum be satisfied to the treasurer as aforesaid. And the commander of any ketch, ship, or vessel, being legally convicted, shall give in sufficient security to the governor, or any one or more of the magistrates, who have power to determine the same, to carry them back to the place whence he brought them; and, on his refusal so to do, the governor, or one or more of the magistrates, are hereby empowered to issue out his or their warrants to commit such master or commander to prison, there to continue, till he give in sufficient security to the content of the governor, or any of the magistrates, as aforesaid. And it is hereby further ordered and enacted, that what quaker soever shall arrive in this country from foreign parts, or shall come into this jurisdiction from any parts adjacent, shall be forthwith committed to the house of correction; and, at their entrance, to be severely whipped, and by the master thereof be kept constantly to work, and none suffered to converse or speak with them, during the time of their imprisonment, which shall be no longer than necessity requires. And it is ordered, if any person shall knowingly import into any harbour of this jurisdiction, any quakers' books or writings, concerning their devilish opinions, shall pay for such book or writing, being legally proved against him or them, the sum of five pounds; and whosoever shall disperse or conceal any such book or writing, and it be found with him or her, or in his or her house, and shall not immediately deliver the same to the next magistrate, shall forfeit or pay five pounds, for the dispersing or concealing of any such book or writing. And it is hereby further enacted, that if any person within this colony, shall take upon them to defend the heretical opinions of the quakers, or any of their books or papers, as aforesaid, if legally proved, shall be fined for the first time forty shillings; if they shall persist in the same, and shall again defend it the second time, four pounds; if notwithstanding they shall again defend and maintain the said quakers' heretical opinions, they shall be committed to the house of correction till there be convenient passage to send them out of the land, being sentenced by the court of Assistants to banishment. Lastly, it is hereby ordered, that what person or persons soever, shall revile the persons of the magistrates or ministers, as is usual with the quakers, such person or persons shall be severely whipped, or pay the sum of five pounds.

"This is a true copy of the court's order, as attests

"Edward Rawson, Sec."
"At a General Court held at Boston, the 14th of October, 1657.

"As an addition to the late order, in reference to the coming or bringing of any of the cursed sect of the quakers into this jurisdiction, it is ordered, that whosoever shall from henceforth bring, or cause to be brought, directly or indirectly, any known quaker or quakers, or other blasphemous heretics, into this jurisdiction, every such person shall forfeit the sum of one hundred pounds to the country, and shall by warrant from any magistrate be committed to prison, there to remain till the penalty be satisfied and paid; and if any person or persons, within this jurisdiction, shall henceforth entertain and conceal any such quaker or quakers, or other blasphemous heretics, knowing them so to be, every such person shall forfeit to the country forty shillings for every hour's entertainment and concealment of any quaker or quakers, &c. as aforesaid, and shall be committed to prison aforesaid, till the forfeiture be fully satisfied and paid. And it is further ordered, that if any quaker or quakers shall presume, after they have once suffered what the law requires, to come into this jurisdiction, every such male quaker shall, for the first offence, have one of his ears cut off; and be kept at work in the house of correction, till he can be sent away at his own charge; and for the second offence, shall have his other ear cut off; and every woman quaker, that has suffered the law here, that shall presume to come into this jurisdiction, shall be severely whipped, and kept at the house of correction at work, till she be sent away at her own charge, and so also for her coming again, she shall be alike used as aforesaid. And for every quaker, he or she, that shall a third time herein again offend, they shall have their tongues bored through with a hot iron, and be kept at the house of correction close to work, till they be sent away at their own charge. And it is further ordered, that all and every quaker arising from among ourselves, shall be dealt with, and suffer the like punishment as the law provides against foreign quakers. Edward Rawson, Sec."

"An Act made at a General Court, held at Boston, the 26th of October, 1658.

"Whereas, there is a pernicious sect, commonly called quakers, lately risen, who by word and writing have published and maintained many dangerous and horrid tenets, and do take upon them to change and alter the received laudable customs of our nation, in giving civil respect to equals, or reverence to superiors; whose actions tend to undermine the civil government, and also to destroy the order of the churches, by denying all established forms of worship, and by withdrawing from orderly church fellowship, allowed and approved by all orthodox professors of truth, and instead thereof, and in opposition thereunto, frequently meeting by themselves, insinuating themselves into the minds of the simple, or such as are least affected to the order and government of church and commonwealth, whereby divers of our inhabitants have been infected, notwithstanding all former laws, made upon the experience of their arrogant and bold obtrusions, to disseminate their principles amongst us, prohibiting their coming into this jurisdiction, they have not been deterred from their impious attempts to undermine our peace, and hazard our ruin.

"For prevention thereof, this court doth order and enact, that every person or persons, of the cursed sect of the quakers, who is not an inhabitant of, but is found within this jurisdiction, shall be apprehended without warrant, where no magistrate is at hand, by any constable, commissioner, or select-man, and conveyed from constable to constable, to the next magistrate, who shall commit the said person to close prison, there to remain (without bail) until the next court of Assistants, where they shall have legal trial. And being convicted to be of the sect of the quakers, shall be sentenced to banishment, on pain of death. And that every inhabitant of this jurisdiction, being convicted to be of the aforesaid sect, either by taking up, publishing, or defending the horrid opinions of the quakers, or the stirring up mutiny, sedition, or rebellion against the government, or by taking up their abusive and destructive practices, viz. denying civil respect to equals and superiors, and withdrawing from the church assemblies; and instead thereof, frequenting meetings of their own, in opposition to our church order; adhering to, or approving of any known quaker, and the tenets and practices of quakers, that are opposite to the orthodox received opinions of the godly; and endeavouring to disaffect others to civil
government and church order, or condemning the practice and proceedings of this court against the quakers, manifesting thereby their complying with those, whose design is to overthrow the order established in church and state; every such person, upon conviction before the said court of Assistants, in manner aforesaid, shall be committed to close prison for one month, and then, unless they choose voluntarily to depart this jurisdiction, shall give bond for their good behaviour, and appear at the next court, where, continuing obstinate, and refusing to retract and reform the aforesaid opinions, they shall be sentenced to banishment, upon pain of death. And any one magistrate, upon information given him of any such person, shall cause him to be apprehended, and shall commit any such person to prison, according to his discretion, until he come to trial as aforesaid."

It appears there were also laws passed in both of the then colonies of New-Plymouth and New-Haven, and in the Dutch settlement at New-Amsterdam, now New-York, prohibiting the people called quakers, from coming into those places, under severe penalties; in consequence of which, some underwent considerable suffering.

The two first that sealed their testimony with their blood, were William Robinson, merchant, of London, and Marmaduke Stevenson, a countryman, of Yorkshire. These coming to Boston, in the beginning of September, were sent for by the court of Assistants, and there sentenced to banishment, on pain of death. This sentence was passed also on Mary Dyar, mentioned hereafter, and Nicholas Davis, who were both at Boston. But William Robinson, being looked upon as a teacher, was also condemned to be whipped severely; and the constable was commanded to get an able man to do it. Then Robinson was brought into the street, and there stripped; and having his hands put through the holes of the carriage of a great gun, where the jailer held him, the executioner gave him twenty stripes, with a three-fold cord-whip. Then he and the other prisoners were shortly after released, and banished; which, that it was for no other reason but their being quakers may appear by the following warrant.

"You are required by these, presently to set at liberty William Robinson, Marmaduke Stevenson, Mary Dyar, and Nicholas Davis, who, by an order of the court and council, had been imprisoned, because it appeared by their own confession, words, and actions, that they are quakers; wherefore, a sentence was pronounced against them, to depart this jurisdiction, on pain of death; and that they must answer it at their peril, if they, or any of them, after the 14th of this present month, September, are found within this jurisdiction, or any part thereof.

"Edward Rawson."

"Boston, September 12, 1659."

Though Mary Dyar and Nicholas Davis left that jurisdiction for that time, yet Robinson and Stevenson, though they departed the town of Boston, could not yet resolve (not being free in mind) to depart that jurisdiction, though their lives were at stake. And so they went to Salem, and some places thereabout, to visit, and build up their friends in the faith. But it was not long before they were taken, and put again into prison at Boston, and chains locked to their legs. In the next month, Mary Dyar returned also. And as she stood before the prison, speaking with one Christopher Holden, who was come thither to inquire for a ship bound for England, whither he intended to go, she was also taken into custody. Thus, they had now three persons, who, according to their sanguinary law, had forfeited their lives. And, on the 20th of October, these three were brought into the court, where John Endicot and others were assembled. And being called to the bar, Endicot commanded the keeper to pull off their hats; and then said, that they had made several laws to keep the quakers from amongst them; and neither whipping nor imprisoning, nor cutting off ears, nor banishing upon pain of death, would keep them from amongst them. And further, he said, that he or they desired not the death of any of them. Yet, notwithstanding, his following words, without more ado, were, "Give ear, and hearken to your sentence of death." W. Robinson then desired that he might be permitted to read a paper, giving an account of the reason why he had not departed that jurisdiction. But Endicot would not suffer it
HISTORY OF THE MARTYRS.

The following is a Copy of it.

"On the 8th of the eighth month, 1659, in the after part of the day, in travelling between Newport in Rhode Island, and Daniel Gold's house, with my dear brother, Christopher Holden, the word of the Lord came expressly to me, which did fill me immediately with life and power, and heavenly love, by which he constrained me, and commanded me to pass to the town of Boston, my life to lay down, in his will, for the accomplishing of his service, that he had there to perform, at the day appointed. To which heavenly voice, I presently yielded obedience, nor questioned the Lord, how he would bring the thing to pass, being, I was a child, and obedience was demanded of me by the Lord, who filled me with living strength and power, from his heavenly presence; which, at that time, did mightily overshadow me, and my life at that time, did say Amen to what the Lord required of me, and had commanded me to do; and willingly I was given up, from that time to this day, the will of the Lord to do and perform, whatever became of my body. For the Lord had said unto me, 'My soul shall live in everlasting peace, and my life shall enter into rest, for being obedient unto the God of my life.' I being a child, durst not question the Lord in the least, but rather willing to lay down my life, than to bring dishonour to the Lord. And as the Lord made me willing, dealing gently and kindly with me, as a tender father by a faithful child, whom he dearly loves, so the Lord did deal with me, in ministering his life unto me, which gave and gave me strength to perform what the Lord required of me, and still as I did, and do stand in need, he ministered and ministereth more strength and virtue, and heavenly power and wisdom, whereby I was, and am made more strong in God, not fearing what man shall be suffered to do unto me, being filled with heavenly courage, which is meekness and innocence, for the cause is the Lord's that we go in, and the battle is the Lord's; and thus saith the Lord of hosts, the mighty and the terrible God, 'Not by strength nor by might, nor by power of man, but by my
ing, 'Go to Boston with thy brother, William Robinson.' Unto which command he was obedient, who had said unto him, 'He had a great work for him to do.' Which thing is now seen, and the Lord is now a doing of it; and it is in obedience to the Lord, the God of the whole earth, that we continued among you, and that we came to the town of Boston again, in obedience to the Lord, the Creator of heaven and earth, in whose hand your breath is; and will ye put us to death for obeying the Lord, the God of the whole earth? Well, if ye do this act, and put us to death, know this, and be it known unto you all, ye rulers and people, within this jurisdiction, that whosoever hath a hand therein, will be guilty of innocent blood: and not only upon yourselves, will ye bring innocent blood, but upon the town, and the inhabitants thereof, and every where within this jurisdiction, that had the least hand therein. Therefore be instructed, ye rulers of this land, and take warning betimes, and learn wisdom, before it be hid from your eyes.

"Written in the common jail, the 19th of the eighth month, 1659, in Boston, by one who feared the Lord, who is by ignorant people called a Quaker, and unto such an I only known by the name of William Robinson, yet a new name have I received, which such know not."

Robinson desiring again that the paper might be read, that so all that were present might hear it, it was denied him, and Endicot said, "W. Robinson, hearken to your sentence of death; you shall be had back to the place from whence you came, and from thence to the place of execution, to be hanged on the gallows till you are dead." This sentence was not altogether unexpected by W. Robinson; for it was four months now that he had believed that this would be his fate.

Robinson being taken away, M. Stevenson was called, and Endicot said to him, "If you have any thing to say, you may speak." He, knowing how they dealt with his companion, was silent, though he had also written in prison a paper, containing the cause of his being come there, but he kept it with him, and found afterward occasion to deliver it to somebody. Then Endicot pronounced sentence of death against him, saying, "Marmaduke Stevenson, you shall be had to the place from whence you came, and from thence to the gallows, and there to be hanged till you are dead."

After this he was taken away, and Mary Dyar was called; to whom Endicot spoke thus: "Mary Dyar, you shall go to the place from whence you came, (to wit, the prison) and from thence to the place of execution, and be hanged there until you are dead." To which she replied, "The will of God be done." Then Endicot said, "Take her away, marshal." To which she returned, "Yea, joyfully I go." And in her going to prison, she often uttered speeches of praise to the Lord; and, being full of joy, she said to the marshal, he might let her alone, for she would go to the prison without him. To which he answered, "I believe you, Mrs. Dyar; but I must do what I am commanded." Thus she was led to prison, where she was kept a week, with the two other her companions, that were also condemned to die.

The paper of Marmaduke Stevenson, mentioned before, which he gave forth after he had received sentence of death, was thus:

"In the beginning of the year 1655, I was at the plough, in the east part of Yorkshire, in Old England, near the place where my outward being was, and as I walked after the plough, I was filled with the love and presence of the living God, which did ravish my heart when I felt it; for it did increase and abound in me like a living stream, so did the love and life of God run through me like precious ointment, giving a pleasant smell, which made me to stand still; and as I stood a little still, with my heart and mind stayed on the Lord, the word of the Lord came unto me in a still small voice, which I did hear perfectly, saying to me, in the secret of my heart and conscience, "I have ordained thee a prophet unto the nations." And at the hearing of the word of the Lord, I was put to a stand, being that I was but a child for such a weighty matter. So at the time appointed, Barbadoes was set before me, unto which I was required of the Lord to go, and leave my dear and loving wife, and tender children: for the Lord said unto me immediately by his Spirit, that he would be as a husband to my wife, and as a father to my children, and they should not want in my absence, for he would provide for them when I was gone. And I believed that the Lord would perform what he had spoken, because I was made willing to give up myself to
his work and service, to leave all and follow him, whose presence and life is with me, where I rest in peace and quietness of spirit (with my dear brother) under the shadow of his wings, who hath made us willing to lay down our lives for his own name's sake, if unmerciful men be suffered to take them from us; and if they do, we know we shall have peace and rest with the Lord for ever in his holy habitation, when they shall have torment day and night. So, in obedience to the living God, I made preparation to pass to Barbadoes, in the fourth month, 1658. So, after I had been some time on the said island in the service of God, I heard that New England had made a law to put the servants of the living God to death, if they returned after they were sentenced away, which did come near me at that time; and as I considered the thing, and pondered it in my heart, immediately came the word of the Lord unto me, saying, "Thou knowest not but that thou mayest go thither?" But I kept this word in my heart, and did not declare it to any until the time appointed. So, after that, a vessel was made ready for Rhode Island, which I passed in. So, after a little time that I had been there, visiting the seed which the Lord hath blessed, the word of the Lord came to me, saying, "Go to Boston with thy brother William Robinson." And at his command I was obedient, and gave up myself to do his will, that so his work and service may be accomplished: for he hath said unto me, that he hath a great work for me to do; which is now come to pass: and for yielding obedience to, and obeying the voice and command of the ever-living God, who created heaven and earth, and the fountains of waters, do I, with my dear brother, suffer outward bonds near unto death. And this is given forth to be upon record, that all people may know, who hear it, that we came not in our own wills, but in the will of God. Given forth by me who am known to men by the name of

"MARMADUK STEVENSON,

"But have a new name given me, which the world knows not of, written in the book of life.

"Written in Boston prison, in the 8th month, 1659."

Mary Dyar being returned to prison, wrote the following letter, which she sent to the rulers of Boston.

To the General Court in Boston.

" Whereas I am by many charged with the guiltiness of my own blood; if you mean, in my coming to Boston, I am therein clear, and justified by the Lord, in whose will I came, who will require my blood of you, be assured, who have made a law to take away the lives of the innocent servants of God, if they come among you, who are called by you cursed quakers; although I say, and am a living witness for them and the Lord, that he hath blessed them, and sent them unto you; therefore be not found fighters against God, but let my counsel and request be accepted with you, to repeal all such laws, that truth, and the servants of the Lord, may have free passage among you; and you be kept from shedding innocent blood, which I know there are many among you would not do, if they knew it so to be; nor can the enemy that stirreth you up, thus to destroy his holy seed, in any measure countervail the great damage that you will, by thus doing, procure. Therefore, seeing the Lord hath not hid it from me, it lieth upon me, in love to your souls, thus to persuade you. I have no selfish ends, the Lord knoweth; for if my life were freely granted by you, it would not avail me, nor could I expect it of you, so long as I should daily see or hear the sufferings of these people, my dear brethren, and the seed, with whom my life is bound up; as I have done these two years, and now it is like to increase, even unto death, for no evil doing, but coming among you. Was ever the like laws heard of among any people that profess Christ come in the flesh? And have such no other weapons but such laws to fight against spiritual wickedness withal, as you call it? Wo is me for you! Of whom take ye counsel? Search with the light of Christ in you, and it will show you of whom, as it hath done me and many more, who have been disobedient and deceived, as now ye are: which light, as you come into, and obeying what is made manifest to you therein, you will not repent that you were kept from shedding blood, though it were by a woman. It is not mine own life I seek (for I choose rather to suffer with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of Egypt) but the life of the seed, which I know the Lord hath blessed, and therefore seeks the enemy thus vehemently to destroy the life
thereof, as in all ages he ever did. O hearken not unto him, I beseech you, for the seed’s sake, which is one in all, and is dear in the sight of God, which they that touch, touch the apple of his eye, and cannot escape his wrath; whereof I having felt, cannot but persuade all men that I have to do withal, especially you whom name the name of Christ, to depart from such iniquity as shedding blood, even of the saints of the Most High. Therefore, let my request have as much acceptance with you, if ye be Christians, as Esther’s had with Ahasuerus, whose relation is short of that that is between Christians; and my request is the same that hers was: and he said not that he had made a law, and that it would be dishonourable for him to revoke it; but when he understood that those people were so prized by her, and so nearly concerned her, as in truth these are to me, you may see what he did for her. Therefore, I leave these lines with you, appealing to the faithful and true witness of God, which is in all consciences, before whom we must all appear; with whom I shall eternally rest, in everlasting joy and peace, whether you will hear or forbear. With him is my reward, with whom to live is my joy, and to die is my gain, though I had not your forty-eight hours warning, for the preparation of the death of Mary Dyar.

"And know this also, that if through the enmity you shall declare yourselves worse than Ahasuerus, and confirm your law, though it were but by taking away the life of one of us, that the Lord will overthrow both your law and you, by his righteous judgments and plagues poured justly upon you, who now, whilst ye are warned thereof, and tenderly sought unto, may avoid the one, by removing the other. If you neither hear, nor obey the Lord nor his servants, yet will he send more of his servants among you, so that your end shall be frustrated, that think to restrain those ye call cursed Quakers, from coming among you by any thing you can do to them. Yea, verily, he hath a seed here among you, for whom we have suffered all this while, and yet suffer; whom the Lord of the harvest will send forth more labourers to gather, out of the mouths of the devourers of all sorts, into his fold, where he will lead them into fresh pastures, even the paths of righteousness, for his name’s sake. Oh, let none of you put this good day far from you, which verily in the light of the Lord I see approaching, even to many in and about Boston, which is the bitterest and darkest professing place, and likely so to continue so long as you do as you have done, that ever I heard of. Let the time past therefore suffice, for such a profession as brings forth such fruits as these laws are. In love and in the spirit of meekness I again beseech you, for I have no enmity to the persons of any; but you shall know, that God will not be mocked; but what ye sow, that shall ye reap from him that will render to every one according to the deeds done in the body, whether good or evil. Even so be it, saith

MARY DYAR."

A copy of this was given to the general court after Mary Dyar had received the sentence of death, about the 8th or 9th month, 1659.

The day appointed to execute the bloody sentence was the 27th of Oct. when, in the afternoon, the condemned prisoners were led to the gallows, by the marshal Michaelson, and captain James Oliver, with a band of about two hundred armed men, besides many horsemen; as if they were afraid that some of the people would have rescued the prisoners; and that no actors on the stage might be wanting, the priest Wilson joined the company, and when the court deliberated how to deal with the quakers, said, "hang them, or else," (drawing his finger athwart his throat, as if he would have said,) "despatch them this way." Now the march began, and a drummer going next before the condemned, the drums were beaten, especially when any of them attempted to speak. Glorious signs of heavenly joy and gladness were beheld in the countenances of these three persons, who walked hand in hand, Mary being the middlemost; which made the marshal say to her, who was pretty aged, and stricken in years, "Are not you ashamed to walk thus hand in hand between two young men?" "No," replied she, "this is to me an hour of the greatest joy I could enjoy in this world. No eye can see, no ear can hear, no tongue can utter, and no heart can understand, the sweet incomes, or influence, and the refreshings of the Spirit of the Lord, which now I feel." Thus going along, W. Robinson said, "This is your hour, and the power of darkness." But presently the drums were beaten; yet shortly af-
ter, the drummers leaving off beating, Marmaduke Stevenson said, "This is the day of your visitation, wherein the Lord hath visited you." More he spoke, but could not be understood, by reason of the drums being beaten again. Yet they went on with great cheerful-

fulness, as going to an everlasting wedding feast, and rejoicing that the Lord had counted them worthy to suffer death for his name's sake.

When they came near the gallows, they took leave of each other with tender embraces, and Robinson went cheerfully up the ladder, and then said to the people, "This is the day of your visitation, wherein the Lord hath visited you: this is the day the Lord is risen in his mighty power, to be avenged on all his adversaries." He also signified, that he suffered not as an evil doer, and desired the spectators to mind the light that was in them; to wit, the Light of Christ, of which he testified, and was now going to seal it with his blood. This so incensed the envious priest, that he said, "Hold thy tongue, be silent, thou art going to die with a lie in thy mouth." The rope being now about his neck, the executioner bound his hands and legs, and tied his neck-cloth about his face: which being done, Robinson said, "Now ye are made manifest," and the executioner being about turning him off, he said, "I suffer for Christ, in whom I live, and for whom I die." He being turned off, Marmaduke Stevenson stepped up the ladder, and said, "Be it known unto all this day, that we suffer not as evil doers, but for conscience sake." And when the hangman was about to turn him off, he said, "This day shall we be at rest with the Lord:" and so he was turned off.

Mary Dyar, seeing her companions hanging dead before her, also stepped up the ladder; but after her coats were tied about her feet, the halter put about her neck, and her face covered with a handkerchief, which the priest Wilson lent the hangman, just as she was to be turned off, a cry was heard, "Stop, for she is reprieved." Her feet being then loosed, they bade her come down. But she, whose mind was already as it were in heaven, stood still, and said, she was there willing to suffer as her brethren did, unless they would annul their wicked law. Little heed was given to what she said, but they pulled her down and

the marshal and others taking her by the arms, carried her to prison again. That she thus was freed of the gallows this time, was at the intercession of her son, to whom it seems they could not then resolve to deny that favour. She now having heard why she was reprieved, wrote the next day, being the 28th of October, the following letter to the court.

_The 28th of the 8th Month, 1659._

"Once more to the general court assembled in Boston, speaks Mary Dyar, even as before. My life is not accepted, neither availeth me, in comparison of the lives and liberty of the truth and servants of the living God, for which in the bowels of love and meekness I sought you; yet, nevertheless, with wicked hands have you put two of them to death, which makes me to feel, that the mercies of the wicked is cruelty. I rather choose to die than to live, as from you, as guilty of their innocent blood: therefore, seeing my request hindered, I leave you to the righteous judge, and searcher of all hearts, who, with the pure measure of light he hath given to every man to profit withal, will in his due time let you see whose servants you are, and of whom you have taken counsel, which I desire to search into; but all his counsel hath been slighted, and you would none of his reproofs. Read your portion, Prov. i. 24 to 32. For verily the night cometh on you apace, wherein no man can work, in which you shall assuredly fall to your own master. In obedience to the Lord, whom I serve with my spirit, and pity to your souls, which you neither know nor pity, I can do no less than once more warn you, to put away the evil of your doings; and kiss the son, the light in you, before his wrath be kindled in you; for where it is, nothing without you can help or deliver you out of his hand at all; and if these things be not so, then say there hath been no prophet from the Lord sent among you; though we be nothing, yet it is his pleasure, by things that are not, to bring to nought things that are.

"When I heard your last order read, it was a disturbance unto me, that was so freely offering up my life to him that gave it me, and sent me hither so to do, which obedience being his own work, he gloriously accompanied with his presence, and peace, and love in me,
in which I rested from my labour, till by your order and the people, I was so far disturbed, that I could not retain any more of the words thereof, than that I should return to prison, and there remain forty and eight hours; to which I submitted, finding nothing from the Lord to the contrary, that I may know what his pleasure and counsel is concerning me, on whom I wait therefore, for he is my life, and the length of my days; and as I said before, I came at his command, and go at his command.

**MARY DYAR.**

The magistrates now perceiving that the putting William Robinson and Marmaduke Stevenson to death, caused great discontent among the people, resolved to send away Mary Dyar, thereby to calm their minds a little. And so she was put on horseback, and by four horsemen conveyed fifteen miles towards Rhode-Island, where she was left with a horse and a man, to be conveyed the rest of the way; which she soon sent back, and so repaired home.

Mary Dyar, being come to Rhode-Island, went from thence to Long-Island, where she staid the most part of the winter; and then coming home again, she was moved to return to the bloody town of Boston, whither she came on the 21st of the third month, in the year 1660, and on the 31st she was sent for by the general court. Being come, the governor, John Endicot, said, “Are you the same Mary Dyar that was here before?” And it seems he was preparing an evasion for her, there having been another of that name returned from Old England. But she was so far from disguising, that she answered un-dauntedly, “I am the same Mary Dyar that was here the last general court.” Then Endicot said, “You will own yourself a quaker, will you not?” To which Mary Dyar said, “I own myself reproachfully called so.” Then the jailer, (who would also say something) said, “She is a vagabond.” And Endicot said, the sentence was passed upon her the last general court, and now likewise; “You must return to the prison, and there remain till to-morrow at nine o’clock; then from thence you must go to the gallows, and there to be hanged till you are dead.” To which Mary Dyar said, “This is no more than what thou saidst before.” And Endicot returned, “But now it is to be executed; therefore prepare yourself to-morrow at nine o’clock.” She then spoke thus: “I came in obedience to the will of God the last general court, desiring you to repeal your unrighteous laws of banishment upon pain of death, and that same is my work now, and earnest request; although I told you, that if you refused to repeal them, the Lord would send others of his servants to witness against them.” Hereupon Endicot asked her, whether she was a prophetess? And she answered, “She spoke the words that the Lord spoke in her; and now the thing was come to pass.” And beginning to speak of her call, Endicot cried, “Away with her; away with her.” So she was brought to the prison house where she was before, and kept close shut up until the next day.

About the appointed time the marshal Michaelson came, and called her to come hastily; and coming into the room where she was, she desired him to stay a little; and speaking mildly, said, she should be ready presently. But he being of a rough temper, said he could not wait upon her, but she should now wait upon him. One Margaret Smith, her companion, being grieved to see such hard-heartedness, spoke something against their unjust laws and proceedings: to which he said, “You shall have your share of the same.” Then Mary Dyar was brought forth, and with a band of soldiers led through the town, the drums being beaten before and behind her, and so continued, that none might hear her speak all the way to the place of execution, which was about a mile. With this guard she came to the gallows, and being gone up the ladder, some said to her, that if she would return, she might come down and save her life. To which she replied, “Nay, I cannot, for in obedience to the will of the Lord I came, and in his will I abide faithful to the death.” Then captain John Webb said, that she had been there before, and had the sentence of banishment upon pain of death, and had broken the law in coming again now; and therefore was guilty of her own blood. To which she returned, “Nay, I come to keep blood-guiltiness from you, desiring you to repeal the unrighteous and unjust law of banishment upon pain of death, made against the innocent servants of the Lord; therefore
my blood will be required at your hands, who
willfully do it: but for those that do it in the
simplicity of their hearts, I desire the Lord to
give them. I came to do the will of my Fa-
ther, and in obedience to his will, I stand even
to death.” Then priest Wilson said, “Mary
Dyar, O repent, O repent, and be not so de-
luded, and carried away by the deceit of the
devil.” To this Mary Dyar answered, “Nay,
man, I am not now to repent.” And being
asked by some, whether she would have the
elders pray for her, she said, “I know never
an elder here.” Being further asked whether
she would have any of the people to pray for
her! She answered she desired all the prayers
of the people of God. Thereupon some scoff-
inger said, “It may be she thinks there is
none here.” She looking about, said, “I
know but few here.” Then they spoke to her
again, that one of the elders might pray for her.
To which she replied, “Nay, first a child, then
a young man, then a strong man, before an
elder in Christ Jesus.” After this she was
charged with something which was not un-
derstood what it was, but she seemed to hear
it; for she said, “It is false, it is false; I ne-
ever spoke those words.” Then one mention-
ed that she should have said she had been in
paradise. To which she answered, “Yea, I
have been in paradise several days.” And
more she spoke of eternal happiness, into
which she was now to enter. In this well-
disposed condition she was turned off, and
died a martyr of Christ, being twice led to
death, which the first time she expected with
undaunted courage, and now suffered with
Christian fortitude.

William Leddra, who was banished from
Boston on pain of death, was under such ne-
cessity of conscience, that he could not for-
bear returning thither; where he came about
the conclusion of the foregoing year; but was
soon taken prisoner, and being fastened to a
log of wood, was kept night and day locked
in chains, in an open prison, during a very
cold winter.

On the 9th of the first month of this year,
he was brought into the court of Assistants,
with his chains and log at his heels. And he
asking the jailer, when he intended to take off
the irons from his legs; the jailer roughly an-
swered, “When thou art going to be hanged.”
W. Leddra then being brought to the bar, it
was told him by the rulers, speaking of their
law, that he was found guilty, and that he was
to die. He said, “What evil have I done?”
The answer was, his own confession was as
good as a thousand witnesses. He asked
what that was? To which they answered, that
he owned these quakers that were put to death,
and that they were innocent. Besides that,
he would not put off his hat in court, and that
he said “thee” and “thou.” Then said Wil-
liam to them, “You will put me to death for
speaking English, and for not putting off my
clothes.” To this major-general Denison re-
turned, “A man may speak treason in Eng-
lishe.” And William replied, “Is it treason to
say thee and thou to a single person?” But
none answered, only Simon Broadstreet, one
of the court, asked him, “Whether he would
go for England?” To which he answered, “I
have no business there.” Hereupon, Broad-
street, pointing to the gallows, said, “then you
shall go that way.” To which William re-
turned, “What! will ye put me to death for
breathing in the air in your jurisdiction? and
for what you have against me, I appeal to the
laws of England for my trial; and if by them
I am guilty, I refuse not to die.” Of this no
notice was taken, but instead thereof, they en-
deavoured to persuade him to recant of his
error (as they styled it) and to conform; to
which, with a grave magnanimity, he an-
swered, “What! to join with such murderers
as you are? Then let every man that meets me
say, lo! this is the man that hath forsaken the
God of his salvation.”

Whilst the trial of W. Leddra was thus go-
ing on, Wenlock Christison, who was already
banished upon pain of death, came into the
court. This struck a damp upon them, inso-
much that for some space of time there was
silence in the court; but at length one of the
bloody council cried, “Here is another, fetch
him up to the bar.” Which the marshal per-
forming, the secretary Rawson, said, “Is not
your name Wenlock Christison?” “Yea,”
said Wenlock. “Well,” said the governor,
John Endicot, “what dost thou here? wast
thou not banished upon pain of death?” To
which Wenlock answered, “Yea, I was.”
And to the question, “What dost thou here
then?” He answered, “I am come here to
warn you that you should shed no more inno-
cent blood; for the blood that you have shed
already, cries to the Lord God for vengeance to come upon you.” Whereupon it was said, “Take him away jailer.”

It having been told W. Leddra, at the last general court, he had liberty given to go for England, or to go out of their jurisdiction; and that promising to do so, and come there no more, he might save his life; he answered, “I stand not in my own will, but in the will of the Lord: if I may have my freedom, I shall go, but to make you a promise, I cannot.” But this was so far from giving consent, that they proceeded to pronounce sentence of death against him; which being done, he was led from the court to the prison again, where the day before his death he wrote the following letter to his friends:

“Most dear and inwardly beloved:

“The sweet influences of the morning star, like a flood distilling into my innocent habitation, hath so filled me with the joy of the Lord, in the beauty of holiness, that my spirit is as if it did not inhabit a tabernacle of clay, but is wholly swallowed up in the bosom of eternity, from whence it had its being.

“Alas, alas, what can the wrath and spirit of man, that lusteth to envy, aggravated by the heart and strength of the king of the locusts, which came out of the pit, do unto one that is hid in the secret places of the Almighty? Or, unto them that are gathered under the healing wings of the Prince of Peace! under whose armour of light they shall be able to stand in the day of trial, having on the breast-plate of righteousness, and the sword of the Spirit, which is their weapon of war against spiritual weakness, principalities, and powers, and the rulers of the darkness of this world, both within and without! Oh, my beloved! I have waited as a dove at the windows of the ark, and have stood still in that watch, which the master (without whom I could do nothing) did, at his coming, reward with the fulness of his love, wherein my heart did rejoice, that I might in the love and life of God, speak a few words to you, sealed with the spirit of promise, that the taste thereof might be a savour of life, to your life, and a testimony in you of my innocent death: and if I had been altogether silent, and the Lord had not opened my mouth unto you, yet he would have opened your hearts, and there have sealed my innocence with the streams of life, by which we are all baptized into that body which is in God; whom, and in whose presence there is life; in which, as you abide, you stand upon the pillar and ground of truth: for, the life being the truth and the way, go not one step without it, lest you should compass a mountain in the wilderness; for unto every thing there is a season.

“As the flowing of the ocean doth fill every creek and branch thereof, and then retires again towards its own being and fulness, and leaves a savour behind it, so doth the life and virtue of God flow into every one of your hearts, whom he hath made partakers of his divine nature; and when it withdraws but a little, it leaves a sweet savour behind it, that many can say, they are made clean through the word that he hath spoken to them: in which innocent condition, you may see what you are in the presence of God, and what you are without him. Therefore, my dear hearts, let the enjoyment of the life alone, be your hope, your joy and consolation, and let the man of God flee those things that would lead the mind out of the cross, for then the savour of the life will be buried: and although some may speak of things that they received in the life, as experiences, yet the life being veiled, and the savour that it left behind washed away by the fresh floods of temptation, the condition that they did enjoy in the life, boasted of by the airy thing, will be like the manna that was gathered yesterday, without any good scent or savour. For, it was only well with the man while he was in the life of innocency; but being driven from the presence of the Lord, into the earth, what can he boast of? And although you know these things, and (many of you) much more than I can say; yet, (for the love and zeal I bear to the truth and honour of God, and tender desire of my soul to those that are young, that they may read me in that from which I write, to strengthen them against the wiles of the subtle serpent that beguiled Eve) I say, stand in the watch within, in the fear of the Lord, which is the very entrance of wisdom; and the state where you are ready to receive the secrets of the Lord; hunger and thirst patiently, be not weary, neither doubt. Stand still and cease from thy own working, and in due time thou shalt enter into the rest, and thy eyes shall behold thy salva-
tion, whose testimonies are sure, and righteous altogether: let them be as a seal upon thine arm, and as jewels about thy neck, that others may see what the Lord hath done for your souls; confess him before men, yea before his greatest enemies: fear not what they can do unto you: greater is he that is in you, than he that is in the world: for he will clothe you with humility, and in the power of his meekness you shall reign over all the rage of your enemies in the favour of God; wherein as you stand in faith, ye are the salt of the earth; for many seeing your good works, may glorify God in the day of their visitation.

"Take heed of receiving that which you saw not in the light; lest you give ear to the enemy. Bring all things to the light, that they may be proved, whether they be wrought in God; the love of the world, the lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eye, are without the light, in the world; therefore, possess your vessels in all sanctification and honour, and let your eye look at the mark: he that hath called you is holy: and if there be an eye that offends, pluck it out and cast it from you: let not a temptation take hold, for if you do, it will keep from the favour of God, and that will be a sad state; for, without grace possessed, there is no assurance of salvation; by grace you are saved; and the witness of it is sufficient for you, to which I recommend you all, my dear friends, and in it remain,

"Your brother,

"WILLIAM LEDDRA.

"Boston Jail, the 13th of the first month, 1660-61."

The next day after this letter was written, the execution of W. Leddra was performed, which was on the 14th of the first month. After the lecture was ended, the governor, John Endicot, came with a guard of soldiers to the prison, where W. Leddra's irons were taken off, with which he had been chained to a log both night and day during a cold winter; and now they were knocked off, according to what the jailer once said, as hath been related before. William then having taken his leave of Wenlock Christison, and others then in bonds, when called, went forth to the slaughter, encompassed with a guard to prevent his speaking to his friends; which Edward Wharton, an inhabitant of Salem, and also banished on pain of death, seeing, and speaking against, one among the company said, "O Edward, it will be your turn next!" To which captain Oliver added, "If you speak a word I'll stop your mouth." Then W. Leddra being brought to the foot of the ladder, was pinioned, and as he was about to ascend the same, he took leave of his friend E. Wharton, to whom he said, "All that will be Christ's disciples, must take up the cross." He standing upon the ladder, somebody said, "William, have you any thing to say to the people? Thereupon he spoke thus: "For the testimony of Jesus, and for testifying against deceivers, and the deceived, I am brought here to suffer." This took so much with the people, that it wrought a tenderness in many. But to quench this, priest Allen said to the spectators, "People, I would not have you think it strange to see a man so willing to die; for that is no new thing. And you may read how the apostle said, that some should be given up to strong delusions, and even dare to die for it." But he did not say where the apostle speaks so, neither have we found it any where in holy writ; though we know that Paul saith, Rom. v. 7. "Peradventure for a good man some would even dare to die." But it seems it was sufficient for Allen, if he could but render Leddra odious; who, however, continued cheerful: for as the executioner was putting the halter about his neck, he was heard to say, "I commit my righteous cause unto thee, O God." The executioner then being charged to make haste, W. Leddra, at the turning off the ladder, cried, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit;" and so he was turned off, and finished his days. The hangman cut down the dead body, and lest it should be as barbarously used as those of William Robinson and Marmaduke Stevenson, (which none holding when cut down, fell to the ground to the breaking of W. Robinson's skull,) Edward Wharton, John Chamberlain, and others, caught the body in their arms, and laid it on the ground, till the hangman had stripped it of its clothes; who having done so, said, that he was a comely man, as indeed he was. The body being stripped, William's friend took it, laid it in a coffin, and buried it. For farther confirmation of what hath been related, the following letter of one of the spectators, that was there accidentally, may be added:
"On the 14th of this instant, here was one William Leddra, who was put to death. The people of the town told me, he might go away if he would: but when I made farther inquiry, I heard the marshal say, that he was chained in prison, from the time he was condemned, to the day of his execution. I am not of his opinion: but yet truly methought the Lord did mightily appear in the man. I went to one of the magistrates at Cambridge, who had been of the jury that condemned him, (as he told me himself) and I asked him by what rule he did it? He answered, that he was a rogue, a very rogue. But what is this to the question, (I said) where is your rule? he said, he had abused authority. Then I goes after the man, and asked him, whether he did not look on it as a breach of rule to slight and undervalue authority? And I said that Paul gave Festus the title of honour, though he was a heathen, (I do not say these magistrates are heathens,) I said then. When the man was on the ladder, he looked on me, and called me friend, and said, Know, that this day I am willing to offer up my life for the witness of Jesus. Then I desired leave of the officers to speak, and said, Gentlemen, I am a stranger both to your persons and country, and yet a friend to both; and I cried aloud, For the Lord's sake take not away the man's life; but remember Gama- liel's counsel to the Jews. If this be of man, it will come to nought, but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it: but be careful ye be not found fighters against God. And the captain said, 'why had you not come to the prison?' The reason was, because I heard the man might go if he would; and therefore I called him down from the tree, and said, 'Come down, William, you may go away if you will.' Then captain Oliver said, it was no such matter; and asked what I had to do with it! and besides, bade me begone: and I told him I was willing; for I cannot endure to see this, I said. And when I was in the town, some did seem to sympathize with me in my grief. But I told them, that they had no warrant from the word of God, nor precedent from our country, nor power from his majesty, to hang the man. I rest, your friend,

"THOMAS WILKIE."

"To Mr. George Lad, master of the America, of Dartmouth, now at Barbadoes."

William Leddra being thus despatched, it was resolved to make an end also of Wenlock Christison. He therefore was brought from the prison to the court at Boston, where the governor John Endicot, and the deputy governor Richard Billingham, being both present, it was told him, "Unless you renounce your religion, you shall surely die." But instead of shrinking, he said, with an undaunted courage, "Nay, I shall not change my religion, nor seek to save my life; neither do I intend to deny my Master; but if I lose my life for Christ's sake, and the preaching of the gospel, I shall save my life." This noble resolution gave such a check to his persecutors, that they did not then go on with the trial, but sent him away to prison again. And it being said by somebody, that William Leddra was dead, a certain person said to Wenlock, "O, thy turn is next." To which he gravely replied, The will of the Lord be done, showing thereby his entire resignation.

Being now locked up again in prison, he was kept there till about the fourth month: but then the court being set, a spirit of confusion appeared there, and a division among several of the members; for though the greatest part were for taking the same course with him, as with those that were already put to death, yet several would not consent to it. And as natural occurrences sometimes cause reflections among observing people, so it happened here; for during their deliberations how to deal with Wenlock Christison, which lasted for the space of two weeks, the sun in the firmament shone not, a thing at that season somewhat extraordinary; which gave occasion for some to say, that the sun, abhoring this bloody business, hid itself from them. But after many debates, the sanguinary council at length agreed, and Wenlock was brought to the bar, where the governor, John Endicot, asked him what he had to say for himself why he should not die? He answered, "I have done nothing worthy of death; if I had, I refuse not to die." To this another said, "Thou art come among us in rebellion, which is as the sin of witchcraft, and ought to be punished." Hence it appears, how perversely these blood-thirsty persecutors applied the holy Scriptures to their cruel ends, and so made a wrong use of the prophet Samuel's words to Saul; to which false conclusion Wenlock answered, "I
came not among you in rebellion, but in obedience to the God of heaven; not in contempt of any of you, but in love to your souls and bodies; and that you shall know one day, when you and all men must give an account of the deeds done in the body. Take heed, (thus he went on) for you cannot escape the righteous judgments of God.” Then said major-general Adderton, “You pronounce woes and judgments, and those that are gone before you pronounced woes and judgments; but the judgments of the Lord God are not come upon us as yet.” So insolent and hard-hearted may man become, as not to stick even to defy the Most High. Adderton received this answer from Wenlock, “Be not proud, neither let your spirits be lifted up; God doth but wait till the measure of your iniquity be filled up, and that you have run your ungodly race; then will the wrath of God come upon you to the utmost. And as for thy part, it hangs over thy head, and is near to be poured down upon thee, and shall come as a thief in the night, suddenly, when thou thinkest not of it.”

Then Wenlock asked, “By what law will ye put me to death?” The answer was, “We have a law, and by our law you are to die.” “So said the Jews of Christ. (replied Wenlock,) we have a law, and by our law he ought to die. Who empowered you to make that law?” To which one of the board answered, “We have a patent, and are the patentees; judge whether we have not power to make laws.” Hereupon Wenlock asked again, “How, have you power to make laws repugnant to the laws of England?” “No,” said the governor. “Then, (replied Wenlock,) you are gone beyond your bounds, and have forfeited your patent: and that is more than you can answer. Are you, (asked he,) subjects to the king, yea or nay?” “What good will that do you?” replied the secretary. “If you are, (answered Wenlock,) say so; for in your petition to the king, you desire that he would protect you, and that you may be worthy to kneel among his loyal subjects.” To which one said, “Yea, we are so.” “Well, (said Wenlock,) so am I, and for any thing I know, am as good as you, if not better; for if the king did but know your hearts as God knows them, he would see that they are as rotten towards him, as they are towards God. Therefore, seeing that you and I are subjects to the king, I demand to be tried by the laws of my own nation.” It was answered, “you shall be tried by a bench and a jury;” for it seems they began to be afraid to go on in the former course of trial, without a jury, this being contrary to the laws of England. But Wenlock said, “That is not the law, but the manner of it: for I never heard nor read of any law that was in England to hang quakers.” To this the governor replied, “That there was a law to hang Jesuits.” To which Wenlock returned, “If you put me to death, it is not because I go under the name of a Jesuit, but of a quaker: therefore I appeal to the laws of my own nation.” But instead of taking notice of this, one said, that he was in their hands, and had broken their law, and they would try him. Wenlock still appealed to the laws of his own nation: yet the jury being called over, went out, but quickly returned, and brought him in guilty. Whereupon the secretary said, “Wenlock Christison, hold up your right hand.” “I will not, (said Wenlock) I am here and can hear thee.” Then the secretary cried, “Guilty or not guilty?” “I deny all guilt, (replied Wenlock) for my conscience is clear in the sight of God.” But the governor said, “The jury hath condemned thee.” Wenlock answered, “The Lord doth justify me; who art thou that condemnest?”

They then voted as to the sentence of death, but were in a manner confounded, for several could not vote him guilty of death. The governor seeing this division, said, “I could find in my heart to go home;” being in such a rage, that he flung something furiously on the table; which made Wenlock cry, “It were better for thee to be at home than here, for thou art about a bloody piece of work.” Then the governor put the court to vote again; but this was done confusedly, which so incensed the governor, that he stood up and said, “You that will not consent, record it: I thank God I am not afraid to give judgment.” Thus we see that to be drunk with blood, doth not quench the thirst after blood; for Endicot, the governor, seeing others backward to vote, precipitately pronounced judgment himself, and said, “Wenlock Christison, hearken to your sentence: you must return to the place from whence you came, and from thence to the place of execution, and there you must be hanged until you are dead, dead, dead.” To which Wenlock said, “The will of the Lord
be done, in whose will I came among you, and in whose counsel I stand, feeling his eternal power, that will uphold me unto the last gasp.” Moreover he cried thus: “Known be it unto you all, that if ye have power to take my life from me, my soul shall enter into everlasting rest, and peace with God, where you yourselves shall never come. And if ye have power to take my life from me, the which I do question, I do believe you shall never more take quakers’ lives from them: note my words; do not think to weary out the living God, by taking away the lives of his servants. What do you gain by it? For the last man that you have put to death, here are five come in his room. And if ye have power to take my life from me, God can raise up the same principle of life, in ten of his servants, and send them among you in my room, that you may have torment upon torment, which is your portion; for there is no peace to the wicked, saith my God.”

The holy confidence with which he uttered these words, showed, and the sequel made it appear plain, that something supernatural was contained in them: and it is remarkable, that among the imprisoned quakers, there were then several that had been banished on pain of death; and among these, also Elizabeth Hooten; and Edward Wharton staid in his habitation, contrary to his sentence of banishment.

Wenlock having received sentence of death, was again brought to prison, where having been detained five days, the marshal and a constable came to him, with an order from the court, for his enlargement, with twenty-seven more of his friends, then in prison, for their testimony to the truth, saying, they were ordered by the court to make him acquainted with their new law. “What means this?” said Wenlock; “Have ye a new law?” “Yes,” said they. “Then ye have deceived most people,” said Wenlock. “Why?” said they. “Because,” said he, “they did think the gallows had been your last weapon. Your magistrates said, that your law was a good and wholesome law, made for your peace, and the safeguard of your country. What! are your hands now become weak? The power of God is over you all.”

Thus the prison doors were opened, and Wenlock, with twenty-seven more of his friends, as aforesaid, set at liberty, save that two of them, viz. Peter Parson, and Judith Brown, being stripped to the waist, and fastened to a cart’s tail, were whipped through the town of Boston, with twenty stripes apiece.

Now, though not long after, an order came from the king, as will be seen anon, whereby these persecutors were charged to desist from putting the quakers to death, yet it seems they had got some scent of the king’s displeasure, who had a mind to stop their bloody career: for having got a book written by George Bishop, containing a relation of the cruel persecution in New-England, he read a passage concerning major-general Denison, who, to put off those that complained of their wicked proceedings, said, “This year ye will go to complain to the parliament, and the next year they will send to see how it is; and the third year the government is changed.” He took much notice of this, and calling to the lords to hear it, said, “Lo! these are my good subjects of New-England; but I will put a stop to them.”

It was not long before an opportunity offered; for, the news of William Leddra’s death coming into England, with an information of the danger that others were in, of going the same way, their friends took it so to heart, especially Edward Burrough, that having got audience of the king, he told him, there was a vein of innocent blood opened in his dominions, which, if it was not stopped, would overrun all. To which the king replied, “But I will stop that vein.” Then Burrough desired him to do it speedily; “For we know not,” said he, “how many may soon be put to death.” The king answered, “As soon as you will. Call (said he to some present) the secretary, and I will do it presently.” The secretary being come, a mandamus was forthwith granted. A day or two after, going again to the king, to desire dispatch of the matter, the king said, he had no occasion, at present, to send a ship thither; but if they would send one, they might do it as soon as they could. E. Burrough then asked the king, if it would please him to grant his deputation to one called a quaker, to carry the mandamus to New-England. The king answered, “Yes, to whom you will.” Whereupon E. Burrough named one Samuel Shattock, who being an inhabitant of New-England, was banished on pain of death, if ever he returned thither.
And the king accordingly granted the deputation to him, with full power to carry the mandamus, which was as followeth:

"Charles R.

"Trusty and well beloved, we greet you well. Having been informed that several of our subjects among you, called quakers, have been, and are imprisoned by you, whereof some have been executed, and others, (as hath been represented unto us) are in danger to undergo the like: we have thought fit to signify our pleasure in that behalf for the future; and do hereby require, that if there be any of those people called quakers, among you, now already condemned to suffer death, or other corporal punishment, or that are imprisoned, and obnoxious to the like condemnation, you are to forbear to proceed any farther therein: but that you forthwith send the said persons (whether condemned or imprisoned) over into this our kingdom of England, together with the respective crimes or offences laid to their charge; to the end that such course may be taken with them here, as shall be agreeable to our laws, and their demerits. And for so doing, these our letters shall be your sufficient warrant and discharge.

"Given at our court, at Whitehall, the 9th day of September, 1661, in the 13th year of our reign.

"By his majesty's command,

"William Morris."

The superscription was:

"To our trusty and well-beloved John Endicot, Esq. and to all and every other the governor, or governors, of our plantations of New-England, and of all the colonies thereunto belonging, that now are, or hereafter shall be; and to all and every the ministers and officers of our said plantations and colonies whatsoever, within the continent of New-England."

This mandamus to the rulers of New-England, being obtained, as hath been said, quick dispatch was thought necessary to send it thither. And Samuel Shattock being empowered by the king to carry it, an agreement was made with one Ralph Goldsmith, who was master of a good ship, and also one of those called quakers, for three hundred pounds (goods or no goods) to sail in ten days. He then immediately made all things ready to set sail, and with a prosperous gale, arrived in about six weeks time, before the town of Boston, in New-England, upon the first day of the week. The townsman seeing a ship come into the bay, with English colours, soon came on board, and asked for the captain. Ralph Goldsmith then told them, he was the commander. Then they asked him whether he had any letters; and he said, "Yes." Whereupon they asked, if he would deliver them; but he said, "No, not to-day." So they went ashore, and reported there was a ship full of quakers, and that Samuel Shattock was among them, who they knew was, by their law, liable to be put to death, for coming in again after banishment: but they knew not his errand nor authority.

All being thus kept close, and none of the ship's company suffered to go on shore that day; next morning Samuel Shattock, the king's deputy, and Ralph Goldsmith, the commander of the vessel, went on shore; and sending the men that landed them, back to the ship, they two went through the town, to the governor John Endicot's door, and knocked. He sending a man to know their business, they sent him word their business was from the king of England, and that they would deliver their message to none but the governor himself. Thereupon they were admitted to go in, and the governor came to them, and commanded Shattock's hat to be taken off; and having received the deputation and the mandamus, he laid off his hat, and ordered Shattock's hat to be given him again; he looked upon the papers, and then going out, went to the deputy-governor, and bid the king's deputy, and the master of the ship follow him. Being come to the deputy-governor, and having consulted with him about the matter, he returned to the two aforesaid persons, and said, "We shall obey his majesty's command." After this the master of the ship gave liberty to the passengers to come ashore, which they did, and met together with their friends, of the town, to offer up praises to God for this wonderful deliverance.

Now, for as much as several of their friends were yet in prison at Boston, the following
order was given forthwith by the council not long after:

"To William Salter, keeper of the Prison, at Boston.

"You are required by authority, and order of the general court, forthwith to release and discharge the quakers, who at present are in your custody. See that you do not neglect this.

"By order of the court,

"Edward Rawson, Sec.

"Boston, 9th Dec. 1661."

They then consulted what to do, that they might not incur the king's displeasure; and it was agreed to send a deputation to him. First, colonel Temple was sent to acquaint the king, with their having set the quakers at liberty; and he was followed, not long after, by the chief priest, John Norton, and Simon Broadstreet, one of the magistrates.

It appears by an application to king James the second, in the year 1685, that there were, in England and Wales, 1460 of the people called quakers, prisoners; some under sentence for premunire; some for refusing to swear; some under fines on the act of banishment; and others on writs of excommunication; besides above 320, who died prisoners; of whom, 100 were judged to have died in consequence of their long confinement and hard usage.

After king James' declaration for liberty of conscience; after the passing of the act of toleration, in the reign of king William and queen Mary, in 1689; and after the act, that the solemn affirmation and declaration of the people called quakers, should be accepted instead of an oath, in the usual form, passed 1696, these people were greatly relieved from the frequent persecutions and great sufferings to which they had been exposed.

Notwithstanding the great exemption and relief which they experienced from the above acts, the laws still stand open against them, and are frequently enforced, particularly for not complying with military regulations, and for refusing to pay tithes; on both of which accounts, there have continued to be frequent instances, not only of some who have been prosecuted and distrained from, but of others, who have been cast into prison, where they have sealed their testimonies with their lives.
BOOK X.

CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF THE WESTERN MARTYROLOGY, OR BLOODY ASSIZES; TOGETHER WITH THE LIVES, TRIALS, AND DYING SPEECHES, OF THOSE EMINENT PROTESTANTS, THAT SUFFERED IN THE WEST OF ENGLAND, AND ELSEWHERE, FROM THE YEAR 1678, TO 1685. TO WHICH IS ADDED, THE LIFE AND DEATH OF GEORGE LORD JEFFREYS.

The Martyrdom of Sir Edmund-Bury Godfrey.

THE clearest method for the description of the martyrdom of this good man, will be first to inquire into the occasion of it; and then the manner, circumstances, and authors; and lastly, the several endeavours that have been used to clear the papists of that indelible guilt, which sticks upon them from so horrid a villany.

For the occasion of his martyrdom, what was said in the summing up the evidence concerning him, but modestly and on supposition only, we may yet venture to affirm positively, this protestant magistrate was certainly murdered, because he was a protestant.

But the particular and special reasons were the following:

1. He had taken examinations about the popish plot, and those not only (as the attorney-general said in the trial of the assassins) perhaps, but undoubtedly more than are now extant. Dr. Oates addressed himself to him with his depositions: he had taken them, and inquired something closely into the design, as his manner was in any thing which belonged to his office. This the papists very well knew, and therefore found it convenient to be rid of a troublesome busy man, who, now he was engaged in the business, was likely to pierce to the bottom of it; and he being once out of the way, the evidence might very easily have been disposed of to their satisfaction.

But here those, whose interest it is to get clear of such a charge, object very pertly; What need, or what advantage, in taking off a justice, when the same things were deposed in other places?

2. The second reason or occasion for this murder will easily answer that objection. They not only bore him malice for what he had already done in Oates's case, and might probably be ignorant of those secret passages transacted before king and council, in relation to Oates's deposition, but were sensible of a deeper reason than all this, and which brought them into more danger than the other.

Mr. Dugdale had received a letter the very night on which this gentleman was martyred (of which more anon) with these words in it, [This night sir Edmund-Bury Godfrey is dispatched.] This came from the papists to Ewers, a popish priest at my lord Aston's, who, after he had read it, communicated the good news to Mr. Dugdale, telling him, One of their enemies was taken out of the way. He being desirous to know how things went, asked, What was the reason they took away his life? Ewers told him, There was a message sent to Mr. Coleman, when in Newgate, to desire him that he would not reveal any thing of the plot; which message came from the duke of York. To which Coleman replied, What was he the nearer, for he had been so foolish as to reveal all to sir Edmund-Bury Godfrey already? But upon the examination of Oates before sir Edmund-Bury Godfrey, he was afraid he would come in as evidence against him, having shown himself eager in the business. To which the duke of York sent word again, If he would take care not to reveal, but conceal it, sir Edmund-Bury Godfrey should not come in against him. And the next news was, that he was dispatched.

Now this effectually takes off the former cavil; and this sir Roger could not but be sensible of; and concluding so unanswerably against what he built so much upon, even lets
it fairly drop, and mentions not a syllable of it in all his book. Which evidence of Mr. Dugdale, is beyond contradiction confirmed by several hints unluckily given in sir Roger's own depositions, where Mr. Wynnel deposes what sir Edmund told him, Coleman must die, and mentioned consuls about a toleration; adding further, That he was master of a dangerous secret that would be fatal to him. Hence nothing can be more plain to any reasonable man, than that sir Edmund was acquainted with Mr. Coleman as well as Dr. Oates, and knew even the minute circumstances in those letters which afterward were brought against him, and stood in fear of his life for that very reason, as for the same he afterward lost it.

For the manner of his death, those who were accomplices therein should best know it; and the objections against their evidence the reader may find cleared, if he will take the pains to look a little lower. After the poor gentleman had several days been dogged by the papists, as Dr. Oates, Mr. Prance, and Mr. Bedlow, unanimously swear, and which he as good as acknowledged to Mr. Robinson, as appears on the trial of his murderers, 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, which, notwithstanding his age and weakness, are objected against its probability; taking him thus at a surprise, and in the dark, it was easy for him to do, especially three or four more of them immediately falling in to assist 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, as I find him called in other places. 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 afterward on the inspection of the surgeons.

For the disposal of the body, they all carried it up into a little chamber of Hill's, another of the murderers, who had been, or was Dr. Godwin's man, where it lay till Monday night, when they removed it into another room, and thence back again till Wednesday, when they carried him out in a sedan about twelve o'clock, and afterward upon a horse, with Hill behind him, to support him, till they got to Primrose-Hill, or, as some say it is called, 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 politiely 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, if the affidavits to this purpose in sir Roger's book may be relied upon.

All this Mr. Prance swears upon the trial of his murderers, with whom he acknowledges he had several consultations before, at the Plow alehouse, and other places, concerning it; whose evidence is confirmed, not only by innumerable other circumstances, but Mr. Bedlow's confession, who was to have been present at the action, had not remorse of conscience hindered him, having been engaged by the conspirators for a great reward, and was afterward to have a considerable part of it for carrying off the body, which he swears he saw in the very room where Prance says it was removed on the Monday night. But even here too he failed them, so it was done without his assistance in the manner before described.

And very sure, no doubt, the great plotters thought they had now made their business: for we are not to fancy these little villains attempted such an action of their own impulse; the great spring we had before in Dugdale's story of Coleman, from whence those large sums must proceed which Bedlow mentions. Now, I say, they thought the business was as sure as the Jews had made the sepulchre, having sealed all the mouths of the parties concerned, with oaths and sacraments, solemnities commonly abused by their party to the foulest villainies. But neither that, nor the
darkness of the night, nor the distance of places, could hinder the Divine Justice from looking through and discovering the villains concerned, and bringing them to punishments worthy their wickedness. It was accomplished in the following manner: His body being found by some who accidentally walked that way, and generally suspected from his former discourses, and many probabilities, that he was murdered by the papists, the king issued a proclamation with a promise of indemnity and £500 reward to any who would discover it. On this Mr. Bedlow wrote a letter to the secretary from the country, concerning his knowledge of something considerable in that matter; and being sent for up to town, revealed whatever he knew of the business. And a little after, Prance being accidentally seized by a constable, then in the house of lords lobby, was known by Mr. Bedlow, having seen his face on that Monday night, when at the same time they saw the body; and who on examination discovered also what his share was in the murder: and, though he afterward denied it, for fear of losing his trade, and such other motives, as he himself confessed, yet in a quarter of an hour he returned again to his first evidence.

But the most difficult task will be what yet remains, the clearing those objections, and some of them plausible ones, and which have led away too many well-meaning men, against the truth of this recited evidence; as well as some insinuations spread abroad, and made the most of to persuade the world this worthy gentleman was guilty of his own death.

But here it cannot be expected that a private person, who has not the advantages of sir Roger, to have warrants for that purpose, and all persons and papers before him relating to that business, and who had great wit, and honesty little enough to pick out, and leave in, what was for his turn; that such a one should be able to go through so many hundred pages as his book consists of, and answer every particular therein. It will be satisfaction enough to any rational man to touch some of the plots and fetches made use of, from one time to another, to wash the Blackamoor white, and clear the papists from this villany, to answer the main objections against the evidence, and bring some corroborating circumstances for the truth of it. And lastly, to show sir Ed-
Gibbons was one of the persons deeply engaged in this design, among so much other good company: and that Mrs. Mary Gibbons is one of the principal evidences sir Roger makes use of in his book. Though this sham was then so thin laid, and this person so well known, that even Farewell and Pain were ashamed to make use of either in their letters to Prance on this subject, but protest very solemnly, That none of those, neither Celiars, the Newgate priests, nor Mrs. Mary Gibbons, or other papists, or popishly affected, knew any thing of the matter, but were all strangers to it.

When this contrivance was found out by all the world to be nothing but a sham as to Celiars's being with child in Newgate, or somebody else in another place, yet was not the indefatigable zeal of that party discouraged; but Mr. Farewell, a person entrusted in managing the estates and lands of the Jesuits, and Pain, brother to the famous Pain, who wrote St. Coleman's elegy, set a new project on foot to the same purpose in some letters sent to Prance, and printed by N. Thomson; which indeed, if we look close into them, will appear to be sir Roger in little, there being the self-same expressions in one as the other, and his mystery seeming to be hardly more than their letters spread a little thinner. The blood gushing out of the wound,—Bedlow's and Prance's east and west contradictions,—The wax dropped on his clothes after he was found, and several other things, the self-same in both of them. And I remember, at that very time, it was shrewdly suspected and rumoured about town, that the same person lay behind the curtain, and thrust their cats-feet into the fire, who has since appeared publicly in prosecution of the same cause.

Before their trial, they reckoned their witnesses by the hundred, pretending to make his self-murder as clear as the sun. When they came to it, and had all the fair play imaginable, Pain's heart failed him, and he pleaded guilty. Farewell made so poor a defence, and the matter was so clearly proved against them, that Farewell and Thomson were both fined by the court, and sentenced to stand in the pillory, with the following inscription over them: For libelling the justice of the nation, by making the world believe that sir Edmund-Bury Godfrey murdered himself. Where how abundantly they were honoured by the spectators, all who know any thing of the story cannot but remember. Thus it lay for some time, and no person was so hardy to make any further attempts that way, while there was any possibility of having justice against them: but when the sheriffs, juries, nay, king and all were changed; when that passed, which poor Oates and all the world have cause to remember; when, if Prance would not unconfess, he knew he must tread the same dolorous way that Oates had done before him, and had now done all that could be desired; then sir Roger took up the cudgels, and published his book, called, The Mystery of sir Edmund-Bury Godfrey's death unfolded; or, which would have been a fitter title, The second edition, with additions, of Farewell's and Pain's letters. The main of what he advances there, will be answered in clearing, as was proposed, the objections against the evidence relating to that matter.

If the ill character of the persons who gave it be urged to invalidate their testimony, as this does not reach all of them, so it has been often answered, Who but such were fit for such villanies? If their seeming disagreement in some part of their evidence, what greater argument that it was no combination? If Prance retracted, we are told by sir Roger himself, That he was a white-livered man, and so might be frightened out of truth as well as into it. And indeed on that very reason it was long before suspected, that if ever he should be bore hard upon, he would not be able to stand it.

But the papists would never kill him, because he had obliged them. As if gratitude was a popish virtue, or charity, any more than faith were to be kept with heretics: those that think so let them look back, and see if the last reign be enough to convince them.

It may be urged on, here are several testimonies in the trial of the murderers, and since, that invalidate the evidence there given, Warner and his wife and maid about Green, That he was at home all that evening when he was accused for committing it. It would be enough to oppose to this, their confession to captain Richardson, that they could do him no good. But besides this, Mr. justice Dolbin's observation on the trial clears it effectually. They swore to the Saturday fortnight after Michael-
mas-day, which was, says the justice, the 19th of October, not the 12th, on which the murder was committed.

If Broadstreet and others testify they were in the room where the body was laid, and Hill's wife so rubs up her memory, that after so many years she remembers what she could not upon his trial, That she and he, and their child, lay in the room all that very time when the body was said to be there; it would not be a shift, but an answer, That they were papists that swore it, who can swear any thing. But besides, Broadstreet acknowledged before the duke of Monmouth, that Hill was gone from his lodgings before this time, as was proved on the trial. Mrs. Tilden says, There was but one key to their door. Mrs. Broadstreet at the same time, with what she owned about Hill, That there were six or seven: contradictions in others, we see, as well as the king's evidence; and these being much homier, and more irreconcilable than theirs, must of necessity destroy the belief of what else they testify.

But the home-thrust is,—The sentinels saw no sedan carried out. This the printed trial easily sets right. The sentinels were Trollop and Wright. Trollop said till ten, and saw a sedan go in, but none out again. Wright said till one, but saw none go out. It must be in Trollop's time, being, as Prance says, about twelve. The sentinels being then at Bury's lodge, smoking and drinking. Trollop says on the trial, he was never at the lodge, but so does not Wright, as any one may see by consulting it, he being never asked the question.

It will give a great light into this deed of darkness, in the next place to consider several circumstantial evidences, which would, of themselves, go very far to prove that sir Edmund-Bury Godfrey was murdered by the papists, and that in the very place and manner which has been already described.

The first of these from sir Edmund's own mouth, which has been already hinted, but shall here be farther cleared.

It was indeed so notorious, that sir Edmund-Bury Godfrey had bodied thoughts, and a sort of a prophetical intimation of his death, and that by the papists; and discoursed of so publicly and generally, that sir Roger could not deny all the matter of fact, but endeavours to avoid the force of it; when he says, as is wit-
answer it is, let any of his best friends be judges.

It would be tedious to bring any more, when this does effectually, as to his own judgment. Only it is remarkable, that these very things are sworn upon the trial by Mr. Oates, That sir Edmund-Bury Godfrey had told him, he had received affronts from great persons, for being so zealous in the business; that he had been threatened; that he went in fear of his life from the popish party; and that he had been dogged several days, but feared them not if they came fairly to work.

For other evidences of his murder by the papists, that which indeed made the greatest noise, was his death being heard of so far off, and in so many different places, before it was known in London. This sir Roger tells us, was spread on purpose by the brothers, to throw it on the papists. But here is this in opposition: Dugdale, against whom he makes no objection, but allows his evidence, makes oath in my lord Stafford's trial, and other places, That this news was brought to one Ewers, a priest, in a letter which he showed him, dated the very night it was done, which had these words in it: This very night, sir Edmund-Bury Godfrey is dispatched. Now I would fain ask, Had these brothers correspondence with the priest? Would they use such a word as that, [dispatched?] Did they write to Ewers too, and bid him tell Dugdale, That this sir Edmund-Bury Godfrey was a busy man, and proper to be taken out of the way? As Dugdale swears he did. Could Dugdale conspire with Oates so long before they knew one another, and while he was himself a prisoner in Staffordshire? And were all these perjured, who witness that Mr. Dugdale did report this before it could be known by any but the very conspirators?

That it was done in that very place, at Somerset House, Providence has left strange confirmation.

The first is, Bury, the porter, refusing to admit any persons into the gates about that time, the 12th, 13th, 14th of October. Nay, that he had denied the prince (prince Rupert, I suppose, it must be) himself admittance, and pretended he had orders for so doing. But these orders he never produced. And more, like a true papist, denied matter of fact when charged with it; and though he had acknowledg
ded to the council he had never such orders before, when sir Thomas Stringer came to witness it, positively denied it.

Two more very remarkable affidavits there are, which give mighty strength to all the former; one of Spence (captain Spence he is called in some copies,) and the other of John Okeley. Spence was a tall, black man, much like sir Edmund Bury Godfrey, as was witnessed by those who knew him; to all which sir Roger only answers, He has been told otherwise. This Spence passing by the same water-gate at Somerset House, two days before sir Edmund's murder, was dragged in thither, being seized by five or six men; but one of them, when they had him in, cried out, This is not he; on which they immediately let him go. Here is a plain evidence of their intentions, and a confirmation of what Bedlow, Oates, and Prance swore of sir Edmund's being dogged so long before. All that is answered to it, is, That there was a suit of law depending between this Spence and Mr. Broadstreet, and therefore, forsooth, he must forswear himself, and wilfully damn his soul, only for a circumstantial evidence and reflection on Hill himself, three or four years after he was hanged, and so on his master, Dr. Godden, and thence again on Mrs. Broadstreet; and all this when it had no influence at all on the suit of law, or them who sued him. But enough of this. Let us now take notice of the next. It was one John Okeley, who that very night, October 12, going by Somerset House, at the water-gate, about nine o'clock, saw there sir Edmund-Bury Godfrey, whom he knew very well, living in the same lane with him; he passed close by him, pulled off his hat to him, as sir Edmund-Bury Godfrey did to him again; when past him, he turned about, and looked on him. And this he told to several persons, which witness the same. To this, the main of what sir Roger objects, is, It was dark, and how should he know him? Certainly, any one that knows London, cannot be ignorant that we have lights in the streets at nine at night; and it was morally impossible, that one who knew him so well, who looked upon him, who put off his hat to him, and he to him again, and who after all this looked back upon him, that such a one should be mistaken in the person.

The last thing to be proved, is, That sir
Edmund-Bury Godfrey did not, nor could he, murder himself in that place, as is pretended by his enemies. He was first missing on Saturday, and therefore, according to their account, his body must have been in the place where it was found till that Thursday night. But had it been there on Tuesday or Wednesday, the pack of hounds which hunted there, both of those days, must have found him. Sir Roger tells us, They might have been on the other side of the ditch, or beat the place carelessly without finding it. But Mr. Faucet's deposition is, That he beat that very place, which surely he was capable of knowing, having been himself there to see it after the body was found. He repeats it, and says twice, It was in that very place, and Harwood says as much, who hunted the day after. One circumstance there is, which makes this evidence yet more conclusive. It was deposed in the trial of Farewell, and several other places, that the body stunk extremely when it was found, which was but the next day after. Now I will ask any unprejudiced man, whether it was so much as possible, that this very place should be beat two days, one after another, and the hounds not scent the body, even though the hunters might perhaps overlook it?

But besides this, there was yet a narrower search made on another occasion in that same field. The story is given in a paper, called, An account of the murder, published by Thompson himself, who, with G. Larkin, another printer, was present, and vouched the matter of fact on their own knowledge. It is this, That while the body lay at the White-house, and the jury were about it, one of the jurymen themselves declared, That a servant of his mother, a butcher, and two boys, made a very strict and narrow search in all parts of the ground for a calf that was lost there, and this both on Monday and Tuesday, and at that time there lay no dead body, belt, gloves, or any thing else there. But were all these two on the wrong side of the hedge? Or where did they look for this calf, in the middle of the field, or in the ditches and hedges, where it was impossible they could have missed of the body, had it been there?

There is one great objection, which sir Roger makes very much of in this matter, though not quite so strong now, as it was some years since; and that is, There was no popish plot at all, therefore no popish murder, which he expresses in his own peculiar way. They hang both upon the same string, and whoever overthrows the one, trips up the heels of the other. Nor indeed is he singular in his opinion, as to a great part of it. For my lord chief justice Pemberton says, on the trial of Farewell, I think it was, If they could have made it out that he had killed himself; all of them would have cried out, the popish plot was a sham raised by the protestants against the papists, and all the plot must have gone for nothing. But now to retort the objection. If there was a popish plot, it is a terrible argument that there was too a popish murder. But that there was one, we must be forced to believe, till we find these things, among many others, answered:

2. The letter produced in Harcourt's trial, wherein the very consult of April 24 is mentioned, and a design then on foot among them, which they were to manage with all imaginable secrecy.
3. The positive oaths of so many men. Some of them of a fair character, and blameless conversation: others no more able to invent such a plot, than their enemies to disprove it.
4. The endeavours of the papists to assassinate, disgrace, buy off, or any way divert the evidence against them; which they were not such fools as to do for nothing.
5. The behaviour of the witnesses ever since. One of them testifying at his death, after the sacrament; another by his life, their malice reaching to his barbarous murder. A third with his blood, and so much as would have perhaps cost any two or three other men their lives, to the truth of their depositions.

And lastly, what transactions we have felt and seen since king James came to the throne, till his departure, are no great evidence that all that plot was a forgery.

From these things it is plain there was a popish plot: from these, and what went before, that this was a popish murder.

The Martyrdom of Mr. Colledge.

MR. COLLEDGE being a man of courage, industry, and sharpness, he 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, I think, in Stafford's trial, where he is 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 endeavoured, as much as possible, to do it a mischief; their kindness to it having been sufficiently experienced in 1666, and even since. In order to which the king was pleased, by the advice of his spiritual brother, to alter the common and almost constant course of parliaments, and call one at Oxford instead of London. Many of the members whereof, and especially those of 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 Colledge protests in his speech, there had been affidavits judiciously made of a formed design against them; being besides removed away from the city of London, which had always so much of the English blood in it, as heartily to love parliaments, and for that reason would have ventured all for their defence. From these, and such like reasons, it was, that several of the parliament men went, accompanied with some of their friends, well armed and accoutred, to Oxford; of which number this Mr. Colledge was one, he waiting on my 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, everybody knows how abruptly they were dissolved, not long after their meeting. It was now grown the entertain-
under the odious, scarecrow name of presbyterians, not only the meal-tub attempt, and several others of the same batch, makes sufficiently appear, but the late essay of Fitz-Harris, above all the rest, was enough to satisfy the most prejudiced persons. He had conspired with some others to write a scandalous libel against the king, which was to be laid on such as they called presbyterians, and this to be sent to their houses, or conveyed into their pockets, and there to be seized, and the persons prosecuted thereupon. This business the Oxford parliament had before them, and began to smell out who set it on foot; and being resolved to find the bottom of it, and lest he should be hanged up on the sudden to prevent his confession, (he now beginning to melt a little) as Hubert, who fired London formerly, was, they impeached him, to keep the examination of that matter to themselves. It is too long to run over the proceedings against him, and the court party's subtle contrivance, to hang, draw, and quarter him, and so to hinder effectually his telling any more tales. It is sufficient to observe, that this design was prosecuted for several years after, and poor Colledge was to bear the brunt, as has been already declared.

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 look like 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 rife of his notes, by which only he could save his life, on which he depended, and that 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; nay, such a sort of a one as is commonly made before the judges, but seldom by them, that it was somebody else did it, that the court, the chief justice 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 bench, 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 get an opportunity to take 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 Colledge'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 Colledge 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 a more romantic improbability, than an army’s lying concealed at Knight’s-bridge, and of the same stamp with Drawcansirs 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, when he was on his life, might cast him into, he yet made so strong a defence, by showing what sort of witnesses were brought against him, hindering them ever after from being believed, and thereby certainly saved many others’ lives, though he could not his own.

Nor can the undaunted courage, and firm honesty of the man be hardly ever enough 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 any the least seeming concern. And though he had considerable time before his execution to consider of it, refused to save his life so meanly, as to make other innocent men’s the price of his own; without which design they had hardly been so kind as to have given him so long a reprieve.

As for his behaviour 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 few modest unprejudiced persons will deny, and which we shall have occasion to make further use of. It is, That a protestant, who believes a heaven and hell, and is not a man of no 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 very 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 allowing 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. Colledge’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. And lower, I knew not of any part of what they swore against me, till I heard it sworn at the bar. Again, All the arms we had were for our defence, in case the papists should have made any attempt by way of massacre, &c. God is my witness, this is all I know. And in this solemn prayer, and some of his almost very last words: It is thee, O God, I trust in. I disown all dispensations, and will not go out of the world with a lie in my mouth. And just after to the people, he said, From the sincerity of my heart, I declare again, that these are the very sentiments of my soul, as God shall have mercy upon me.

Now, upon the whole, I would ask any sober man, what he would answer to this, and how he can forbear, without the greatest violation to all principles of good nature and ingenuity, to pronounce this person innocent?

Thus died Mr. Colledge, whose blood, as he himself desired it might, sufficiently spoke the justice of his cause, who seemed in his speech to have some prophetic intimations, that his blood would not be the last, as indeed it was not, but rather a prelude to that which followed, the edge of the laws being now turned against all those who dared defend them.
The Martyrdom of Arthur, Earl of Essex.

That party, and those persons who were engaged to manage the designs before mentioned, were now entered on the most copious way of introducing what they desired, as well as avoiding what their own consciences, and all the world knew they deserved. Having those in their own hands, who had the executive part of the government in their; and finding, no doubt, a sort of malicious pleasure, as well as advantage, in destroying people by those laws which were made to preserve them; a villany to be compared with nothing but the treason of that monster of a priest, who gave the emperor poison in the blessed sacrament: having wrought up the nation, and all parties therein, to a high ferment, making one side mad for slavery, as if they had all been at Constantinople as well as their sheriff, and learnt the doctrine of the bow-string; some of them treated, others cajoled, others frightened, and some few reasoned into the belief of absolute authority in kings, and active obedience as well as what is called passive, to be paid to all their commands. Some honest, several learned, more witty men, joining in with all their power, to advance the transactions at that time on the wheel. And on the other side, exasperating that party who were more tenacious of their liberties, as much as possible against the constitution, which they saw so horribly abused both in church and state, persuading them all that the clergy were for making them slaves, and themselves and the court great, to ride upon them; whereas really it was only a party, though too large, who made more noise, though they had neither more sense nor number than those who differed from them; and by this means rendering many of the trading part of the nation especially, so dissatisfied with them, and eager against them, that they had reason to fear as bad effects thereof, as they had experienced in the last age, and so sided more closely with that party whence they expected protection. When things were in this posture, and a great many persons either taken off from their natural love to a lawful liberty, which is so much of the nature of an Englishman; the managers of the great intrigue which was to accomplish our ruin, resolved, after they had begun with Colledge, to rise higher, and fly at a nobler game, and take off all those whom they could not win over, or against whom interest or revenge had more keenly engaged them, and who were most likely to make the most vigorous opposition against their attempts. But finding the London juries immovably honest, and no way to accomplish their designs on these persons, while their witnesses would not be believed, and no way to get juries fit for their purpose, but by having sheriffs of the same stamp; and finding the party they had gotten, after all their tricks, which many of those who then knew, are now ashamed of, visibly and fairly outnumbered by those who were not yet ripe for slavery, they betrified themselves of one way to rid themselves of that inconveniency, which was by a quo warranto against the city of London, that they might more effectually, and with less noise, have what sheriffs they pleased; or, in effect, hang whomsoever they thought their enemies, and not be forced almost to blush at those visible and sensible illegalities with which they had forced those officers upon the city.

This they had accomplished in the year 1683, when judgment was given against the charter of London, whose liberties had been confirmed to them by William the Conqueror, and delivered down before from immemorial ages, and this by two judges only in Westminster-Hall, though the greatest cause, one may venture to say, that ever was legally tried therein.

Now by this time they had, after so many fruitless endeavours, brought something of a plot to bear; and with this advantage above all their former, that there was really something in it, although, as Bays says in another case, That truth, which was notoriously blended with lies and perjuries. The occasion of it we may best meet with in Holloway's most ingenuous acknowledgment; "By arbitrary and illegal ways, and force of arms, they had got sheriffs to their mind; witnesses they had before, but wanted jurors to believe them. Now they have got sheriffs, who will find jurors to believe any evidence against a protestant, and so hang up all the king's friends by degrees. None being suffered to come near the king, but those who have been declared enemies to the king and kingdom, who to save themselves, do endeavour to keep all things from the king's knowledge, and persuade him against parliaments," &c.
HISTORY OF THE MARTYRS.

Thus much for the occasion. The design seems to be the same with what was intended at first, by many of those great and eminent persons, both clergy and laity, in their late appearance in arms; though by the providence of God, for the security of the nation, and reason of state, it has since been carried farther than their's was ever to have been. Seeing fair means, says Holloway, would not do, but all things on the protestants side misrepresented to the king by such great criminals, and none more in favour than those; to take the king from his evil council, and that (as the late wonderful turn was transacted, and as it is impossible to be otherwise in business of so large a concern) by a general insurrection in several parts of England at once. All those who have had any share in the present transactions, which are upon the matter all the nation, have shown themselves plainly of the same mind with those who were engaged in this, on which the dispute runs, as to the reason of the thing, and the principles on which they proceeded; and their only difference is about matter of fact, whether things were then at that height as to need desperate remedies. If it be objected, that such attempts are only glossy pretences, veiled under the specious name of the public good; the answer is as ready as the objection. Is there any difference between reason and no reason, truth and falsehood? There is a right, and a wrong, and if ever liberties were invaded, and the ends of government vacated and annulled, never were the foundations of such a design plainer than on this occasion: so that it was indeed, what was of it, a counterplot, rather than a plot against the government and laws of England, and that when no other remedy could, without a miracle, be expected.

That this was the height and utmost of the then design, and that no brave good man need to be ashamed of it, I think all, or most men are by this time pretty well satisfied. But alas! this would not serve the turn of the managers; even this might not, nor perhaps could be, as certainly it was not, fairly proved against several, who suffered for it; this was a thing so necessary and defensible, that there was occasion of laying fouler colours upon it, to fright and amuse the world, and let them stand by patiently, and see their best and bravest patriots sink, with much such prudence and wisdom as the sheep in the fable suffered those bloody mastiffs to be destroyed, who so often broke the peace between them and the harmless wolves; and were afterward in their turns handsomely worried, and justly eaten up for their reward. It was convenient to make somewhat more of it; there must be an assassination grafted on this insurrection, or else all would not be worth a halter; it was the business and interest of the popish party, to render their enemies as odious as possible to the people, of whom for their steady zeal and love to their religion and liberties, they had long been the darlings. To accomplish this, it was very necessary to get some persons to insinuate into their counsels, to inflame things higher, to make odious proposals of assassinations, and murders, and such bloody villanies as alarm the good nature of an Englishman with the very mention of them; which yet some of the honester and wiser looking upon as mad hot words only, or if any more intended, having it in their power to prevent such wickedness another way, would not yet turn informers, nor ruin those persons, who in all probability were only trepangers to ruin them. In all the papers relating to this matter, we shall find all discourses of this nature centered in West and Rumsey. West was very much for lopping business, for killing them in their calling, and was full and eager for it. Though Walcot, Holloway, and all whoever heard it proposed, received it still with the greatest detestation imaginable, as a most base and bloody action, which they never would have their own hands imbrued in, nor their posterity stained with. That all the great persons of birth and honour, were absolutely against so foul an action, and abhorred it from their souls, we may find, even without the forced confession of their worst enemies, by the lord Russel's concern when such a thing was muttered, and the duke of Monmouth's answer, God so—kill the king! I will never suffer it. The account we have of it, is from him who should best know, and that is West, who in his discourse with Holloway on this occasion, tells him of the Newmarket and Rye-house design, that the king and duke were to be killed as they came by, for which they had provided arms for fifty men, and were promised Rumbald's house, which lay in the road. When asked, who was to act it, who were to
fire these arms for fifty men, pistols, carbines, and blunderbusses? He could name but two men, Rumbald and his brother; who certainly must have been very dexterous to have discharged all those dreadful weapons themselves without assistance, and is much such a likely story as Colledge’s being so vain to attempt seizing the king by himself, without any assistance.

But if even these two brothers, who very likely were picked out by the evidence for the king-killers, merely for their hard names, the very sound of which would be as shrewd an argument of their guilt to women and children, and with as much justice, as some of the odd names of the poor people in the west were made, at least a strong presumption against them, and almost as mortal as an innuendo. If even these two were innocent of this horrid business, who were the only persons engaged therein, pray, what then becomes of the assassination? And will not Rumbald’s blunderbuss bear laughing at full as well as Pickering’s carbine or screw-gun, and chewed bullets? But if there be any thing solid in that observation in Colledge’s case, That a Christian and a protestant, will not forswear himself when he is just going out of the world; if this fair supposition may but be granted me, as I see not how it can be avoided, the matter will be clear enough; Rumbald himself in his speech at his execution in Scotland, absolutely disclaiming and denying any hand in any such design. See his speech and answer to his indictment: he desired all present to believe the words of a dying man; as for having designed the king’s death, he never directly, nor indirectly, intended such a villany; that he abhorred the very thoughts of it; and that he blessed God he had that reputation in the world, that he knew none had the impudence to ask him the question; and he detested the thoughts of the action, and hoped all good people would believe him; which was the only way he had to clear himself; and he was sure that this truth should one day be manifested to all men. So at his execution: I think it necessary to clear myself of some aspersions laid on my name; and first, that I should have had so horrid an intention of destroying the king and his brother. Where he repeated what he had said to the jury on the same subject.

The sum is, If any assassination, it must have been from the Rumbalds: if not by them, as has been proved, then not at all. If no assassination in this plot, then nothing is left of malignity in it, but a lawful and laudable opposition to the breach and ruin of our good laws and government; and even that, as will be proved, not proved against most of those that by the iniquity of the times suffered for the same.

We have been forced to give this fair and impartial scheme or idea of that design, which was at that time represented so formidable and dreadful, before we could handsomely proceed to the death of this noble lord, or those others that followed him; and that as well from the order of the history, as for his vindication. And as has been remarked, it was necessary for that party who managed our ruin, that the forementioned business of the assassination should be believed, and nothing like a real one actually performed, to gain credit to a feigned one only pretended: for what could be a greater argument that there was some black wickedness at the bottom, some sin of an extraordinary stain, like the murder of princes, bearing too hard on his conscience, that could possibly induce so great a man to so unchristian an attempt on his own person? Hence they might, and no doubt did argue; hence the very rabble may easily reason; certainly there was more in it than only just consultations, and necessary measures taken for the public safety by the peers of the realm, by the king and kingdom’s best friends, to deliver his majesty from those familiars that haunted him. There was more than this, and this lord was conscious of it, or else certainly he had never acted what he has. Now this would effectually excite that aversion which must necessarily follow from all honest men, to a party who could be guilty of such horrid designs. This must of necessity, as in effect it did, sway much with those juries who were to sit upon the lives of any accused or concerned in the same business, had there not been more weighty reasons to be produced below, towards the finding them guilty. Although, it is certain, by their own confession, the best excuse they could make for innocent blood, particularly in Russel’s case, was that confirmation they had to the evidence sworn against them by Essex’s murder. Besides, there might be a barbarous kind of pleasure, in opening
this plot with a scene so like that which began the popish one; and that in all probability, by the same actors whose hands were deep in the others.

There was a gentleman killed, which contributed very much towards the credit of that plot, though in another way. Here must be one to undergo the same fate for the same reason. And both of them too pretendedly to kill themselves, just one as much as another.

These preliminaries being cleared, it will be now time to come to the person of this noble lord, his family, and former manner of life.

Every one knows he was of the illustrious family of the Capels, whose father died for a family, whence he deserved better treatment for his sake, and had received it, had he not fallen into the hands of popish gratitude and mercy; which his enemies knowing too well, and doubting the sweetness of temper, which all the world ever acknowledged in king Charles the Second, would not give him over to their public revenge; in all probability, resolved to take a shorter course with him. He had been some years before in the highest place under the king in Ireland, and there behaved himself with that wisdom and candour, inseparable from all the actions of his life, and lived above blame, though not above envy: being recalled thence unexpectedly, and dealt with not very handsomely; which yet he bore with a spirit like a brave man, and a Christian.

My lord of Essex was a person, whom, it was no doubt the highest interest of the popish faction to have gotten out of the way, even though there had been no such extraordinary reason as has been mentioned. He 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 dying as sir Edmund-Bury Godfrey. He was, besides all this, they very well knew, 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.

As for the immediate subject of his death, the manner and circumstances thereof; it must first be granted, and a very reasonable demand it is, that for the present only supposing he was murdered only by the papists, they would, we may be sure, make it their business to render the manner of it as dark as the hell in which it was contrived. Murders, especially of that magnitude, are not used to be committed in the face of all the world, and at noon-day. When power is engaged in any villany, when the same power is still continued or increased, and can be easily exercised in taking out of the way the traitors, though it loves the treason; and when so many years have intervened since the fact, it is no wonder at all if things are more in the dark, than they would have been, had, at that very instant, liberty been given to have inquired into it, which was so loudly and passionately demanded. But this we are yet certain of, though no more is yet publicly known in this matter than what has formerly been printed; and there may be several reasons, both of state and decency, which may perhaps make it convenient that things should always remain as they are; yet there are already such violent probabilities, both that he was murdered, and murdered by papists; and of the other side, such at least next to impossibilities, in his acting it himself, that as long as the world stands, no modest man will be able either to get by them, or over them; nor the most impudent or cunning, to outface, or give them an answer.

For the probability that he was murdered by popish contrivement, besides those already named, why they should do it! here are these following arguments, that they did it: Their principles too openly known to be denied; their practices in all ages, and this present; sir Edmund-Bury Godfrey, the very prototype of Essex, Arnold, all the pretended legal murders, and all that has since happened. But if it is said, some papists are better and braver than others; let us come nearer. Would those that formerly burned London; those who have since broke all the obligations of gratitude and good nature, nay, public faith, and the most solemn oaths which it is possible for a man to take; who, if the testimonies of such as have confirmed it with their dying breaths, and last drop of blood, may be credited, who have encouraged, hired, paid men for attempts to be made on the lives of their nearest, and too tender relations; would such as these stick at a single murder, a small venial villany, to advance their cause, and merit heaven into the bargain? When pretence of
justice, necessity of affairs, reason of state, and so many more such weights might be thrown into the scales! More than all this—When such persons as these were actually in the place where this murder was committed, at the very instant it was done! All these together, with what is yet to follow, amount to as strong arguments and pregnant circumstances as the nature of the thing will bear, and mark out the murderers as plainly and visibly, as if they had come out of his chamber with white sleeves, and a long knife in their hands, bloody all over.

And indeed there seems need of little more than relating bare, simple, indubitable matter of fact, and such as hardly any body will deny, to satisfy any cool rational man in the business.

The earl of Essex's throat was cut in the Tower the 13th of July, about eight or nine in the morning, at which time the duke of York, a bigoted papist, his known bitter enemy, was there present. This was reported at Andover, 60 miles from London, the 11th of July, the first day of his imprisonment, and as common town-talk in every body's mouth, as sir Edmund-Bury Godfrey's at the time of his murder, and told a person travelling on the road near the same place, which was witnessed before even a Jeffreys, in a public court of judicature. A deputy coroner present at the inquest, instead of a legal one; none of the relations to attend the inquest. The body removed from the place where it was first laid, stripped, the clothes taken away, the body and rooms washed from the blood, the clothes denied the view of the jury. The principal witnesses examined, only Bomeny his man, and Russel his warder, who might be so justly suspected of being privy to, if not actors in it. That the jury hastened and hurried the verdict, when so great a man, a peer of the realm, and such a peer, was concerned, who was the king's prisoner. When sir Thomas Overbury had been before murdered in the Tower, and his jury brought in an unrighteous verdict; when even sir Edmund-Bury Godfrey's jury, so much cried out against for their ill-management, adjourned their verdict, and staid considerably before they brought it in. This at a time when the lord Russel was to be tried for a share in the plot, in which the earl was also accused of being concerned. One branch of which conspiracy, and which it was so much the papists interest to have the belief fixed on it, was a barbarous murder of the duke and king; when nothing could so immediately and critically tend to that noble gentleman's ruin; when the news 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 ill methods used to prevent the truth of all from coming to light. Mr. Braddon was harrassed, imprisoned, and fined for stirring in it. On the fair and impartial consideration of these things, hardly one of which but is notorious matter of fact, granted by all sides; what can a man conclude from the whole, but whether he will or no—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 justly charged? And this from the manner of it. His throat was cut from one jugular to the other, and by the Aspera Arteria and windpipe to the Vertebrae of the neck, both the jugulars being thoroughly divided. How often has it been asked, and how impossible it should ever receive an answer: How could any living man, after the prodigious flux 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? One could as soon believe the story of the pirate, who after his head was cut off, ran the whole length of his ship; or that of St. Dennis, which was, no doubt, grafted on the other.

Nor is it rendered less impossible from the instrument with which those who did it would persuade the world it was performed by himself. A little French razor. Had Bomeny held to the penknife, it had been much more likely. But here was nothing to bear or rest upon in the cutting, it having no tongue to hold it up in the haif. And as it is observed in the prints on that subject, he must there-
fore, supposing he had done it himself, have held his hand pretty far upon the very blade, and so with about two inches and a half of it, whittle out a wound of four inches deep, and all round his neck, as if he had intended to have been his own headsman, as well as executioner, out of remorse of conscience for his treason.

Lastly, His character makes it morally impossible he should be guilty of so mean and little an action. It is for women, and eunuchs, and lovers, and romantic heroes to kill themselves; not men of known virtue, temper, wisdom, piety, and gravity; who had formerly digested as great affronts as could be put upon a man, with a candour and calmness so worthy a man and a Christian, who had been so far from defending so barbarous and unmanly a thing as self-murder, as is suggested, that he had rather expressed himself with detestation concerning it.

And as he ought not, and could not be hurried into so fatal an action by a false mistaken greatness of mind; as no such thing, or so much as the least footsteps of it appeared in the whole course of his life; so from all his actions in the Tower before his death, we may fairly deduce quite the contrary to what his enemies have asserted; and by observing his conduct there, discover plainly that no such black intention ever entered into his mind. This appears from ordering his people to have his own plate sent for out of the country to dress his meat, as well as a considerable parcel of wines bought and brought into the Tower for his drinking, that he might not stand to the courtesy of his enemies; and this sufficient to last him till he could be delivered by due course of law.

I can foresee but one thing that can with the least plausibility be objected to this considerable passage; and it is, That this was when he was first committed, before he fell melancholy, which he more eminently did, when he heard my lord Russell was to be tried, as being grieved and desperate for having brought so brave a gentleman into such unhappy circumstances, as Bomeny somewhere or other pretends to, on discoursing with him on that particular.

But there are two answers which cut all the sinews of this objection: First, That this was the very day before he was murdered, that he sent both for his wine and silver vessels. Now, Bomeny lays the foundation of his melancholy, and the intention to be his own destroyer, on the very first day he came into the Tower. For he says in his deposition in Braddon’s trial, That he had ordered his servant two days before to provide a penknife for him, on pretence of cutting his nails, but with an intent of committing that fatal and tragical act. The 13th of July was the day of his martyrdom, two days before then must be the 11th, the day of his commitment: but it was the intervening day, the 12th of that month, on which he took such care to eat and drink safely: whereas, had there been any such design in his head, he would never have taken such measures; and if he had had an intention to amuse his people, that no such thing might have been suspected, he might have taken other ways, less troublesome and chargeable.

But what yet clears all the remaining scruple, is his ordering his gentleman to take notes at my lord Russell’s trial, appointing him how to manage himself for the effecting it, so calmly and orderly, that he cannot be supposed either disturbed or desperate on account of his own guilt, or Russell’s unhappiness; or to have taken this course with himself, as Jeffreys says in Braddon’s trial, to prevent justice, though others did it with him, to prevent mercy.

One great argument more; that, which indeed, when it happened, did much alarm all thinking men, and make them shrewdly suspect foul play had been offered, was the ill-treatment those met with who dared but pry into those Arcana Imperii, and desire but in a legal way that the business might be reviewed, and searched to the bottom. This was granted in the case of poor sir Edmund, many years after his death, and commission given to inquire into it, to L’Estrange. But it is confessed there was a great deal of difference. One, as it was managed, tending to root up all belief of a popish plot. The other, if it had been honestly examined, might have done as much in reality to a protestant one. The great tenderness of some persons in this case, and their huge aversion and unwillingness to be touched thereabouts, made people more than suspect, that there was some sore or other in the case which would not endure it. Mr. Braddon had heard of a boy, who had been playing before Essex’s window that morning, saw a bloody razor thrown out of the window; he thought
he should do the king service to make a
discovery if any injury had been offered to
one of his subjects, especially so great and
good a person. He brings the boy with him
to my lord Sunderland, and for his reward
is himself brought before the council, severely
reprimanded, and forced to give £2000 bail
to answer an information for suborning the
boy to say what he did. Upon which, after a
great many worse vexations, which besides
the charge and trouble, hindered also his pro-
sucation of the business while it was yet fresh
and warm; he was at last tried: the very
words in the indictment running thus, For his
procuring and suborning false witnesses to
prove that the earl of Essex was not a felon
of himself; &c. Of which, according to Jeff-
freys's law, and the conscience of the then
juries, he was found guilty, and fined for
the same; though not the least syllable of
practice or subornation proved against him;
though the boy did himself acknowledge he
had said those things, as well as several wit-
nesses proved it; though it was terribly sus-
picious that some art had been afterward used
with the boy to make him deny it; though
Jeffreys stormed and raved after his usual
manner, when Mr. Wallop did put such a
question, and would by no means have it an-
swered.

But whatever this courageous honest gen-
tleman suffered from their spite and malice,
he bore all with handsome, and truly English
resolution. As he before his imprisonment,
and since, was indefatigably diligent in get-
ting at the bottom of this foul business; all
Englishmen must own, he has deserved the
love and honour of his country, who was not
discouraged from acting even in the worst of
times, against a whole enraged faction, where
he had such firm and pregnant circumstances
on which to ground his attempt; though he
could not but be sensible he must undergo all
the censures of his friends, as forward and im-
prudent; as well as all the hate and malice
of his own and his country's enemies. He
deserves a much fairer commendation than
here can be given him; but however, this was
a just debt due to his courage and honesty,
when he alone durst undertake what all the
world else was afraid of; durst still continue
firm to honour and conscience, and his first
resolution, in spite of fines and imprisonments,
and has outlived them all, to carry on his first
undertakings; whose design therein is, no
doubt, just and generous, whatever the event
proves; and although so much dust may have,
since it happened, been purposely thrown
on the action, that it may be now more difficult,
and perhaps unsuccessful to trace it, than it
was before.

The Martyrdom of William Lord Russel.

The next who fell under their cruelty, and
to whose death Essex's 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 is 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, though not raised to the
honours at present enjoys, till king Edward's
time, when John Russel, a Dorsetshire gentle-
man, who had done many services, and re-
ceived many favours from the crown, both in
Henry the Seventh, and Henry the Eighth's
time, being by the latter made lord high admiral,
and at his death lord high steward of Eng-
land, for the solemnity of the coronation; ob-
tained such a victory for his young master
against the rebels, as was rewarded with the
title of the earl of Bedford. The occasion of
it was thus: Idolatry and superstition being
now rooting out by the public authority, and
images every where pulling down, the loyal
papists mutinied, and one of their priests stab-
bbed a commander of the king's, who was obey-
ing his orders, and 10,000 of the deluded rab-
bles rose in the defence of that barbarous ac-
tion, and their old mass and holy water;
against whom this fortunate lord was sent
with an army, who routed them all, relieved
Exeter, which they had besieged, and took
their gods, banners, crucifixes, and all the rest
of their trumpery, wherein the deluded crea-
tures trusted for victory. Thus the family of
the Russels were early enemies to the Romish
superstition, though this brave gentleman only
paid the scores of all his ancestors. The son
and heir of this John, was Francis, second earl
of Bedford, who was as faithful to the crown
as his father, an enemy and terror to the
French, and a friend to the protestant religion, as may appear by the learned books of Wickliff, which he collected, and at his death bequeathed to a great man, who he knew would make good use of them. His eldest son, William lord Russel, the late duke of Bedford, is sufficiently known to every true Englishman, and his person and memory will be honoured by them as long as the world lasts. But it is necessary good men should not be immortal; if they were, we should almost lose their examples, it looking so like flattery. But to do them justice while they are living, with more safety and less censure, we may discourse of that noble gentleman, his son and name-sake, William lord Russel, who made so great a figure in our courts and parliaments, before he was sacrificed to the cruelty and revenge of his popish enemies. If we could find his first offence, which lay behind the scene, and was indeed the cause of his death, though other colours were necessary to amuse the public, we must look some years backwards, as he himself does in his last speech, wherein he tells the world, He cannot but think his earnestness in the matter of the exclusion, had no small influence on his present sufferings; being chosen knight of the shire for Bedfordshire, where the evenness and sweetness of his behaviour, and his virtuous life, made him so well beloved, that he will never be forgotten. He began sooner than most others to see into that danger we were in from popery, and all those fatal consequences which have since happened; and described them as plainly as if he had more than the ordinary inspection of a prudent man into futurities.

Being marked out, and, among others, appointed for the slaughter, he was taken up and imprisoned for that end and purpose in the Tower, and brought to his trial above all the days in the year, on Essex's day, the 13th of July, 1683. He was brought to the Old Bailey, and the same morning tried for high treason. He earnestly desired he might have respite, and might not be tried that day, since he had some witnesses that could not be in town till the night; nay, they were in such post haste, and so hot a scent for his blood, that on his earnest desire, 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 both Plunket, the titular Irish primate, and Fitz-Harris, before spoken of, were both of them tried the term after they were arraigned; though in both cases the attorney opposed it; and even here in the case of treason, at the Old Bailey too, Whitebread's trial was put off to another sessions. If it is pleaded, the case is different, and that there was reason for the one, but not for the other; it will be readily granted, though my lord's evidence were not ready, theirs was; they had concerted business better, and just at that time news was brought hot into the house, that my lord of Essex had this morning prevented justice, as has been before remarked in the story of Essex; as also, that several of the jury had said, They had never found Russel guilty, had it not been for that accident. And indeed, were that all in the case, there would be still room for a great deal of charity: for though there was no proper evidence against the prisoner, yet very few persons in the world, perhaps, could have been found, whose minds would have been so firm, and reason so clear, as not to be, whether they would or no, hindered and biassed by such a sudden report as this brought in among them, when they had no time to consider calmly of the matter; and this, no doubt, was very well known by those who ordered things in the manner before noted. But I say, it were to be wished, for the honour of the English nation, that this had been all the foul play in the case, and that there had not been so many thousand guineas employed in this and other trials, as the great agitators thereof have lately confessed to have been. The names of his jury, as I find them, are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>John Martyn</th>
<th>William Butler</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>William Rouse</td>
<td>James Pickering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jervas Seaton</td>
<td>Thomas Jeve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Fashion</td>
<td>Hugh Noden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Short</td>
<td>Robert Brough</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Toriano</td>
<td>Thomas Brough</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When he found he must expect neither favour nor justice, as to the delaying of his trial, he excepted against the foreman of the jury, because not a freeholder; which for divers and sundry reasons, almost, if not all the judges, having the happiness to light on dif-
frent ones, and scarce any two of the same, was overruled, and given against him; though that same practice since declared and acknowledged one of the great grievances of the nation. His indictment ran in these words, He did conspire and compass our lord the king, his supreme lord, not only of his kingly state, title, power, and government of this his kingdom of England, to deprive and throw down; but also our said sovereign lord the king to kill, and to death to bring and put; and the ancient government of this kingdom of England to change, alter, and wholly subvert; and a miserable slaughter among the subjects of our said lord the king, through his whole kingdom of England to cause and procure, and an insurrection and rebellion against our said lord the king to move, procure, and stir up within this kingdom of England. And lower, He and divers others did consult, agree, and conclude insurrection and rebellion against our sovereign lord the king to move and stir up, and the guards for the preservation of the person of our said sovereign lord the king to seize and destroy.

Now that all this was not intended as a matter of form only, we may see by 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, were a consult about a rising, about seizing the guards, and receiving messages from the earl of Shaftsbury 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 kind questions put very frequently to lead and drive the evidence; only one of them witnessing to any one point.

The first of whom was colonel Rumsey, who swears, That he was sent with a letter from Shaftsbury, who lay concealed at Wap-

ping, 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, asking him, Whether he found my lord Russel averse, or agreeing to it? Who, no doubt, answered, Agreeing. But being afterward on the trial asked, Whether he could swear positively, that my lord Russel heard the message, and gave any answer to it? All that he says is this, That when he came in, they were at the fireside, but they all came from the fireside to hear what he said.

All that Shepherd witnesses, is, 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 seizible, 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 the florid lord Howard, who very artificially begins low, being, forsooth, 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 my lord complains, the jury were prepossessed against him; he at last makes his evidence bear directly upon the point for which he came thither, and swears, That after my lord Shaftsbury 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. Hambden’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 too) that he was sure my lord Russel was there. Being asked whether he said any thing, he answered, That every one knew him to be a person of great judgment, and not very lavish of discourse. Being again goaded on by Jeffreys, with a—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 swears, 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. Whose hearsay evidence being not encouraged, Jeffreys ends very prettily, telling the court, they would not use any thing of garniture, but leave it as it was.

As for Rumsey, the first witness: as for his person, my lord Candish proved on the trial, that my lord Russel had a very ill opinion of him, and therefore it was not likely he would entrust him with such a secret.

As to his evidence, squeezed out of him, as it was, in both branches of the design, seizing the guards, and the rising of Taunton, he says in gross and 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 the lord Howard does after, that silence gives consent; for it appears not, nor does he swear, that my lord spoke one word about it. But he himself, in his last speech, which was not a Jesuit’s, and which we have all the reason in the world to believe exactly true, since, as he himself says in it, He always detested lying, though ever so much for his advantage; and hoped none would be so unjust, or uncharitable, to think he would venture on it in these his last words, for which he was soon going to give an ac-
ample, begun first with hearsay, he had made as stabbing an evidence as ever one of the others; or had they but let him run to the end of his story, and take things methodically, as his lordship did before him.

For Shepherd, all must grant he says not a syllable to the purpose, or any thing which affects my lord. He can hardly tell whether he was there when there was the discourse of seizing the guards, but speaks not a word of my lord’s hearing, or in the least wise consenting thereunto.

As for my lord Howard’s evidence, we may, without seculatum magnatum, affirm, that every lord is not fit to make a privy counsellor; no, nor every witty lord neither, especially in a business of such a concern. 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 my 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 too is so happy to have a better memory than Rumsey, as well as West had; and says, that the duke of Monmouth told him, Rumsey had conveyed my lord Russel to Shaftsbury, 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 larger scope as to the time, the end of October, or the beginning of November, far enough from the 17th or 18th of the month before. Rumsey says, on this disappoint of the Taunton men and Trenchard, Shaftsbury 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 Shaftsbury went off. As to 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 remark-
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 naked
word, since the evidence who swore against
him being such as were neither credible, nor
indeed so much as legal witnesses, the accu-
sation of itself must fall to the ground. If le-
gal, they were not credible, because as my lord
Delamere observes in this case, they had no
pardons, but hunted, as the cowardly does,
with strings about their necks, which West, in
his answer to Walcot's letter, ingenuously ac-
knowledges, and says, It is through God and
the king's mercy, he was not at the apparent
point of death. That is, in a fair construction,
was not just turning over, but was upon trial,
to see whether he would do business, and de-
serve to escape hanging. Much such a ho-

norrible way of getting pardon, as the fellow
who saved his own neck by turning hangman,
and doing the good office to his own father.

Nor indeed was the great witness, the ho-
norrible lord who cast this noble person, so
much as a legal, any more than a credible wit-
ness. 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. Let any think of another way
if they can. The first of these was precluded;
that was that which had before been made use
of to shun off a truer plot, and much more
valid evidence. But here 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 afterward accuses
him? If this be the case or no here, let any
one read the following depositions, and make
an indifferent judgment. My lord Anglesey
witnesses, He was at the earl of Bedford's, af-

ter his son was imprisoned, where came in my

lord Howard, and began to comfort him, say-
ing, He was happy in so wise a son, and wor-
thy 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, and only
related to the assassination, as he says for
himself in his paring distinction. Look then
a little lower to Dr. Burnet, whom the 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 con-
fesses voluntarily, nay, unnecessarily; though
perhaps in my lord Bedford's case, good na-
ture might work upon him. Here is the par-
ing of his apple broke all to pieces. No
shadow, no room left for his distinction be-
 tween the insurrection and assassination; but
without any guard or mitigation at all, he
solemnly swears, he knew not of any plot, nor
believed any.

But it was no great matter, for the jury were
resolved to know and believe it, whether he
did or no.

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 him-
self and party. This he fairly acknowledges;
and let all the world be the jury, whether they
would destroy one of the bravest men in it, on
the evidence of such a person? But there is
yet a further answer. His cousin, Mr. How-

ard, 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,
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 believe that
he would outface the thing here too? That
he would perjure himself for nothing, where
no danger, no good came on it? No, certain-
ly, his lordship had more wit, and conscience,
and honour; he ought to be vindicated from
such an imputation, even for the credit of his
main evidence; for my lord Grey, he tells us,
was left out of their councils for his immorali-
ties; and had he himself been such a sort of
a man, those piercing heads in the council
HISTORY OF THE MARTYRS.

would have certainly found him out before, and never admitted him among them. As for the very thing, Mr. Howard tells it as generously, and with as much honest indignation as possible, in spite of the checks the court gave him. He took it, says he, upon his honour, his faith, and as much as if he had taken an oath before a magistrate, that he knew nothing of any man concerned in this business, and particularly of the lord Russel; of whom, he added, that he thought he did unjustly suffer. So that if he had the same soul on Monday, that he had on Sunday (the very day before,) this could not be true that he swore against the lord Russel. My lord Russel's suffering was imprisonment, and that for the same matter on which he was tried, the insurrection, not the assassination. If my lord Howard knew him guilty of that for which he was committed, though not the other, how could he then say, it was unjustly done?

After all this, it would be almost superfluous to go any further, or insert the evidence given by Dr. Tillotson, Burnet, Cox, and others, not only of his virtuous and honourable behaviour, but especially of his judgment about any stirs, or popular insurrections, that he was absolutely against them, that it was folly and madness till things came to be regulated in a parliamentary way, and thought it would ruin the best cause in the world to take any such ways to preserve it.

All this and more would not do, die he must, the duke ordered it, the witnesses swore it, the judges directed it, the jury found it; and when the sentence came to be passed, the judge asked, as is usual, What he had to say why it should not be pronounced? 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 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 by 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 I would fain know, what is the reason of the prisoner's being asked that question, What he has to say for himself? Is it only formality, or banter? He makes an exception, which the judge himself confesses 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. Well, evidence, or none, the truth is, was not the question? For being found guilty, sentence past upon him; whence he was removed to Newgate. While he was there, the importunity of his friends, as he handsomely 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 that was begging to save it. But with how much success, it may easily be guessed by any who knew the duke's temper, nor is it forgotten how barbarously his lady and children were repulsed, and the king's good nature not suffered to save one of the best men in his kingdom. Dr. Burnet and Dr. Tillotson were with him much 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 be.

After the fruitless applications 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, went into his own coach, about nine o'clock, with Dr. Tillotson and Dr. Burnet; whence he was carried to Great-Lincoln's-Inn-Field 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 papists, who indeed had sufficient reason; my lord Powis's people expressing, as it
is said, a great deal of pleasure and satisfaction. There, after he had again solemnly protested his innocence, and that he was far from any design against the king's person, or of altering the government: nay, that he did upon the words of a dying man profess, that he knew of no plot against the king's life or government; and delivering one of the finest speeches in the world 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 considerable 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. There was a great storm, and many loud claps of thunder the day of his martyrdom.

The Martyrdom of Captain Walcot, &c.

Captain Walcot and his fellow-sufferers, in order of time, should have gone first, he being convicted before my lord Russell, and executed on Friday, as he was on Saturday. But my lord Russell's fate having so immediate a dependence on the Earl of Essex's, and all the plot hanging on him; especially they two making the greatest figure of any who suffered on this occasion; it looked more proper and natural to begin with them, and reserve the other to this place. Captain Walcot was a gentleman of a considerable estate in Ireland, but more remarkable for the rare happiness of having eight children all at once living, and most of all, for his love to his country, which cost him his life.

The pretended crime for which Walcot suffered, and which West and others witness against him, was consulting the death of the king, and charging the guards, at his return from New-market, while the dreadful blunderbuss was to be fired into the coach by Rumbald, or some others. His privacy to discourse about the king's death was but misprision. For his acting in it, they could not have pitched on a more unlikely man to command a party in so desperate an attempt as charging the guards, than one that was sick and bedridden of the gout, as about this time, and often besides, the captain was. Nor seems West's pretence more likely, that he refused to be actual in the assassination, because of the baseness of it, but offered to charge the guards, while others did it; much as wisely and tenderly, as if he had denied to cut a man's throat, but consented to hold his hands while others did it. 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, whilst others killed him; or to kill him with his own hands! Here then, it is plain, lies the pinch of the matter; West and Rumbald, &c. had been frequently discoursing at that bloody, villainous rate; West was most impatiently eager of having it done; he proposed the lopping them at a play, which he said would be in their own calling.

West and Rumbald were the main pillars, and almost the only witnesses on which the credit of that action dependend who appear all through the great and almost sole managers thereof, and who accuse others for 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 that of dying men, who could expect no pardon in this world, nor the other, for a falsehood. Besides Rumbald's solemn protestation; see Walcot's speech and paper, wherein he as deeply affirms, as a man can do, that West bought arms for this villainous design (which cannot be expressed with desolation enough) without any direction of his, nay, without any direction, knowledge, or privy 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 before recited, clears himself and Walcot, and shows us what West is. In another place he affirms, that Walcot told him Ferguson had the chief management of the intended assassination. Rumbald's hard name, as has been said already, Ferguson's ill name, and the absence of them both, brought them in all probability into the business; and Wal-
cot's being past answering for himself or them, 

made it very adviseable to charge so much on 

him. So in the same nature Ferguson was the 

author of that expression Walcot had from 

West; Ferguson undertook for the duke of 

Monmouth; Ferguson proposed to seek for an 

opportunity between Windsor and Hampton- 

Court. The men to commit the assassination 

were all provided by Ferguson, Rumbald, &c. 

And I remember another of them, or he him- 

self, talks of fifty men engaged for the very 

action. Now as mere good nature, and the 

love I have to my countrymen, will never suf- 

fer me to believe there could be so many Eng- 

lishmen found, and protestants too, who would 

consent to kill their king; never any one hav- 

ing acknowledged such a design besides poor 

Hone, who was so stupid, he could not give 

one sensible answer to what Cartwright asked 

him at his death: so plain a testimony, and 

dint of fact and reason, forces me to conclude 

these persons here charged were not guilty. 

See what Rouse says of it; he was told, they 

did not intend to spill so much as one drop of 

blood. But most particularly Holloway; he 

could not perceive Ferguson knew any thing 

of the Newmarket design, but Rumsey and 

West were deep in it. Again, Holloway asked 

West who was to act the assassination? To 

which he could give but a slender answer, and 

could, or would name but two men, Rumbald 

and his brother. Just such probable stuff as 

Colledge's seizing the king by himself at Ox- 

ford, so that (he goes on) we found they had but 

few men, if more than two, and no horses, only 

a parcel of arms he showed at a gunsmith's. 

And lower, at another time, West only named 

Rumsey and Richard Goodenough as con- 

cerned in the assassination: West again pro- 

posed the assassination, but none seconded 

him: Rumsey was for the old strain of killing 

the king, to which not one consented: he could 

never find above five concerned in it. He 

heard Walcot speak against it; I knew Fer- 

guson to be against any such design. 

Upon the whole, the world is left to its 

liberty to believe, at least three dying men's 

asseverations, against those who so plainly 

swore others necks into the halter, to get their 

own out, that West himself is not ashamed to 

own his forementioned answer, that he was still 

indanger of death, though not so imminent as it 

had been: nor at the apparent point of death. 

And at the close of this paper, if it shall please 

the king to spare my life for my confession, it 

is a great happiness, &c. which part of his 

evidence every body will easily believe. 

From all which, here lies a fair supposition 

of the innocency of this captain, and others, 

of what they were accused, found guilty, sen-

tenced, and died for; it being on West's evi-

dence, 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. It is well known, that the 

witnesses against captain Walcot swore for 

their own lives with halters about their necks; 

and it is as true that most of the witnesses had 

talked at a mad rate, in the hearing of some 

of those whom they destroyed; but see what 

captain Walcot in a most solemn manner de- 

clared with his last breath. 

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, (with what made sir Roger 

L'Estrange a great deal of sport, but yet hea-

ven has made it good) 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 use to be sober 

sins, could ever be so extravagant as to think 

of it. He was to seize the Tower, pay the 

rable, uncase the aldermen, to be pay-master 

and flea-master general, and a great deal more 

to the same tune. In his defence he says no 

great matter, but yet what looks a thousand 

times more like truth than his accusation; that 

the Tower business was only discourse of the 

feasibleness of the thing, (as Russel's about 

the guards) but without the least intent of
HISTORY OF THE MARTYRS.

The Martyrdom of Algernon Sidney, Esquire

The next victim to popish cruelty and malice, was colonel Algernon Sidney, of the ancient and noble name and family of the Sidneys, deservedly famous to the utmost bounds of Europe; who, as the ingenious Mr. Hawkes observes, 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, 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 present-

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 got the whiphand of him; they were both at a kind of halter combat; Rouse's foot slipped, and Lee turned him over, 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. When they came to suffer, Walcot read a paper, in which was a good rational confession of his faith; then comes to the occasion of his death; for which, he says, he neither blames the judges, jury, nor council, but only some men, that in reality were deeper concerned than he, who combined together to swear him out of his life to save their own, and that they might do it effectually, contrived an untruth, &c. He forgives the world and the witnesses; gives his friends advice to be more prudent than he had been; prays that his may be the last blood spilled on that account; wishes the king would be merciful to others; says he knew nothing of Ireland; and concludes, with praying God to have mercy on him. He had then some discourse with Cartwright, wherein he tells 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, tells him, he did not come thither to dispute about religion, but to die religiously.

But though dying be a serious business, yet it is almost impossible to read Hone's discourse with the dean, without as violent temptations to laughter as compassion. Never was so exact an imitation of the scene of the Fisherman and Kings in the Rehearsal, when he tells them prince Prettyman killed prince Prettyman. One would think him very near in the same case with Bateman, who came after him. His replies are so incongruous, that there is hardly either sense or English to be made out of them. But the poor fellow talks of snares and circumstances, and nobody knows what, and says in one line, he was to meet the king and duke of York, but he did not know when, where, nor for what. In the next, he was for killing the king, and saving the duke; and when asked the reason, answers, the only sensible thing he said all through, that he knew no reason, that he did not know what to say to it. And when the dean charges him with the murderous design, that he knew as little of it, as any poor silly man in the world.

Rouse comes next, gives an account of his faith, professing to die of the church of England, tells his former employment and manner of life, acknowledges he heard of clubs and designs, but was never at them, and a perfect stranger to any thing of that nature. Gives a relation of what passed between him and his majesty on his apprehension. Talks somewhat of sir Thomas Player, the earl of Shaftsbury, and accommodating the king's son, as he calls it, though not while the king reigned. Then falls upon 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. Speaks of a silver ball which he proposed to be thrown up on Black-Heath, and after some discourse with the ordinary, gives the spectators some good counsel. Then they all three singly prayed; and then the sentence was executed upon them.

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The Martyrdom of Algernon Sidney, Esquire
ed to them before they came into the hall, yet they immediately found it: the substance where-
of 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 against my lord Russel; nay, West, whose evidence was then refused, now was admitted to tell a long story of what he had from one and the other. Rumsey's was much of the same nature. In the rear came that never-failing evidence, the lord Howard, who witnesses he was one of the council of six, and engaged one of the deepest in their Consuls. And more than this, exercises his own faculty very handsomely, in an account of two speeches Mr. Hambden made 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; and whom they are most like, Mr. Hambden, or my lord's own witty self, let any man judge.

The next evidence was a paper, said to be of the prisoner's writing, which was found in his study. The substance of which was an inquiry into the forms of government, and reasons of their decays: the rights of the people, and the bounds of sovereignty, and original 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 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. Well, what treason in all this, and a great deal more! Nothing but a jesuit's enchanted telescope 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 scaffolds and axes. First, 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 owning 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 conscience 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 bears hard upon them, and becomes really insupportable? But supposing they were now as wicked principles as they were called then; yet what was that to the then present governors? He answered Filmer for his own satisfaction, or rather began to do it, many years before the makers of this plot dreamed of that, or bringing him into it; kept it private in his own study, where it might have lain till doomsday, had not they fetched it out to make somewhat of it. 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 tenth 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. Now is this a business likely to be calculated for a rebellion; when it could neither be finished till several years after it was over; and besides, if it had, the bulk made it so improper to be dispersed for that purpose for which it was pretendedly designed! No, those who are to poison a nation in that manner, know better things, and more likely ways. It is to be done in little pamphlets, and papers easily read over, understood, and remembered, as the declaration gentlemen the other day very well knew. 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 a fine knack, called the innuendo, that is in English, such interpretation as they would please to affix on 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 of the gentleman, make a
monster and a ravisher of their king, and then take away another's life for doing it. There was a minister I have somewhere read of, who was accused for writing a libel against queen Elizabeth, and her government; and the fact there, it is true, lay, as this does, upon inuendoes, though much more plain and pregnant. But all the punishment inflicted on him, though thought severe enough, reached not his head, the loss of his hand being thought sufficient, while with that which was left, he pulled off his hat, and prayed God to bless the queen. But this was under a mild reign, and truly protestant government.

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, one would think, that read the trials, 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 council 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.

The earl of Clare witnesses, that he said, after Sidney's imprisonment, if questioned again, he would never plead, (had it not been a pleasant thing for my lord Howard to have been pressed to death for not speaking!) and that he thought colonel Sidney as innocent as any man breathing: Mr. Ducas says the same, so does my lord Paget, Mr. Edward, Philip Howard, Tracy, Penwick, and Mr. Blake; 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 there was 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 battered the judges, and left them nothing but railing. It was all a 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 ever 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 more uncivil and saucy a 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 truly Christian, than his end. The brave old man came up on a scaffold, as unconcerned as if he had been going to fight, and as lively as if he had been a Russel. In his last speech he gives almost all the substance of all those books which were lately written in the defence of the late transactions, and no disgrace to them neither; since truth and reason are eternal, and one and the same from all pens and parties, and at all times; however there may be sometimes so bad, that they will not bear some reason, any more than some doctrine. He there says as much in a little as ever man did; That magistrates were set up for the good of nations, not to the contrary. If that be treason, king Charles L 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. And other maxims of the same necessity and usefulness. He, besides this, gave a full account of the design of his book, of his trial, and the injustice done him therein; of the jury's being picked, and important points of law overruled; and ends with a most compendious prayer, in which he desires God would forgive his enemies, but keep them from doing any more mischief; and then he laid down his head, and went to sleep.

The Petition of Algernon Sidney to the King.

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty: the humble Petition of Algernon Sidney, Esquire; sheweth:

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 Habcas 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 ingrossed, 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 Russell) under the same religious obligation of an oath, as if it had been legally administered.

Your petitioner did further endeavour 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 belied. And similitude of hands could be no evidence, as was declared by the lord chief justice Keiling, and the whole court in the lady Carr's case; so 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 showed 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 Ed. 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 own weakness, did desire that council 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 honour 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 on the Scaffold on Tower-Hill, December 7, 1633, by Algernon Sidney, Esq. 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 rigour 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 biased 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 c contra.

3. That the right and power of magistrates was 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 Louis the Fourteenth, of France, in his declaration against Spain, Anno 1667, 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 ever otherwise punished for such matters, or any such things referred to a jury, &c. That the book was never finished, &c. nor ever seen by them whom he was charged to have endeavoured 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 to 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 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 council about bringing him to death, suffered a jury to be picked by the king’s solicitors, and the under-sheriff admitted non-freeholders 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 hath 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, &c. 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, &c.

The Martyrdom of Mr. James Holloway.

Mr. Holloway was by trade a merchant; but his greatest dealing lay in linen manufacture, which, as appears from his papers, he had brought to such a height here in England, as, had it met with suitable encouragement, would, as he made it appear, have employed 80,000 poor people, and 40,000 acres of land and be £200,000 a year advantage to the public revenues of the kingdom. The return of the Habeas Corpus writ calls him, Late of London, merchant, though he lived mostly at Bristol. He seems to be a person of sense, courage, and vivacity of spirit, and a man of business. All we can have of him is from that public print, called his Narrative, concerning which it must be remembered, as before, that we have no very firm authority to assure us all therein contained was his own writing; and perhaps it might be thought convenient he should die, for fear he might contradict some things published in his name. But on the other side, where he contradicts the other witnesses, his evidence is strong, since surely that was not the interest of the managers to invent of their own accord; though some truth they might utter, though displeasing, to gain credit to the rest. Taking things however as we find them, it will be convenient for method’s sake, to take notice first of the proceedings against him, then of some pretty plain footsteps of practice upon him, and shuffling dealing in his case; and lastly, of several things considerable in his narrative.

He was accused for the plot, as one who was acquainted with West, Rumsey, and the rest; and having been really present at their meetings and discourses on that subject, absconded when the public news concerning the discovery came into the country; though this, as he tells the king, 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-In-
dies, among the Caribbee Islands, where much of his concern lay: but writing to his factor at Nevis, he was by him treacherously betrayed, and 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 ingenious confession of truth could merit the king’s pardon, he hoped he had done it. The attorney 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, though the attorney, who had not so much law even as Jeffreys, was for having judgment first pass against him, which is never done in such cases, according to which he was executed at Tyburn the 30th of April.

It seemed strange to all men, that a man of so much spirit, as Mr. Holloway appeared to be, should so tamely die without making any manner of defence, when that liberty was granted him: it seemed as strange, or yet stranger, that any protestant should have any thing that looked like mercy or favour from the persons then at the helm. That they should be so gracious to him as it is there called, to admit him to a trial, which looked so generously, and was so cried up; the attorney 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 two or three lines which Holloway speaks just after: My lord, says 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; good Mr. Justice Withens crying out full-mouthed, I hope everybody 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 they 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 practice used with him, and promises of pardon, if he had taken 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 look exceeding fair that way. Thus in his paper left behind him, I had, says he, some other reasons why I did not plead, which at present I conceive, as also why I did not speak what I intended. Other reasons, besides his confession to his majesty, and reasons to be concealed. Now what should those 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. If all means, then without straining, those before mentioned.

But if he made so fair and large an acknowledgment, here is more mystery still; why was not his life spared? Let any one read his confession and speech, or these passages observed out of them, and he will no longer wonder at it. He was a little squasies-conscienced, and would not strain so far as others in accusing men of those black crimes whereof they were innocent; nay, as was before said, vindicating them from those aspersions cast upon them, and for which some of them, particularly my lord Russel, suffered death. He says, The assassination was carried on but by three or four, and 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 in it. And besides, speaks some things with the liberty of an Englishman; shows the very root of all those hearts which had been raised; says what was true enough, That the protestant gentry had a notion of a devilish design of the papists to cut off the king’s friends, and stirring 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 had council about him who kept all things from his knowledge; that if things continued thus, the protestant gentry resolved to get the king from his evil council, 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 intended; only treason against the duke of York and the papists, who were themselves traitors by law. But yet one bolder stroke 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, as he says, taking it very heinously that he should presume to write such things.

As for what sheriff Daniel urges, That what he said about the king were but glossy pretences; he answers him very well, that it was far otherwise. Here was plain matter of fact: the kingdom in imminent danger, the fit just coming on, which hath since so nearly shaken to pieces the whole frame of church and state, which has so many years been rising to this completeness: ordinary ways and usual remedies could not prevail; these protestants were forced to betake themselves to extraordinary efforts, in defence of the government and laws, and not against them, any more than it would have been to have taken arms, and rescued the king from a troop of Banditti, who had got possession of his person; the papists who had him, being as visibly and notoriously obnoxious to the government, and as dead men in law, most of them as public thieves and robbers. Thus much of Mr. Holloway, the popish tender mercy towards him, his confession and execution.

Mr. Holloway 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 Holloway said, It was our design to shed no blood; he 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.

The Martyrdom of Sir Thomas Armstrong.

But the next had not so fair play, because they 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, least 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 afterward: he had been in prison for them under Cromwell, and in danger both of execution and starving; for all which they now rewarded him. He had a particular honour and devotion for the duke of Monmouth, and pushed on his interest on all occasions, being a man of an undaunted English courage, as ever our country produced. He was with the duke formerly in his actions in Flanders, and shared there in his danger and honour. His accusation was, his being concerned in the general plot, and that too of killing the king; but he was indeed hanged for running away, and troubling them to send so far after him. The particulars pretended against him, were that the lord Howard witnessed in Russell's trial, of his going to kill the king when their first design failed. But this was there only a supposal, though advanced into a formed accusation, and aggravated by the attorney, 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, and brought over hither in chains, and robbed by the way into the bargain. Being brought up, and asked what he had to say, that sentence should not pass upon him, he pleaded the 6th of Ed. VI. wherein it is provided, That if a person outlawed render himself in 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. The statute allows a twelvemonth, the year was not out, he surrendered himself, demands the benefit of it; and all the answer he could get, was the positive lord chief justice's, We don't think so, and we are of another opinion. He
could not have so much justice as to have counsel allowed to plead it, though the point sufficiently deserved it, and here was the life of an old servant of the king's 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 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 self-same reason, no doubt of it, which Holloway says he had for not pleading. But sir Thomas (the attorney goes on) deserved no favour, because he was one of the persons that actually engaged to go, on the king's hasty coming from Newmarket, and destroy him by the way as he came to town; and that this appeared upon as full and clear an evidence, and as positively testified, as any thing could be, and this in the evidence given in of the late horrid conspiracy. Now I would fain know who gives this clear and full evidence in the discovery of the conspiracy! Howard's is mere supposition, and he is all who so much as mentions a syllable of it, that ever could be found on search of all the papers and trials relating to that affair. 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 notorious falsehood, there being at least ten gentlemen, besides all the servants in the house, 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, as good as three times in one sentence. Though had not his lordship slipped out of the world so slyly, he had had as much benefit the same way, and much more justly than this gentleman.

Then the chief justice proceeds, and tells him, We are satisfied that according to law we must award execution upon this outlawry: thereupon Mrs. Matthews, sir Thomas's daughter, said, My lord, I hope you will not murder my father: for which, being brow beaten and checked, she added, God Almighty's judgments light upon you.

The Friday after 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 any who went before him, not only in the manner of his death, but the exposing his limbs and body: a fair warning what particular gratitude a protestant is to expect for having obliged a true papist.

Another thing worth remembering, in all other cases as well as this, though occasion is here taken to do it, is, that whereas in Holloway's case, Jeffreys observed, That not one of all concerned in this conspiracy had dared to deny it; and lower, to deny the truth of the fact absolutely: it is so far from being true, that every one who suffered, did 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 the lord Russel, Never had any man the impudence to propose so base and barbarous a thing to him. Russel, and almost all besides, say, They had never any design against the government. Sir Thomas here says the same, As he 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 says, 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 indeed, as all his life showed him a man of cou-
HISTORY OF THE MARTYRS.

rage, so his death, and all the rest of his behaviour, did, a penitent man, a man of good sense, and a good Christian.

At the place of execution sir Thomas Armstrong deposed himself with courage becoming a great man, and with the seriousness and piety suitable to a very 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 thing by way of speech; but delivered him a paper, which he said contained his mind; he then called for Dr. Tennison, who prayed with him, and then he prayed himself.

In his paper 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 he 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, else why refused to him.

That Mr. Attorney charged him for being one of those that were to kill the king; he took God to witness, that he never had a thought to take away the king’s life, and that no man ever had the impudence to propose so base and barbarous a thing to him; and that he never was in any design to alter the government.

That if he had been tried, he could have proved the lord Howard’s base reflections upon him, to be notoriously false; he concluded, that he had lived, and now died of the reformed religion, a protestant in the communion of the church of England, and he heartily wished he had lived more strictly up to the religion he believed: that he had found the great comfort of the love and mercy of God, in and through his blessed Redeemer, in whom he only trusted, and verily hoped that he was going to partake of that fulness of joy which is in his presence, the hopes whereof infinitely pleased him. He thanked God he had no repining, but cheerfully submitted to the punishment of his sins; he freely forgave all the world, even those concerned in taking away his life, though he could not but think his sentence very hard, he being denied the laws of the land.

The Martyrdom of Lady Lisle.

Had those persons who suffered about Monmouth’s business, fell only into the hands of cannibals, some of them, at least, had escaped better than they did from Jeffreys. Those more tame and civil creatures would have spared the old and withered, though they had devoured the young and tender. But no age, no sex, made any difference here; and as those who were just come into the world, children and girls of ten or a dozen years old, were refused pardon; so those who were half out of it, would not be suffered to tumble into the grave entire, though, as Juvenal says of Priam, they had scarce blood enough left to singe the knife of the sacrifices. An instance of this was my lady Lisle, of such an age, that she almost slept on her very trial, condemned for as small a matter as has been known, by one of those dormant laws, made only in terrorem, but hardly ever executed, only for corresponding with Nelthorp, an outlawed person, and, as was pretended, giving him shelter at her house, and Hicks, who brought him thither. For Hicks, he was not then convicted, nor in any proclamation, and so it is a question whether she could, even in rigour of law, deserve death on his account. For Nelthorp, he himself says in his last speech, that he was wholly a stranger to that worthy lady; neither did she, as he verily believes, know who he was, or his name, till he was taken. For this she was found guilty, and lost her head at Winchester. Her case was thought so hard, that the honourable house of parliament afterwards reversed her judgment. At her death she made the following speech.

The last Speech of the Lady Alicia Lisle.

Gentlemen, friends, and neighbours, it may be expected that I should say something at my death, and in order thereunto I shall acquaint you, that my birth and education were both near this place, and that my parents instructed...
me in the fear of God, and I now die of the reformed protestant religion; believing that if ever popery should return into this nation, it would be a very great and severe judgment; that I die in expectation of the pardon of all my sins, and of acceptance with God the Father, by the imputed righteousness of Jesus Christ, he being the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believes; I thank God through Jesus Christ, that I do depart under the blood of sprinkling, which speaketh better things than that of Abel; God having made this chastisement an ordinance to my soul. I did once as little expect to come to this place on this occasion, as any person in this place or nation; therefore let all learn not to be high-minded, but fear: the Lord is a sovereign, and will take what way he sees best to glorify himself, in and by his poor creatures; and I do humbly desire to submit to his will, praying to him, that I may possess my soul in patience. The crime that was laid to my charge, was for entertaining a 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 favour in revoking my sentence: I pray God to preserve him, that he may long reign in mercy, as well as justice, and that he may reign in peace; and that the protestant religion may flourish under him. I also return thanks to God and the reverend clergy, that assisted me in my imprisonment.

ALICIA LISLE.

The Martyrdom of Mr. Richard Nelthorp.

His name is often enough met with in West's and Rumsey's plot, and good reason too, he being not near to answer for himself. As to what he was accused, outlawed, and executed for, his being concerned in a design for the assassination of the king and duke, he solemnly avers, as may be seen below in his speech, that he was always highly against it, and detested any such thing, was never in the least concerned in it, neither in purse or person; never knew of any arms bought for that intent, nor did believe there was any such design. Than which, what words could be more full and satisfactory! He went away in the heat of swearing, and returned with the duke of Monmouth, thinking it his duty, as he says, to hazard his life for the preservation of the protestant religion and English liberties; but as to the duke of Monmouth's being declared king, he was wholly passive in it. He was at first committed to Salisbury prison, where he had several disputes with a learned and good man, whose opinion then differed from his, concerning the lawfulness of defending ourselves by arms against illegal violence, which was his firm judgment. Thence he was brought to London, and imprisoned in Newgate. He rejected there, with scorn, some offers made him of saving his own life by taking away other men's; and though he was under inexpressible trouble during his close confinement there, which at length arose to distraction, and the impair of his reason; yet it is remarkable that he, as Bateman before him, before he came to die, after sentence, was very calm and lively again, the entire exercise of his judgment and understanding returning, with more joy and comfort than he had before pain and misery. He wrote one letter to his parents, another to his children, together with his last speech at his execution the 30th of October,
1685. At two o'clock in the morning he wrote
the letter to his parents, &c. wherein he speaks
much of his brother, and fellow-sufferer, Mr.
Ayliff, who suffered martyrdom in London, if
I mistake not, whom, he says, he could em-
brace with more joy in the field of suffering,
than ever he could have done had he met him
in the field crowned with victory and laurels.

Mr. Nelthorp's last Speech

The great and inexpressible trouble and
distraction I have been under since I came
into trouble, especially since my close confine-
ment in Newgate, hath so broken my reason,
that for many weeks last past, till the day my
sentence was passed, I have not had any com-
posure of mind, and have been under the grea-
est trouble imaginable: since my dearest wife
hath had the favour granted her of coming to
see me, I am at present under great composure
of mind, through the infinite goodness of the
Lord. As to what I stand outlawed for,
and am now sentenced to die, I can with com-
fort appeal to the great God, before whose tri-
bunal I am to appear, that what I did was in
the simplicity of my heart, without seeking any
private advantage to myself; but thinking it
my duty to hazard my life for the preservation
of the protestant religion and English liberties,
which I thought invaded, and both in great
danger of being lost. As to the design of as-
sassinating the late king, or his present majes-
ty, it always was a thing highly against my
judgment, and which I always detested; and
I was never in the least concerned in it, neither
in the purse nor person, nor ever knew of any
arms bought for that intent, nor did I believe
there was any such design, or ever hear of any
disappointment in such an affair, or time, or
place, save what, after the discovery of the
general design, Mr. West spoke of, as to arms
bought by him: and as to myself, I was in the
north when the late king was at Newmarket,
and the first news I had of the fire, was at
Beverly in Yorkshire. As to my coming over
with the late duke of Monmouth, it was in pro-
secution of the same ends; but the Lord in
his holy and wise providence hath been pleased
to blast all our undertakings; though there
seemed to be a very unanimous and zealous
spirit in all those that came from beyond the
seas: and as to the duke of Monmouth's being
declared king, I was wholly passive in it, I
never having been present at any public de-
bate of that affair, and should never have ad-
vised it, but complained of it to colonel Holmes
and captain Patchet. I believe the lord Grey
and Mr. F—— the chief promoters of it. As
to the temptation of being an evidence, and
bringing either into trouble or danger of his
life the meanest person, upon the account for
which I suffer, I always abhorred and detest-
ed the thoughts of it, both when in and out of
danger, and advised some very strongly against
it; except when under my distraction in pris-
one, that amongst other temptations did vo-
lently assault me; but through the goodness
of my dearest God and Father, I was preser-
v ed from it, and indeed was wholly incapable,
and could never receive the least shadow of
comfort from it, but thought death more eligi-
ble, and was some time before, out of my dis-
tracted and disquieted condition, wholly free
from it; though not without other temptations
far more criminal in the sight of men. I bless
the Father of all mercies, and God of all con-
solations, that I find a great resignedness of
my will to his, finding infinitely more comfort
in death, than ever I could place in life, though
in a condition that might seem honourable;
every hour seeing the will of God in ordering
this affair more and more cleared up to me.

God hath given, God hath taken; blessed be
his holy name, that hath enabled me to be
willing to suffer, rather than to put forth my
hand to iniquity, or to say a confederacy with
those that do so. I am heartily and sincerely
troubled for what hath happened, many men's
lives being lost, and many poor distressed
families ruined; the Lord pardon what of sin
he hath seen in it. He in his wonderful provi-
dence hath made me and others concerned,
instrument, not only for what is already fallen
out, but, I believe, for hastening some other
great work he hath to do in these kingdoms;
whereby he will try and purge his people, and
winnow the chaff from the wheat; the Lord
keep those that are his, faithful unto the end.

I die in charity with all the world, and can
readily and heartily forgive my greatest ene-
emies, even those that have been evidences
against me; and I most humbly beg the pard-
on of all that I have in the least any way in-
jured; and in a special manner humbly ask
pardon of the lady Lisle's family and relations,
for that my being succoured there one night with Mr. Hicks, brought that worthy lady to suffer death; I was wholly a stranger to her ladyship, and came with Mr. Hicks; neither did she (as I verily believe) know who I was, or my name, till I was taken: and if any other have come to any loss or trouble, I humbly beg their pardon; and were I in a condition, I would, as far as I was able, make them a requital.  

As to my faith, I neither look nor hope for mercy, but only in the free grace of God, by the application of the blood of Jesus, my dearest and only Saviour, to my poor sinful soul. My distresses have been exceeding great as to my eternal state, but through the infinite goodness of God, though I have many sins to answer for, yet I hope and trust, as to my particular, that Christ came for this very end and purpose, to relieve the oppressed, and to be a physician to the sick. I come unto thee, O blessed Jesus; refuse me not, but wash me in thine own blood, and then present me to thy Father as righteous! What though my sins be as crimson, and of a scarlet dye! Yet thou canst make them as white as snow. I see nothing in myself but what must utterly ruin and condemn me; I cannot answer for one action of my whole life, but I cast myself wholly upon thee, who art the fountain of mercy, in whom God is reconciling himself to the world, the greatest of sins and sinners may find an all-sufficiency in thy blood to cleanse them from all sin. O dearest Father of mercy, look upon me as righteous in and through the imputed righteousness of thy Son; he paid the debt by his own offering up himself for sin, and in that thy justice is satisfied, and thy mercy is magnified. Grant me thy love, O dearest Father, assist me, and stand by me in the needful hour of death; give thy angels charge over my poor soul, that the evil one may not touch nor hurt it. Defend me from his power, deliver me from his rage, and receive me into thine eternal kingdom, in and through the alone merits of my dearest Redeemer, for whom I praise thee: to whom, with thyself and holy Spirit, be ascribed all glory, honour, power, might, and dominion, for ever and ever, Amen. 

Dear Lord Jesus, receive my spirit. Amen.  

Richard Nelthorp.  

Newgate, October 29, 1685.

The Martyrdom of Mrs. Gaunt.

One of the great reasons why Mrs. Gaunt was burnt, was, it is very possible, because she lived at Wapping; the honest seamen, and hearty protestants thereabouts, being such known enemies to popery and arbitrary government, that the friends of both gave all who opposed it, the name of Wappingers, as an odious brand and title. She was a good, honest, charitable woman, who made it her business to relieve and help whoever suffered for the forementioned cause, sparing no pains, refusing no office to get them assistance, in which she was the most industrious and indefatigable woman living. Among others whom she had just relieved, who were obnoxious persons, was one Burton, whom with his wife and family she had kept from starving, for which (may the very name of them be registered with eternal infamy) they swore against her, and took away her life: though she says in her speech, there was but one witness against her as to any money she was charged to give him, and that he himself, an outlawed person, his outlawry not yet reversed, he not being outlawed when she was with him, and hid him away. That which she wrote in the nature of a speech, has a great deal of sense and spirit, and some strange expressions which were mentioned in the introduction to all these matters; which she concludes with these words addressed to her enemies, From her that finds no mercy from you.  

Were my pen qualified to represent the due character of this excellent woman, it would be readily granted, that she stood most deservedly entitled to an eternal monument of honour in the hearts of all sincere lovers of the reformed religion. All true Christians (though in some things differing in persuasion with her) found in her an universal charity and sincere friendship, as is well known to many here, and also to a multitude of the Scotch nation, ministers and others, who for conscience sake were formerly thrust into exile. These found her a most refreshing refuge. She dedicated herself with unwearied industry, to provide for their supply and support, and therein (I do incline to think) she outstripped every individual person (if not the whole body of protestants in this great city.) Hereby she became exposed to the implacable fury of bloody
papists, and those blind tools who co-operated to promote their accursed designs. And so there appeared little difficulty to procure a jury (as they were well-prepared judges) to make her a sacrifice as a traitor to the state. Her judges, the king's council, the solicitor-general, the common serjeant, &c.; racked their inventions to draw Burton and his wife to charge Mrs. Gaunt with the knowledge of his being in a plot, or in the proclamation, but nothing of that could be made out, nor is there any sort of proof that Mrs. Gaunt harboured this ungrateful wretch, or that she gave him either meat or drink, as the indictment charges her; but notwithstanding that, her jury brought her in guilty.

The sentence was executed upon this excellent woman on the Friday following, being the 23d of October, 1685, when she left her murderers the following memorial.

Mrs. Gaunt's Speech, Written the Day before her Sufferings.

Not knowing whether I should be suffered or able, because of weaknesses that are upon me through my hard and close imprisonment, to speak at the place of execution, I wrote these few lines to signify, that I am well reconciled to the way of my God towards me, though it be in ways I looked not for, and by terrible things, yet in righteousness; having given me life, he ought to have the disposing of it, when and how he pleases to call for it; and I desire to offer up my all to him, it being but my reasonable service; and also the first terms that Jesus Christ offers, that he that will be his disciple, must forsake all, and follow him; and therefore let none think hard, or be discouraged at what hath happened unto me; for he doth nothing without cause, in all he hath done to us, he being holy in all his ways, and righteous in all his works; and it is but my lot in common with poor desolate Sion at this day. Neither do I find in my heart the least regret for what I have done in the service of my Lord and Master Jesus Christ, in succouring and securing any of his poor sufferers, that have showed favour to his righteous cause: which cause, though now it be fallen and trampled upon, as if it had not been anointed, yet it shall revive, and God will plead it another rate than ever he hath done yet, and reckon with all its opposers and malicious haters; and therefore let all that love and fear him, not omit the least duty that comes to hand, or lies before them, knowing that now it hath need of them, and expects they shall serve him. And I desire to bless his holy name, that he hath made me useful in my generation to the comfort and relief of many desolate ones, and the blessing of those that are ready to perish has come upon me, and being helped to make the heart of the widow to sing. And I bless his holy name, that in all this, together with what I was charged with, that I have done his will; though it does cross man's will, and the Scriptures that satisfy me are, Isaiah xvi. 4. Hide the outcasts, bewray not him that wandereth. And Obad. xiii. 14. Thou shouldst not have given up those of his that did escape in the day of his distress. But man says, You shall give them up, or you shall die for it. Now whom to obey, judge ye. So that I have cause to rejoice and be exceeding glad, in that I suffer for righteousness sake, and that I am accounted worthy to suffer for well-doing, and that God has accepted any service from me, which has been done in sincerity, though mixed with manifold infirmities, which he hath been pleased for Christ's sake to cover and forgive. And now as concerning my fact, as it is called, alas! it was but a little one, and might well become a prince to forgive; but he that shows no mercy, shall find none: and I may say of it in the language of Jonathan, I did but taste a little honey, and lo! I must die for it. I did but relieve an unworthy, poor, distressed family, and lo! I must die for it. Well, I desire in the Lamb-like Gospel Spirit to forgive all that are concerned, and to say, Lord, lay it not to their charge; but I fear he will not: nay, I believe when he comes to make inquisition for blood, it will be found at the door of the furious judge; who, because I could not remember things through my dauntedness at Burton's wife and daughter's vile-ness, and my ignorance, took advantage there at, and would not hear me, when I had called to mind that which I am sure would have invalidated their evidence; though he granted something of the same nature to another, yet denied it to me. My blood will also be found at the door of the unrighteous jury, who found me guilty upon the single oath of an outlawed
man; for there was none but his oath about the money, who is no legal witness, though he be pardoned, his outlawry not being recalled; and also the law requires two witnesses in point of life: and then about my going with him to the place mentioned, it was by his own words, before he was outlawed, for it was two months after his absconding; and though in a proclamation, yet not high treason, as I have heard; so that I am clearly murdered by you. And also bloody Mr. A—, who has so insatiably haunted after my life; and though it is no profit to him, through the ill-will he bore me, left no stone unturned, as I have ground to believe, till he brought it to this; and showed favour to Burton, who ought to have died for his own fault, and not brought his life with mine; and captain R——, who is cruel and severe to all under my circumstances, and did at that time, without all mercy or pity, hasten my sentence, and held up my hand, that it might be given; all which, together with the great one of all, by whose power all these, and a multitude more of cruelties are done, I do heartily and freely forgive, as against me; but as it is done in an implacable mind against the Lord Christ, and his righteous cause and followers, I leave it to him who is the avenger of all such wrongs, who will tread upon princes as upon mortar, and be terrible to the kings of the earth: and know this also, that though ye are seemingly fixed, and because of the power in your hand, are writing out your violence, and dealing with a despiteful hand, because of the old and new hatred; by impoverishing and every way distressing of those you have got under you; yet unless you can secure Jesus Christ, and all his holy angels, you shall never do your business, nor your hands accomplish your enterprizes; for he will be upon you ere you are aware; and therefore, O that you would be wise, instructed, and learn, is the desire of her that finds no mercy from you.

Elizabeth Gaunt.

Newgate, October 22, 1655.

P. S. Such as it is, you have it from her, who hath done as she could, and is sorry she can do no better; hopes you will pity and cover weakness, shortness, and any thing that is wanting; and begs that none may be weakened or humbled at the lowness of my spirit; for God's design is to humble and abase us, that he alone may be exalted in this day; and I hope he will appear in the needful time, and it may be reserves the best wine till last, as he hath done for some before me; none goeth to warfare at his own charge, and the Spirit bloweth, not only where, but when it listeth; and it becomes me, who have so often grieved, quenched, and resisted it, to wait for and upon the motions of the Spirit, and not to murmur; but I may mourn, because through want of it, I honour not my God, nor his blessed cause, which I have so long loved and delighted to love; and repent of nothing about it, but that I served him and it no better.

A brief Account of Mr. Rosewell's Trial and Preservation.

About the same time Mr. Rosewell, a very worthy divine, was tried for treasonable words in his pulpit, upon the accusation of very vile and lewd informers; and a Surrey jury found him guilty of high treason, upon the most villainous and improbable evidence that had been ever given, notwithstanding Sir John Talbot (no countenancer of dissenters) had appeared with great generosity and honour, and testified, That the most material witness was as scandalous and infamous a wretch as lived.

It was at that time given out by those who thirsted for blood, that Mr. Rosewell and Mr. Hays should die together; and it was upon good ground believed, that the happy deliverance of Mr. Hays did much contribute to the preservation of Mr. Rosewell; though it is very probable that he had not escaped, had not Sir John Talbot's worthy and most honourable detestation of that accursed villany, prompted him to repair from the court of King's Bench, to King Charles II. and to make a faithful representation of the case to him; whereby, when inhuman bloody Jeffreys came a little after in a transport of joy, to make his report of the eminent service he and the Surrey jury had done in finding Mr. Rosewell guilty; the king (to his disappointment) appeared under some reluctance, and declared that Mr. Rosewell should not die. And so he was most happily delivered.
The Martyrdom of the Earl of Argyle.

We must now take a step over into Scotland, that poor country, which has been harassed and tired for these many years, to render them perfect slaves, that they might help to enslave England; to prevent which, and secure the protestant religion, which it was grown impossible to do, but by arms, this good lord embarked from Holland about the same time with the duke, and arrived in Scotland with what forces he could make; to which were added some others who joined him: which, after several marches and countermarches, were at length led into a boggy sort of a place, on pretence, or with intention to bring him off from the other army then upon the heels of them, where they all lost one another, and dispersed and shifted for themselves; the earl being taken by a countryman, and brought to Edinburgh, where he suffered for his former unpardonable crime, requiring care should be taken of the protestant religion, and explaining his taking the test conformable thereto; for the legality of which he had the hands of most of the eminent lawyers about the city. He suffered at Edinburgh the 30th of June, 1685. His speech has a great deal of piety and religion, nor will it be any disgrace to say, it was more like a sermon. It is as follows:

The Earl of Argyle's last Speech, June 30, 1685.

Join tells us, Man that is born of a woman, is of few days, and full of trouble: and I am a dear instance of it. I shall not now say any thing of my sentence, or escape, about three years and a half ago; nor of my return, lest I may thereby give offence, or be tedious: only being to end my days in your presence, I shall, as some of my last words, assert the truth of the matter of fact, and the sincerity of my intentions and professions that are published.

That which I intend mainly now to say, is, To express my humble, and (I thank God) cheerful submission to his divine will; and my willingness to forgive all men, even my enemies; and I am heartily well satisfied there is no more blood spilt, and I shall wish the stream thereof to stop at me: and that (if it please God) to say, as to Zerubbabel, Zech. iv. 6. Not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts.

I know afflictions spring not out of the dust; God did wonderfully deliver and provide for me, and has now by his special providence brought me to this place; and I hope none will either insult or stumble at it, seeing they ought not; for God Almighty does all things well, for good and holy ends, though we do not always understand it. Love and hatred is not known by what is before us, Eccles. ix. 1. and viii. 11, 12, 13.

Afflictions are not only foretold, but promised to Christians; and 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 dependance on him for a blessed issue, in compliance with his will; for God chastens his own, to refine them, and not to ruin them, whatever the world may think, Heb. xii. 3 to 12.

We are to imitate our Saviour in his sufferings, 1 Pet. ii. 23.

We are neither to despise our afflictions, nor to faint under them; both are extremes.

We are not to suffer our spirits to be exasperated against the instruments of our trouble, for the same affliction may be an effect of their passion, and yet sent by God to punish us for sin: though it is a comfort when we may say to them with David, Psal. lxi. 3. Not for my transgression, nor for my sin, O Lord.

Nor are we, by fraudulent, pusillanimous compliances in wicked courses, to bring sin upon ourselves: faint hearts are ordinary false hearts; choosing sin rather than sufferings, and a short life with eternal death, before temporal death and a crown of glory: such seeking to save a little, loses all; and God readily hardens them to proceed to their own destruction. How many, like Hazael, 2 Kings viii. 13. run to excesses they never thought they were capable of! Let rulers and others read seriously, and weigh, Prov. i. 10 to 20, &c. and avoid what is bad, and follow what is good.

For me, I hope by God's strength to join with Job, chap. xiii. 15. and the psalmist, Psal. xxii. 4. and shall pray, as Psal. lxiv. 19 to 24, and shall hope, as Psal. xciv. 14, 15.

I do freely forgive all that directly or indi-
rectly have been the cause of my being brought to this place, first or last; and I pray God forgive them. I pray God send truth and peace in these three kingdoms; and continue and increase the glorious light of the gospel, and restrain the spirit of prophanity, atheism, superstition, popery, and persecution, and restore all that have backslidden from the purity of their life or principles; and bless his whole people with all blessings, spiritual and temporal, and put an end to their present trials.

And I entreat all people to forgive me wherein I have offended, and concur with me to pray, That the great, good, and merciful God would sanctify my present lot, and for Jesus Christ’s sake pardon all my sins, and receive me to his eternal glory.

It is suggested to me, that I have said nothing of the royal family; and it remembers me, that before the justices at my trial about the test, I said, That at my death I would pray, that there should never want one of the royal family to be a defender of the true, ancient, apostolic, catholic, protestant faith; which I do now; and that God would enlighten and forgive all of them that are either lukewarm, or have shrunk from the profession of it. And in all events, I pray God may provide for the security of his church, that antichrist, nor the gates of hell may never prevail against it.

The Martyrdom of Colonel Rumbold.

At the same place died colonel Richard Rumbold, June 26, 1685, most of what occurred considerable in his defence and speech, you have had already in the business of the assassination. Two or three passages more there are worth remarks in the same, as arguments of his sense and courage. For this cause, he says, were every hair of his head and beard a life, he would joyfully sacrifice them all. That he was never anti-monarchical in his principles, but for a king and a free parliament; the king having power enough to make him great, and the people to make them happy. That he died in the defence of the just laws and liberties of the nations. That none was marked by God above another; for no man came into the world with a saddle on his back, nor others booted and spurred to ride upon it. And being asked if he thought not his sentence dreadful? answered, He wished he had a limb for every town in Christendom.

The last Speech of Colonel Richard Rumbold, at the Market-Cross in Edinburgh, with several Things that passed on his Trial, June 26, 1685.

About eleven o’clock in the morning, colonel Richard Rumbold was brought from the castle of Edinburgh, to the justices court, in a great chair, on men’s shoulders; where at first he was asked some questions, most of which he answered with silence; at last said, He humbly conceived it was not necessary for him to add to his own accusation, since he was not ignorant they had enough already to do his business; and therefore he did not design to fret his conscience at that time with answering questions. After which, his libel being read, the court proceeded in usual manner; first asking him, if he had any thing to say for himself before the jury closed? His answer was, He owned it all, saving that part, of having designed the king’s death; and desired all present to believe the words of a dying man; he never directly or indirectly intended such a villainy; that he abhorred the very thoughts of it; and that he blessed God he had that reputation in the world, that he knew none that had the impudence to ask him the question; and he detested the thoughts of such an action; and he hoped all good people would believe him, which was the only way he had to clear himself; and he was sure that this truth should be one day made manifest to all men. He was again asked, If he had any exception against the jury? He answered, No; but wished them to do as God and their consciences directed them. Then they withdrew, and returned their verdict in half an hour, and brought him in guilty. The sentence followed; For him to be taken from that place to the next room, and from thence to be drawn on a hurdle, between two and four o’clock, to the Cross of Edinburgh, the place of execution, and there to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. He received his sentence with an undaunted courage and cheerfulness. Afterward he was delivered into the town magistrates’ hands; they brought to him two of their divines, and offered him their assistance upon the scaffold; which he altogether refused, telling them, That
if they had any good wishes for him, he desired they would spend them in their own closets, and leave him now to seek God in his own way. He had several offers of the same kind by others, which he put off in like manner. He was most serious and fervent in prayers the few hours he lived (as the sentinels observed, who were present all the while.) The hour being come, he was brought to the place of execution, where he saluted the people on all sides of the scaffold, and after having refreshed himself with a cordial out of his pocket, he was supported by two men, while he spoke to the people in these words:

"Gentlemen and Brethren,

It is for all men that come into the world once to die, and after death to judgment; and since death is a debt that all of us must pay, it is but a matter of small moment what way it be done; and seeing the Lord is pleased in this manner to take me to himself, I confess, something hard to flesh and blood, yet, blessed be his name, who hath made me not only willing, but thankful for his Honouring me to lay down the life he gave, for his name; in which, were every hair in this head and beard of mine a life, I should joyfully sacrifice them for it, as I do this; and providence having brought me hither, I think it most necessary to clear myself of some aspersions laid on my name; and first, That I should have had so horrid an intention of destroying the king and his brother.

[Here he repeated what he had said before to the justices on this subject.]

It was also laid to my charge that I was antimonarchical.

It was ever my thoughts, That kingly government was the best of all, justly executed; I mean, such as by our ancient laws; that is, a king, and a legal, free-chosen parliament. The king having, as I conceive, power enough to make him great; the people also as much property as to make them happy; they being, as it were, contracted to one another. And who will deny me, that this was not the just constituted government of our nation! How absurd is it then for men of sense to maintain, That though the one party of this contract breaketh all conditions, the other should be obliged to perform their part? No; this error is contrary to the law of God, the law of nations, and the law of reason. But as pride hath been the bait the devil hath caught most by ever since the creation, so it continues to this day with us. Pride caused our first parents to fall from the blessed estate wherein they were created; they aiming to be higher and wiser than God allowed, which brought an everlasting curse on them and their posterity. It was pride caused God to drown the old world. And it was Nimrod's pride in building Babel, that caused that heavy curse of division of tongues to be spread among us, as it is at this day. One of the greatest afflictions the church of God groaneth under, that there should be so many divisions during their pilgrimage here; but this is their comfort that the day draweth near, where, as there is but one Shepherd, there shall be but one sheep-fold. It was therefore in the defence of this party, in their just rights and liberties, against popery and slavery——

[At which words they beat the drums:] To which he said,

They need not trouble themselves, for he should say no more of his mind on that subject, since they were so disingenuous as to interrupt a dying man, only to assure the people, he adhered to the true protestant religion, detesting the erroneous opinions of many that called themselves so; and I die this day in the defence of the ancient laws and liberties of these nations: and though God, for reasons best known to himself, hath not seen it fit to honour us, so as to make us the instruments for the deliverance of his people; yet as I have lived, so I die in the faith, that he will speedily arise for the deliverance of his church and people. And I desire of you all to prepare for this with speed. I may say, This is a deluded generation, veiled with ignorance, that, though popery and slavery be riding in upon them, do not perceive it; though I am sure there was no man born marked of God above another; for none comes into the world with a saddle on his back, neither any booted and spurred to ride him; not but that I am well satisfied, that God hath wisely ordered different stations for men in the world, as I have already said; kings having as much power as to make them great, and the people as much property as to make them happy.
And to conclude, I shall only add my wishes for the salvation of all men, who were created for that end.

After ending these words, he prayed most fervently near three quarters of an hour, freely forgiving all men, even his greatest enemies, begging most earnestly for the deliverance of Sion from all her persecutors, particularly praying for London, Edinburgh, and Dublin, from which the streams run that rule God's people in these three nations.

A brief account of the last Speech of Mr. John Kidd, at the place of execution at Edinburgh, on the 14th day of August, 1679.

Right-worthy and well-beloved spectators and auditors,

Considering what bodily distempers I have been exercised with, since I came out of the torture, viz. scarce two hours out of my naked bed in one day, it cannot be expected, that I should be in a case to say any thing to the purpose at this juncture, especially seeing I am not as yet free from it; however, I cannot but reverence the good hand of God upon me, and desire with all my soul to bless him for this my present lot.

It may be there are a great many here that judge my lot very sad and deplorable. I must confess death itself is very terrible to flesh and blood, but as it is an outlet to sin, and an inlet to righteousness, it is the Christian's great and inexpressible privilege; and give me leave to say this, that there is something in a Christian's condition, that can never put him without the reach of insufferableness, even shame, death, and the cross being included.

And then if there be peace betwixt God and the soul, nothing can damp peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ; this is a most supporting ingredient in the bitterest cup, and under the sharpest and fiercest trial he can be exposed unto, this is my mercy, that I have something to lay claim unto, viz. the intimations of pardon and peace between God and my soul.

And as concerning that for which I am condemned, I magnify his grace, that I never had the least challenge for it, but on the contrary, I judge it my honour, that ever I was counted worthy to come upon the stage upon such a consideration; another thing that renders the most despicable lot of the Christian and mine sufferable, is a felt and sensible presence from the Lord, strengthening the soul when most put to it, and if I could have this for my allowance this day, I could be bold to say, O death, where is thy sting? And could not but cry out, welcome to it, and all that follows upon it: I grant the Lord from an act of sovereignty may come, and go as he pleases, but yet he will never forsake his people, and this is a cordial to me in the case I am now exposed unto.

Thirdly, the exercising and putting forth his glorious power, is able to transport the soul of the believer, and mine, above the reach of all sublunary difficulties; and therefore seeing I have hope to be kept up by this power, I would not have you to look upon my lot, or any other that is or may be in my case, in the least deplorable, seeing we have ground to believe, that in more or less he will perfect his power and strength in weakness.

Fourthly, that I may come a little nearer to the purpose in hand, I declare before you all, in the sight of God, angels, and men, and in the sight of that sun, and all that he has created, that I am a most miserable sinner, in regard of my original and actual transgressions. I must confess, they are more in number than the hairs of my head. They are gone up above my head, and are past numbering; I cannot but say as Jacob said, I am less than the least of all God's mercies; yet I must declare to the exalting of his free grace, that to me, who am the least of all saints, is this grace made known, and that by a strong hand, and I dare not but say, he has loved me, and washed me in his own blood from all iniquities, and well is it for me this day, that ever I heard or read that faithful saying, That Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners, of whom I am chief.

Fifthly, I must also declare in his sight, I am the most unworthy that ever opened his mouth to preach the unsearchable riches of Christ in the gospel. Yea, the sense of this made me altogether unwilling to fall about so great a work, until by the importunity of some, whose names are precious and savoury to me, and many others, I was prevailed with to fall about it, and yet I am hopeful, not altogether without some fruit; and if I durst say it without vanity, I never found so much of the presence of God upon my spirit, as I have found in exercises of that nature, though I must still
confess attended with inexpressible weakness, and this is the main thing for which I must lay down my tabernacle this day, viz. That I did preach Christ and the gospel in several places of this nation; for which I bless him (as I can) that ever such a poor obscure person as I am, have been thus privileged by him, for making mention of his grace as I was able.

In the next place, though to many I die desired, yet I know, to not a few my death is not desired; and it is the rejoicing of my heart, that I die in the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, who has loved me, and given himself for me, and in the faith of the prophets and apostles, and in this faith of theirs there is not a name under heaven by which men can be saved, but the name of Jesus, and in the faith of the doctrine and worship of the Kirk of Scotland, as it is now established according to the word of God, confession of faith, catechisms larger and shorter; and likewise I join my testimony against popery, perjury, profanity, heresy, and every thing contrary to sound doctrine.

In the close, as a dying person, and one who has obtained mercy of the Lord to be faithful, I would humbly leave it on godly ministers to be faithful for their Lord and Master, and not to hold their peace in such a day, when so many ways are taken for injuring of him, his name, way, sanctuary, ordinances, crown, and kingdom; I hope there will be found a party in this land, that will continue for him and his matters in all hazards; and as faithfulness is called for in ministers, so professors would concern themselves that they countenance not, nor abet any thing inconsistent with former principles and practices. Let the land consider, how neutral and indifferent we are grown in the matters of God, even like Ephraim long ago, a cake not turned.

As concerning what is the ground of my death, viz. preaching here and there in some corners; I bless my God, I have not the least challenge for it; and though those that condemned me are pleased to call such preachings rendezvous of rebellion, yet I must say this of them, they were so far from being reputed such in my eyes, that if ever Christ had a people, or party, wherein his soul took pleasure, I am bold to say, these meetings were a great part of them; the shining and glory of God was eminently seen amongst these meetings, the convincing power and authority of our Lord went out with his servants in those blasphemously nicknamed conventicles: this I say, without reflection upon any. I have a word to say further, that God is calling persons to repentance, and to do their first work: O that Scotland were a mourning land, and that reformation were our practice, according as we are sworn in the covenant.

Again, that Christians of grace and experience would study more straitness and stability in this day, when so many are turning to the right hand, and many to the left; he that endureth to the end shall be saved; he hath appointed the kingdom for such as continue with him in his temptations.

Next, if ever you expect to have the form of the house showed you in all the laws thereof, goings out thereof, and comings in thereof, then think it no shame to take shame to you for all that has been done: sitting down on this side Jordan, is like to be our bane. Oh! when shall we get up and run after him, till he brings us into the promised land; let us up and after him with all our heart, and never rest till he return.

I recommend my wife and young one to the care and faithfulness of the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; the God that fed me to this day, and who is the God of my salvation, their God and my God, their Father and my Father. I am also hopeful, that Christians, friends and relations, will not be unmindful of them when I am gone.

Lastly, I do further bear my testimony to the cross of Christ, and bless him that ever he counted me worthy to appear for him in such a lot as this: glory to him that ever I heard tell of him, and that ever he fell upon such a method of dealing with me as this; and therefore let none that loves Christ and his righteous cause, be offended in me.

And as I have lived in the faith of this, that the three kingdoms are married lands, so I die in the faith of it, that there will be a resurrection of his name, word, cause, and of all his interest therein; though I dare not determine the time when, nor the manner how, but leave all these things to the infinitely wise God, who has done, and will do all things well. Oh that he would return to this land again, to repair our breaches, and take away our backsliding, and appear for his work! Oh that he would pass by Scotland once again, and make our
time a time of love; come, Lord Jesus, come quickly! Himself hasten it in his own time and way. The Lord is my light and life, my joy, my song, and my salvation; the God of his chosen be my mercy this day, and the enriching comforts of the Holy Ghost keep up and carry me fair through, to the glory of his grace, the edification of his people, and my own eternal advantage. Amen.

**John Kidd.**

Thus, reader, having given thee a faithful account of the behaviour and dying speeches of the most eminent persons who suffered in Scotland, I shall return again for London, where the last person of quality that suffered, was the duke of Monmouth, whose expedition and sufferings here follow.

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**The Martyrdom of James Duke of Monmouth.**

The last person with whom we shall conclude this mournful tragedy, and the greatest in it, is the late James duke of Monmouth; one indeed who, if he had been less, might have been one of the greatest men either in England or the world. By reason of some passages in his life, not so defensible, it was thought, at first, better to draw a veil before that unfortunate prince, and say nothing at all of him. But what allowances are made for custom and education, God only knows. I remember a shrewd answer given to an objection of this nature, Where, said one, should he learn any better? But, however, where there has been any time to think soberly of past actions, or none of that nature reiterated, charity is obliged to judge favourably. And besides, the good west countrymen would be very angry if they should not find their master that they loved so well, and suffered so much for, among the rest of these noble heroes. None can deny but he was a great general, a man of courage and conduct, and great personal valour, having signalized himself both at Mons and Maestricht, so as to gain a high and just reputation. He was all along true and firm to the protestant interest in and out of parliament, though abhoring any base way of promoting it, as well as his friend my lord Russel. This is intended rather as a charac-

er, or very short compendium, than any history of his life. He was all along the people's darling, whose hearts were entirely his, by his courtesy and affability, as other persons lost them by their sourness and haughty pride. After Russel's death he went into Flanders, whence had he prosecuted his design, and gone, as it is said he intended, into the emperor's service, how many laurels might he have won, and how many more would now be growing for him? But his fate was otherwise. After the defeat of his army at Sedgmoor, he fled with my lord Gray, who was first taken, and he himself a little after brought up to London, and on his attainer in parliament, beheaded on Tower-Hill. It is said, a certain brave old officer, who then came over with him, and since with the prince, offered with a small party of horse to have ventured through the guards, and taken him off the scaffold. But they could not be got together; his time was come. Providence had designed other things, that our deliverance should be more just, peaceable, and wonderful, and that the glory thereof should be reserved for their sacred majesties king William and queen Mary.

**A brief abstract of his true Speech.**

I repent in general of all my sins, and am more particularly concerned for what blood hath been spilt on my account, and the rather seeing the issue is such as I fear will prove of fatal consequence to the reformed protestant religion.

Instead of being counted factious and rebellious, the very opposing popery and arbitrary power, now arising and appearing plain enough, would sufficiently have protected my cause; besides, several other most heinous and notorious crimes (such as the unhappy fate of the earl of Essex, and my father of ever blessed memory, and others now covered over with jesuitical policy,) should have been detected and avenged.

I have lived, and shall now die in the faith of this, that God will work a deliverance for his people, and then will be discovered the great and horrid, and scarcely to be paralleled villainies our enemies have been guilty of; but now you see my case is desperate, yet know that I die a martyr for the people, and shall rather pity the state, that their false and covet-
ous minds have brought themselves and me to, than discover who are the persons concerned in my overthrow; and I heartily forgive all that have wronged me, even those that have been instrumental in my fall, earnestly praying for their souls.

And I hope king James will show himself to be of his brother's blood, and extend his mercy to my children, even as he was wont to his greatest enemies, they being not capable to act, and therefore not conscious of any offence against the government.

Argyle and Monmouth being now both safe in their graves, king James was so puffed up with a petty victory over a few clubmen, and so wrapped up with a conceit, that he had now conquered the whole nation, (so that now believing himself impregnable) he resolves to be revenged upon the western people for siding with his capital enemy Monmouth, and to that purpose, sends down his executioner in ordinary, Jeffreys, not to decimate according to the heathen way of mercy, but with the besom of his cruelties, to sweep the country before him, and to depopulate instead of punish; at which time acquaintance or relation of any that fell in the field, with a slender circumstance tacked to either, was a crime sufficient for the extirpation of the family. And young and old were hanged by clusters, as if the chief justice had designed to raise the price of halters; besides the great number of those that upon bare suspicion were transported beyond sea, and there sold for slaves; and the purchase money given away to satisfy the hunger of needy papists. After ages will read with astonishment the barbarous usage of those poor people; of which, among many instances, this one may seem sufficient, whereby to take the dimensions of all the rest: that when the sister of the two Hewlings hung upon the chief justice's coach, imploring mercy on the behalf of her brothers, the merciless judge, to make her let go, caused the coachman to cut her hands and fingers with the lash of his whip. Nor would he allow the respite of the execution but for two days, though the sister with tears in her eyes offered a hundred pounds for so small a favour. And whoever sheltered any of those forlorn creatures, were hurried to the slaughter-house with the same inexorable outrage, without any consideration either of age or sex; witness the execution of the lady Lisle at Winchester. As for Argyle and the duke, though they might die pitied, yet in regard they had declared open hostility, it was no more than they were to expect upon ill success.

We shall now, to complete our western martyrology, (and that we may not be too tedious) proceed to give the particular cases of those that were condemned and executed in the west, with their Christian behaviour and dying speeches, as their plain country friends have preserved them.

The Martyrdom of Mr. Matthew Bragg.

And we begin with Mr. Matthew Bragg, who was a gentleman, and descended from an ancient and good family; he was bred an attorney, in which he practised the law: his case being this, he happened to be upon the road riding home to his house, being come from a gentleman's house for whom he kept courts. He, as before, being met with by a party of horse belonging to the duke of Monmouth, who were going to search the house of a Roman catholic for arms, who lived two or three miles from the place where they met him, they required him to go with them, and show them the way, he knowing the country better than they did; he desired to be excused, telling them, It was none of his business, and besides he had no arms. But his excuses signified nothing, they forced him amongst them, where they went; when being come, a party immediately entered the house, and searched it: Mr. Bragg never dismounted; they being then satisfied, took him along with them to Chard, where the duke of Monmouth then was. Being there, after having set up his horse where he used to do, often having occasion there, he was much tampered with to engage in the design, but he refused it; but the next morning made haste out of town, not seeing the duke at all; calling for his horse, it was told him, 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, and was no more concerned in the af-
fair, than that after the duke’s defeat at King’s-
Sedgemoor, some busy person informed, and
required a warrant from a justice of peace for
the said Mr. Bragg, who obliged himself to en-
ter into a recognizance to appear at the next
assizes; the said justice accounting the matter
in itself but trivial; and indeed all men did
judge him out of danger. At Dorchester he
appeared in court to discharge his bail, on
which he was presently committed, and the
next day being arraigned, pleading not guilty,
put himself on the trial of God and his coun-
try, which found him and twenty-eight more
of thirty guilty; the lord chief justice often
saying, If any lawyer or parson came under
his inspection, they should not escape; the
evidence against him was the Roman catholic,
whose house was searched, and a woman of
ill fame, to whom the lord chief justice was
wonderfully kind; but his evidence, which
were more than twenty, to prove his innocence,
signified nothing, the jury being well instruc-
ted by the lord chief justice. Being thus found
guilty, sentence was presently pronounced, and
execution awarded, notwithstanding all the in-
terest that was made for him, as before recited.

Thus being condemned on Saturday, and
ordered to be executed on Monday, he spent
the residue of his little time very devoutly, and
much becoming a good Christian, and a true
protestant of the church of England, all which
availed nothing with this protestant judge. He
was frequently visited by a worthy divine of
the church of England, who spent much time
with him, and received great satisfaction from
him. The said divine told me, that his deport-
ment, behaviour, and conversation, was so much
like an extraordinary Christian, that he could
not in the least doubt but this violent passage
would put him into the fruition of happiness.
He wished and desired a little longer time, out
of no other design, but thoroughly to repent of
his sins, and make himself more sensible of,
and fit for to receive the inheritance that is
prepared for those that continue in well doing
to the end. When he came to the place of
execution with great courage and resolution,
being, as he said, prepared for death, he be-
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The Martyrdom of Mr. Smith, Constable of Chardstock.

Another eminent person that suffered with
him at the same time and place, was one Mr.
Smith, who was constable of Chardstock, who
having some money in his hands that belonged
to the militia, which came to the knowledge
of some of the duke’s friends, they obliged him
to deliver it to them, which he was forced to
deliver; and for this was indicted for high
treason, in assisting the duke of Monmouth, to
which he pleaded not guilty. The evidence
against him were the same with those that had
been against Mr. Bragg. The said Mr. Smith
informed the court and the jury, what little
credit ought to be given to the evidence. 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 very
boldly, 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 man is more pre-
cious than the whole world. He then was
stopped from saying any more. The evidences
being heard, a strict charge was given the jury
about him. To be short, the jury brought him
in guilty; so that he with the rest received the
sentence of death all together, and were exe-
cuted on Monday; but by particular order from
my lord, he was ordered to be first executed.
The day being come for execution, being Mon-
day, he, with a courage undaunted, was brought
to the place, where with Christian exhortations
to his brethren that suffered with him, he was
ordered to prepare, being the first to be exe-
cuted, where he spoke as followeth:
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 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 had 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 to himself, he said, O Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit, and so submitted to the executioner, September 7, 1685.

The Martyrdom of Mr. Joseph Speed, of Culliton.

At the same time and place, as he came near the place of his execution, he spying his countryman and friend, called 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 replies, 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 years of sixteen always 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 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 me to, and which the said duke declared for, and had, I think, a lawful call and warrant for so doing, and 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, said, My dear friend, you know I have a dear wife and children, who will find me wanting, being somewhat incumbered 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, as, Colossians iii. 1, 2, If you then, &c. and praying very fervently, 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 to himself, 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; his courage and Christian like resolution caused many violent men against the prisoners, to re-
pent of their tyranny towards them; some of whom in a short time died full of horror: and thus fell this good man, a true protestant, and one that held out to the end.

An account of those that suffered at Bridport and Lyme.

At Bridport, one John Sprage, who was a very good man, and behaved himself with a great deal of Christian like courage to the end: his speech and his devotions, &c. must be omitted, not being possible to take them, by reason of the rudeness, &c. and the shortness of the time allowed him by the soldiers.

With Mr. John Sprage there were executed twelve in the county of Dorset. Mr. John Sprage 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 to be short, his praise, his worth, his fame will never die in those places where known: he went about doing good, even in his worldly employments, as I have been credibly informed; hardly any thing coming that way, but what his spiritual meditations were upon. He was apprehended near Salisbury, brought to Dorchester, where I 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 them, advising and instructing them to those holy duties which were necessary to salvation. Being asked, how he could endure those hardships he had undergone since his being taken? Says he, 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, says he. Then said he, 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, they were drawn to execution, but were very rudely and opprobriously dealt with, to the shame of those that then had the charge over them; their rigour unto them was more like Turks than Christians. But to conclude, being come to the place of execution, he prayed very devoutly with them all, but by the rudeness of the guards, there could be no copy taken to be said to be true: all of them died very courageous, 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 in pieces, will one day rise up in judgment against you, and be your accenser, 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 the Lord Jesus Christ; and so farewell. I am going out of the power of you all; I have no dependance 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 of note died, particularly colonel Holmes, who was the first of those there executed, near the same place where they landed, when they came ashore with the duke of Monmouth, being brought to the place after some difficulty; for the horses that were first put into the sledge would not stir, which obliged those concerned to get others, which they did from the coachman, who had that morning brought them to town; when they were put into the sledge, they broke it in pieces, which caused the prisoners to go on foot to the place of execution; where being come, as I told you before, the colonel began thus at the foot of the ladder; he sat down with an aspect altogether void of fear, but on the contrary with a kind of smiling countenance, so began to speak to the spec-
tators 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 there 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 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 doubted not, but that God would make use of others, that should meet with better success, though the way or means was not yet visible, but of this he did not doubt; he also was satisfied of the duke's title, so that matter did not afflict him on account of his engaging on this score: and going on further with a discourse of this nature, he was asked by a person, Why he did not pray for the king? He with a smiling countenance answered, I am sorry you do not yet understand the difference between speaking and praying: and having ended his discourse, he then prepared himself by prayer for his dissolution, which was very devout and pious for half an hour.

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 that this being a glorious sunshining 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 Saviour, where all sin and sorrow shall be wiped away; so embracing each of them, and kissing of them, told the sheriff, You see I am imperfect, only one arm, I shall want assistance to help me upon this tragical stage; which was presently done, and execution suddenly followed.

He with eleven more were brought from Dorchester to Lyme, six in a coach, and six in a cart, as he was drawn through the town, he cheerfully beholding the people, advised them not to be discouraged at their severe deaths; for that though it was their hard for-
him, except by some, that, it is feared, are delivered up to a seared conscience.

The Martyrdom of Mr. Sampson Larke, Mr. Joseph Tyler, &c

Mr. Sampson Larke, who was a very eminent, pious man, and had lived in that town but little before many years; he was there well acquainted, and all people that knew him had a value for him, behaving himself with that humility and circumspection, as nobody could have any occasion but to value him: he designed to have spoken somewhat on a portion of Scripture, and was beginning, having mentioned the place he intended to speak upon, but was interrupted, and told, the work of the day being great, they should want time. So then he stopped, and replied, He could make application where he should not meet with interruption: and so applied himself to prayer, which he performed with great devotion and zeal for a quarter of an hour, to the great satisfaction of the auditors; and so taking leave of his suffering brethren, he mounted the stage, which was to be the last act he made in this world: being on the ladder, he saw some of his friends and neighbours weeping and mourning for him, to whom he spoke, Pray weep not for me, I am going to a place of bliss and happiness, wherefore pray repair to your houses, and ere you get thither I doubt not but I shall be happy with my God and Saviour, where all tears shall be wiped away, and nothing shall remain but hallelujahs to all eternity.

There was also Mr. William Hewling of London, a young gentleman under twenty, who came over with the duke of Monmouth; he seemed to be in a calm and composed frame of spirit, and with a great deal of courage and seriousness he behaved himself. There is already something said of his conversation and discourse; therefore we shall say nothing more of him, but that in all manner of appearance he died a good Christian, a true protestant, and doubtless now enjoys the benefit of it. There were several worthy gentlemen more there executed, viz. Mr. Christopher Battiscomb, Dr. Temple, captain Madders, captain Matthews, captain Kid, &c. in all, twelve, who all of them died with that courage and resolution as became Christians.

We proceed now to other parts of the country, where, with the like butchery were only five executed, among whom was one Mr. Tyler of Bristol, who had had a command in the duke's army, where he behaved himself very stoutly to the last; after the army was dispersed, he among others was taken, received sentence of death at Dorchester, and here brought for the completion of the same, and from thence we hope was translated to heaven. He spent his time between the sentence and execution very devoutly, in confirming and strengthening those that were to be his fellow-sufferers; and made it his business to bring them to a willingness to submit to, and a preparedness for death: the day being come, and he brought to the place of execution, he thus spoke, My friends, you see I am now on the brink of eternity, and in a few minutes shall be but clay; you expect I should say something, as is usual in such cases; as to the matter of fact I die for, it doth not much trouble me, knowing to myself the ends for which I engaged with the duke of Monmouth were both good and honourable. Here being stopped, and not suffered to proceed further, he then comforted his fellow-sufferers, desiring them to join with him in singing a hymn, which he himself composed for the occasion.

After the hymn was finished, he prayed devoutly for half an hour; after prayer he gave great satisfaction to all present of his assurance of heaven, had many weeping eyes for him, and was much lamented in the town, though a stranger to the place; so unbuttoning himself, said to the executioner, I fear not what man can do unto me; I pray thee do thy work in mercy, for I forgive thee with all my heart, and I also pray to God to forgive thee; do not mangle my body too much; and so lifting up his hands to heaven, the executioner did his office. There was also one William Cox that died with him, who also died very courageously, despising the shame, in hopes and expectation of a future better estate. He and his two sons were some of the first that came to the duke of Monmouth, and all taken and condemned together: the father only suffered, the sons by providence were preserved. When he was going to execution he
desired to see his sons, then in another prison in the town, to whom he gave his blessing; and though he was going to be executed, yet had that satisfaction to hope that Almighty God would preserve them, which was so.

An Account of those Executed at Sherborn.

At Sherborn, in the same county, were executed twelve, who all died courageously, especially one Mr. Glisson, of Yeovil, in the county of Somerset; his extraordinary deportment and carriage at the place of execution, was so very considerable, as gave great satisfaction to his friends, and amazement to his enemies. He declared to the world that he was a true protestant, and had not engaged with the duke of Monmouth, but judged it high time to stand up for the same, though God Almighty had thought fit to frustrate his designs, and to bring him to that place to seal the same with his blood.

Also John Savage, and Richard Hall, of Culliton, in the county of Devon, suffered at the same time and place; in their particular conversation they valued those most that they saw most of piety in, and pitied others that they saw not so well prepared; saying, that the remembrance of our vanity may cause compassion towards such as were in such a condition; exhorting all to be serious, and to consider their latter end, which deserved the greatest attention of mind; the way to die comfortably, being to prepare for it seriously; and if God should miraculously preserve us from this death now before our eyes, it should be the duty of us all to spend the remaining part of our time, in such a manner as now, when we see death just at the door. At the hour of execution their cheerfulness and comfort was much increased, saying, Now the will of God will be done, and he hath most certainly chosen that for us which is best; with many other such like Christian expressions, too tedious here to be inserted, because we design to keep to our first intentions, and not to swell the account too large. Upon the whole, after they had with much earnestness recommended their souls to the all-wise God by prayer, they all with much content and satisfaction submitted themselves to the execution, not doubting of a happy translation, and accordingly were executed and quartered; the rest of the executions in this county, as at Weymouth, Pool, Shafton, Wimborne, &c. not being there, we shall pass over, and only give you particular touches, which we saw to our perfect knowledge.

John Sprague and William Clegg, of Culliton, in the county of Devon, were condemned at Exon, and there brought to be executed. Before they were brought into the place, a messenger came from the prisoners with a request to the vicar of the parish, to desire his company and assistance in this their extremity, and to administer those spiritual helps that were suitable to men in their circumstances. Accordingly the said minister came very readily, and did demand of them, What they had to desire of him? The dying persons answered, They desired his prayers. Accordingly he prayed with them a considerable space of time. And after that he asked of them several questions, for to give him and the world satisfaction of the prepared condition they were in, in order to their launching into eternity, especially about the doctrine of non-resistance. John Sprague very soberly and moderately replied, but whether satisfactory or not, we leave to the reader; He believed that no Christian ought to resist a lawful power; but the case being between popery and protestantism, altered the matter; and the latter being in danger, he believed that it was lawful for him to do what he did, though God in his providence had thought fit to bring him to this place of execution. After reading a chapter out of the Corinthians, and singing a psalm suitable to the occasion, he very vehemently and fervently recommended his soul to the all-wise God by prayer for near half an hour, to the great satisfaction of all that heard him; then his wife and children coming to him, weeping bitterly, he embraced them in his arms, saying, Weep not for me, but weep for yourselves, and for your sins, for that he had that quiet satisfaction, that he was only going to be translated into a state of bliss and happiness, where he should sin and sorrow no more, but that all tears should be wiped away, wishing them to be diligent in the service of God. Then recommending his wife and children to the protection of the Almighty God, who had promised to be a husband to the widow,
and a father to the fatherless, who was faithful and able to make up their loss in him, in that which should be better for them than he could be; desiring God to be a refuge for them to fly to for security and preservation from the troubles that seemed to threaten this poor nation: the which they did conscientiously perform, though death here made a separation, he doubted not of meeting them in heaven at last. And so the executioner did his office.

During this time his brother-sufferer, William Clegg, was all the time on his knees, praying to himself with a seeming zeal; suddenly after which, his time being come to follow his brother, he only told the people, That his fellow-sufferer had spoken what he thought was necessary, and they were also his sentiments. And so submitted to execution.

An Account of those Executed at Axminster and Honiton.

At Axminster one also was executed, his name Mr. Rose; he was a gunner that landed with the duke of Monmouth, he had great resolution, and not at all startled with the fear of death. He said, That he desired death, and forgave all them that were the occasion of it. He was very courageous, and died so. He spent some time in private prayer, and was not allowed time, because there was to be an execution at Honiton; so that his execution being over, we passed on to Honiton, where four were executed, one of which was a chirurgeon, his name, if I do not mistake, was Mr. Port, who behaved himself with that extraordinary Christian courage, that all the spectators were almost astonished, he being but young, about twenty, his prayers being fervent, his expressions so pithy, and so becoming a Christian of greater age, that drew pity and compassion from all present; a rude fellow, just before he was to be executed, called for a bottle of wine, and so began drinking the king's health to one of the guard, which he 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 portion will be sweetened with the loving-kindness of my dearest Saviour, that I shall be translated into such a state, where is fulness of joy and pleasure for evermore.

Before I conclude, one Mr. Evans, a minister, ought not to be omitted, who did all along, in the time of his confinement in prison, behave himself with that devotion and strictness, that became a Christian of great eminency, as indeed he was; he spent much of his time in preaching and praying to his fellow-prisoners, exhorting them to hold out to the end; he at last by appointment, being condemned, was executed by himself; at which time and place he behaved himself with great courage and devotion, and with a great willingness and cheerfulness he submitted to execution. There might have been much more said of this worthy man, but because we will keep to our design, shall be omitted. Many others, who were also very eminent, suffered in this county, for asserting and endeavouring to secure the protestant religion.

The Martyrdom of Mr. Simon Hamling.

Thus having finished what we have to say at present, shall only add the case of Mr. Simon Hamling, at Taunton, to show that sometimes innocency will not protect. Mr. Hamling was formerly an inhabitant of the place, but of late years had lived two or three miles from thence; he was a very honest, worthy, good Christian, but was a dissenter, and indeed in the judgment of some fiery men, that might be crime enough, as did too sadly appear in divers cases. But to our purpose: Mr. Hamling living in the country, hearing of the duke of Monmouth's being in town, he there came to speak with his son, who lived in that place; where being come, he gave him advice, which was, that as he expected his blessing and countenance, he should not at all concern himself in the matter, but submit to the will of God in all things. And having thus advised his son, he returns home; and two days after came again to town on a market day with his wife, to buy provisions for his family, and returned to his house again. And this was all the times he was in town while the duke was there. But after the business was over, he was brought in on suspicion, be-
ing a dissenter, that was crime enough, except money appeared to a justice of that town, who usually did commit or dismiss as that appeared. This man was arraigned at Taunton, and pleaded not guilty. The matter above is the truth of this case; the evidences were two profligate rascals, that had encouragement from the justice, they usually doing what he put them on. The prisoner had many to prove this fact, and his honesty; but this did not avail, the jury found him guilty, with two more, who were presently sentenced, and next morning executed, to be examples to others. It is said, the justice made application to our famous protestant judge, and hinted some mistake concerning him. To which, as I have been informed, he should reply, you have brought him on; if he be innocent, his blood be upon you. Which was a very fine reply from a merciful judge, but nothing else could be expected, as the whole treatise evinced: the tender mercies of the wicked being cruel. This man behaved himself very worthily at the place of execution, and did at the last declare his crime to be the same as is above mentioned, and not otherwise. Thus fell this pious Christian, a man by all sober people that knew him beloved, and disrespected by none but loose villains, which at last took away his life.

There was one Mr. Catchett executed with him, his crime, being a constable of the Hundred, he was surprised by a party of the duke's, and showed a warrant to bring in provisions and other necessaries for the use of the army, which if he had not obeyed, was threatened to have his house burnt, &c. so that he was obliged to do what he did for his own preservation; but this was not sufficient, for being found guilty, he was also executed at the same time and place.

An Impartial Account of Kirk's Cruelties.

When Kirk came first into Taunton, he came with two cart loads of men bloody, and their wounds not dressed, just as they were hauled into Bridgewater prison; they were guarded by grenadiers with bayonets. He also brought with him into Taunton a great drove of foot, chained two and two together. He hanged nineteen on the Corn-hill immediately, not suffering either their wives or children to speak to them, or to take their leave of them.

As they were executing, Kirk caused the pipes to play, drums and trumpets to sound, that the spectators might not hear the cries and groans of dying men, nor the cries of their friends. He caused their bowels to be burned, and their quarters to be boiled in pitch, and hanged all about the town.

Kirk hanged one on the White-Heart signpost three times, to try if he would own he had done amiss; but he affirmed, (to this effect) That if it was to do again, he would engage in the same cause; so Kirk would have him hanged in chains; and so he was, till king William came to the deliverance of this nation from popery and slavery.

When Jenkins, the Hewlings, &c. were to die, before they came out of the B——l, there was a great fire made on the Corn-hill, that so they might see the fire that was to burn their bowels.

Some that Kirk caused to be hanged, he caused also their bodies to be stripped, and their breasts to be cleaved asunder; in the place where he caused the executions to be done, you might have gone up to the ankles in blood; he also caused the hearts of the poor executed men to be thrown into the fire with a great shout, saying, Here is the heart of a traitor.

A captain of W—— was hanged, and the rope broke, whereby he hoped to have saved his life; but they took from a market horse a ring rope, and hanged him again.

At the assizes, when the prisoners were brought to the bar, Jeffreys said, if any man pleaded not guilty, he should die.

One not concerned in Monmouth's business, when asked, said, Not guilty, my lord: Jeffreys said, Take him, gaoler, and let him be executed another time.

An honest man was hanged for sparing for Monmouth's horse three penny worth of hay.

A constable also was hanged for executing of Monmouth's warrant.

And many hundreds were put in the castlehall, by which it was feared they would infect the town. Francis Burges was taken upon Maidendown, by the persuasion of sir ——; he was hanged by fastening a rope to a chamber window, and set upon a hoget, and so hanged.
There were, by good report, several scores died in Ilchester by infectious diseases, and in their irons, and hand-bolts; for if they were not hard-hearted, and used the extremest rigour imaginable, the keepers were not accounted good subjects. One of Welinton that was to be hanged then, was saved, supposed by order of sir —— ; and one of Crookern hanged in his stead; this is true, and so it was at other places: but it were endless to record all the cruelties exercised by Kirk and Jeffreys, after Monmouth’s defeat.

Now that which remains, is to give an account of hundreds that had fled and hid themselves up and down in holes and rocks, whose friends made all application to some great person or other to procure their pardons; some to this, some to others, that they thought favourites with the king; but the rewards must be ascertained before any application could be made, (for pardons were just as they were in Rome) according to the ability of the person, from half a crown to sixteen thousand guineas; any tooth, good barber. Divers lists being sent up, and the rewards ascertained, which, amongst many of them put together, did amount to considerable sums. So that it was now, who could find a friend to relieve his distressed relations, which were forced to wander up and down in caves and deserts, for fear of being taken. But this misfortune attended the agents, that unless my lord chancellor were used, by his creatures that were allowed by him so to do, other applications commonly met with disappointments.

The Life and Death of George Lord Jeffreys.

He was born at Acton, near Wrexham, in Denbighshire, in Wales, about the year 1648, his father’s name was —— Jeffreys, being reputed a gentleman in that country, though of no large fortune or estate; however he lived very comfortably on what he had, improving his yearly income by his industry; and gained by his plain and honest endeavours a good repute among the gentry of those parts; insomuch that it was not long before he, upon the recommendation of some person of interest and ability, married a wife of a good family, and they lived very comfortably together in their rural habitation, being far from ambition, or striving for court favour; but contented with what God had blessed them with, and the fruits of their own industry, they found a solid happiness in that contentment. Nor had they lived together any considerable time, but among other children, the fruits of lawful wedlock, God was pleased to bestow on them the person who is intended for the subject of this discourse, who was in due time baptized by the Christian name of George; whether he had godfathers, &c. it does not occur; however, he, under the care and diligence of his industrious parents, grew up, and appeared to all that knew him, of a very prompt and ready wit, active, and striving for pre-eminence, even among the companions of his tender age, which lively demonstrated that an air of ambition was inherent to his person.

As soon as he was capable to receive learning, he was put to a country school, where he was furnished with such education as that afforded, which was not extraordinary; yet his natural parts set it off to the best advantage; and growing to years of somewhat a ripe understanding; and not very tractable, his father by the advice of some of his friends, caused him to be brought to London, and finding him not inclined to any trade, but rather addicted to study, he entered him, or by his procurement he was entered into the Free School at Westminster, where he profited much, so that he was, by the care of the worthy master thereof, soon enabled to understand the languages, or at least as many of them as were necessary for the study of the law, which above other things he aimed at; though his father seemed not very agreeable to his desires; for perceiving in his soul a more than ordinary spark of ambition, fearing it might kindle into a flame, and prove one day his ruin, he laboured to hinder the ways he conceived most likely to bring it upon him; and is reported to say, (when he found he could not dissuade him from his purpose, gently clapping him on the back) Ah, George, George, I fear thou wilt die with thy shoes and stockings on: what he meant by that expression, I determine not, but leave the reader to interpret.

Upon the coming in of king Charles the Second, and the restoring the face of affairs in the kingdom, the law revived again, and began to flourish; the practitioners lived in much
credit and reputation, and many of them purchased large estates, which served to wing the desire of this person with impatience; and some say he was the rather incited to it by a dream he had whilst a scholar at Westminster school, viz. That he should be the chief scholar in that school, and afterward should enrich himself by study and industry, and that he should come to be the second man in the kingdom, but in conclusion should fall into great disgrace and misery. This was confidently reported; and some say himself told it to sundry persons since, when he found the second part of it was fulfilled, by acquiring the chancellorship, and standing high in the favour of his prince.

However, we find the latter part did not deter him from his purpose, for having entered himself in the Inner Temple house, one of the chief inns of court, after his performing such things as are conformable to the customs of the house, we find him called to the bar, by the interest he made with the benchers and heads of that learned society, earlier than had been usual, leaping over the heads of elder graduates.

This happening about the twentieth year of the reign of king Charles the Second, and the city of London beginning to raise herself out of her ashes, more stately and magnificent than before she sunk in flames, a sacrifice to the revenge and malice of the papists, as by the late inscription on the monument, and upon record it appears: this great city, I say, regaining her trade, her privileges and customs were kept up with great exactness, so that in the courts at Guild-hall there was much business; which being considered by this person as more beneficial than that at Westminster, by reason of its frequency, and being carried on briefer, and with less difficulty; which induced him to give his attendance also at Hicks's hall, and other inferior courts and places; insomuch that he being of a bold presence, and having naturally a fluent tongue, an audible voice, and good utterance, he had not pleaded often before he was very much taken notice of, and gained so much credit with the people, that they preferred him before any of the younger barristers; by which means he found his stars begin to smile upon him, so that he was in a manner courted to take fees, and had breviates thrust into his hand frequently in the middle of a cause by persons, when they perceived it went ill on their sides, and was like to go against them.

Thus flushed with success, he now thought of nothing more than how he might climb; nor did he want an opportunity, for the next station we find him in, is that of common serjeant to the great and honourable city of London; and so much fortune favoured him at this time, that alderman Jeffreys, the great smoker, having often observed his discourse and actions, took such a liking to him, that being of the same name, though not in the least any relation, he backed him with his purse and interest, which was not inconsiderable; and thereby not only enabled him to carry on his grandeur, but to purchase as he found a conveniency or advantage, in order to his keeping it up in the world.

These, I say, being the degrees by which he was climbing the slippery stair of honour, to contract a firmer alliance, he addressed himself to a brisk young widow, daughter to sir Thomas Bludworth, then one of the aldermen of the city, and who in the time of the dreadful conflagration had the chair, as being then lord mayor; and so far prevailed upon the lady and her father, that he gained both their consents, and the contract was made, the nuptials solemnized, and soon after he had the pleasure to behold the fruits of her labour; sir John Howel, the recorder of London, giving place, the recordership became vacant, which made this person lay hold of that opportunity, to use his own and the interest of his friends, to acquire that place of trust and honour: nor did his measures fail him, for by the powerful influence he had by this time gained over sundry persons, who were best able to promote him to what he so earnestly laboured to arrive at, he was chosen and confirmed recorder of the honourable city; taking upon him the charge and care of the writings, papers, &c. that belong to so great a charge and trust, as that of a recorder of the city of London.

By this means being become (as himself declared) the mouth of the city, and, as we may term him, capital judge in the Guild-hall, in controversies at the sessions held there, &c. and the power of breathing forth sentences of punishment being put into his hands, he found his ambition enlarged, aiming at nothing more than to become a court favourite: nor was it
long before an opportunity offered itself; to make him be taken notice of: for so it happened, that some persons had imprinted a psalter, and entituled it (the better to shadow the injury they had done to the company of stationers, by invading their property) the King’s Psalter, which occasioning a dispute, it was referred to a hearing before the council at Whitehall, the king being present, and the company, the better to make out their title and claim, carried with them this person as their counsel, who in opening of the case, and making the complaint of the apparent injury done to the company, in printing what was really their property, he had this expression, viz. They have teemed with a spurious brat, which being clandestinely midwifed into the world, the better to cover the imposture, they lay it at your majesty’s door, &c. This, though the king might have taken it (for sundry reasons) as a reflection upon his royal person, yet he was so far from resenting it that way, that he only turned to one of the lords that sat next him, and said, This is a bold fellow, I’ll warrant him. And indeed the stationers had the matter declared by the honourable board in their favour.

About this time the popish plot being discovered by Dr. Oates and others, the nation was for a while in a ferment, and matters ran extremely high in disputes and controversies, and he sailed with the current, declaring with much heat and violence against the priests, Jesuits, and others of the conspirators and Romish faction; as appeared not only by his vehement expressions in pleading against them, but the alacrity and little concern that was visible in his countenance, when at any time, as recorder of London, he passed sentence of death upon any of them, which he generally did with more or less reproach, and became in a manner the terror of that party. But he no sooner perceived the wind tacking at court, and that there was some misunderstanding between king Charles the Second and his parliament, than he began to fall off, and grow cold in prosecuting the ends of the government, being frequently at court, and labouring, as much as in him lay, to draw the magistracy of the city after him; as appears more especially in one passage, viz. The king being recovered of an indisposition, that had for some time put the kingdoms in a fear and doubt of his life, the lord mayor and aldermen went to congratulate him upon his going abroad; after which, and a favourable reception, it was proposed by Jeffreys, that they should in like manner wait upon his royal highness, then duke of York, who was not long before returned from Flanders; but perceiving no forwardness to be seconded, he only, with his father-in-law, stayed behind to gain that access. These and other proceedings created in the city a jealousy, that he had espoused an interest to their prejudice, which wrought so strong in their conceits, that it was concluded in the council chamber at Guild-hall, that he should resign his recordership; and accordingly they sent to him to deliver back the papers and writings they had intrusted him with, which accordingly was done, and sir George Treby constituted recorder in his stead.

This so nettled him, that he now openly declared himself to be what before was only suspected, indulging his thoughts in nothing more, than how he might revenge it upon the dissenters, to whose influence on the court of aldermen he attributed his dismissal from the recordership, and used his endeavours to blacken them as much as he could. Yet all his honour was not sunk; for he had prevailed for the removal of sir Job Charleton from the chief justiceship of the county palatine of Chester, and by the importunity and interest of his party at court, gained it for himself; and took the first possession of that charge in much splendour, paying at that time his father a visit with a numerous train, which, as it is reported, put the old gentleman in such a fret, for the drinking up his cider, and devouring his provisions, that he charged him with the undertaking to ruin him, by bringing a whole country at his heels, commanding him never to attempt the like prodigality again with hopes of success.

Many petitions being put up upon the dissolving the parliament, in 1682, by most of the counties, boroughs, and corporations of England, for the speedy calling another, to redress the grievances of the nation; and the king showing some dislike to that manner of proceeding, this person, further to endear himself to the interest of the court, declared in his station as vehemently against them, by saying, He abhorred that petitioning, &c. from which, and the discontenancing the petitioners as
much as in him lay, he gained the name and
epitaph of an Abhorrer; and upon the burning
the pope in effigies at Temple-bar, upon the
birthday of queen Elizabeth, among other
figures, the arch wags had set one on horse-
back with his face to the tail, and a paper on
his back, viz. I am an abhorrer.

During these transactions, the parliament
being called, met at Westminster, and among
others, this person was called before them, for
attempting to intrench upon the rights and
privileges of the people, &c. and obliged at
the bar of the house of commons, (after hav-
ingen been heard what he could say in defence
of his proceedings by his counsel) to make his
acknowledgment upon his knees, and receive
the reprimand of the speaker; whereupon,
with some sharp rebukes, as the censure of
the house, he was discharged.

To comfort him in this affliction, that was
not, by a man of his haughty spirit, a little
stomached, this parliament being dissolved,
and a call of sergeants had at the King’s Bench
bar, Westminster, he was the first in the roll,
and consequently the king’s sergeant; and as
it is usual to present the king with a ring on
that occasion, the motto he agreed to, was,
A Deo Rex, a Rege Lex; viz. The king from
God, and the law from the king. And now
the popish party playing their cards with more
security, Edward Fitzharris, who had been
impeached by the commons, and stood charged
by them of high treason; being nevertheless,
on the dissolution, tried at the King’s Bench
bar, this person was the principal stickler
against him, and by his rhetoric and florid
expressions, wrought so powerfully with the
jury, who were somewhat in doubt what they
should do in this case, that they found him
guilty, and the impeachment in parliament set
aside, he was executed as a traitor at Tyburn:
and soon after this, the dissenters losing their
esteem in the eyes of the court party, and some
justices of peace of Middlesex being sharp
upon them, this person was chosen chairman
at the sessions at Hicks’s hall, where he had
an opportunity to make them, as he found his
time, feel the resentment of his anger; but
this place being held too low for a spirit winged
with so large an ambition, he aimed at higher
things, resolving, like Icarus, to be near the
sun, though at the hazard of melting his waxen
wings, dropping headlong into the sea of in-
evitable ruin. Whereupon, perceiving some
hot contests in the city of London, about the
election of magistrates and officers, he turned
the edge of his fury that way, insomuch that
a Quo Warranto came down against the char-
bar of the honourable city of London, and in
fine, after much pleading and arguments pro
and contra, the charter was surrendered, at
least in consent, by those that were in power,
and the king suspending the execution of the
judgment obtained, caused such orders to be
observed as he thought most convenient, which
being so well known to the citizens of London,
it would appear a presumption in me to enter
upon particulars; yet the chief cavil against
the city was, taking the toll of markets, col-
certaining money to build Cheapside conduit, &c.
Nor was it long after this, that several per-
sions were tried for rioters, who attended the
election of sheriffs and mayor, and fines were
passed upon many worthy citizens, as rioters
on that occasion; in promoting which, this
person as a counsellor by his florid rhetoric
was mainly instrumental, by giving the court
an account of their respective abilities, the bet-
ter to settle the fines; but the lord chief jus-
tice Saunders dying, he succeeded him as lord
chief justice of the King’s Bench; in which
station he was scarcely settled, but he admit-
ded the popish lords to bail, that lay under an
impeachment in parliament, and whose bail-
ing had been refused by the judges his pre-
decessors.

And here by the way it will not be amiss to
let the reader have a taste of some passages
that happened on the public stage of business,
in the jocular part of this great man’s life, and
the repartees he met with, of which I shall in-
stance a few.

Once it happened upon a trial, that a plain
country fellow, giving evidence in the court,
and pressing it home, moved this person, who
was counsel on the other side, to pick a quar-
rel with this poor man’s leather doublet, and
among other interrogations, bawled out, You
fellow in the leather doublet, pray what have
you for swearing? The man upon this, look-
ing steadily on him, replied, Truly, sir, if you
have no more for lying than I have for swear-
ing, you might wear a leather doublet as well
as I. This bluntly retorted, moved at that
time much laughter, and filled the town with
the discourse of it.
Another time it fell out that some musicians brought an action against a person, at whose wedding-day they had played, for the money they were promised or expected, when in the midst of the evidence, this person called to one of them, viz. You fiddler, &c. at which the man seemed disgusted, he again, upon the party's alleging himself to be a musician, demanded, What difference there was between a musician and a fiddler? As much, sir, (said he) as there is between a pair of bagpipes and a recorder. And he then being recorder of London, it was taken as a suitable repartee.

A country gentleman having married a city orphan, comes and demands her fortune, which was about £1100, but by all the friends that he could make, could not procure it, till he goes to Jeffreys, then recorder, and gave him 100 guineas to be his friend to get out his wife's fortune, upon which Jeffreys told him, that the court of aldermen would sit such a day; the gentleman appearing, was called in, Jeffreys being present, who asked him, Sirrah, what's your business? Upon which the gentleman told him, That he had married a city orphan, and desired he might have her portion out of the chamber; upon which Jeffreys asked him, If he had asked the consent of the court of aldermen? He told him, No. Upon which he called him rogue, rascal, sirrah, you should have asked leave from the court for such a marriage. He told him he understood not the custom of the city, and he begged their pardon, being a country gentleman. Upon this Jeffreys abused him again; but afterward gave him a note for his money; his public railing upon him being only to blind the court, that they might not suspect him bribed.

Jeffreys (when chief justice) being at a country assize, trying a cause, an old man with a great beard came to give evidence before him, and not doing it to his mind, he began to cavil with his beard, and among other expressions told him, that if his conscience was as large as his beard, he might well swear any thing. This so nettled the old blade, that without any respect to his greatness, he briskly replied, My lord, if you go about to measure consciences by beards, your lordship has none.

Jeffreys prosecuted Mr. Baxter for his paraphrase on the New Testament, and sent him to prison; he coming out by an Habeas Corpus, was fain to abscond into the country (in constant pain) till the term. Then his often waitings at the bar, (where he could not stand) and then to be ralingly treated by Jeffreys and Withins, and called rogue and knave, and not suffered to speak one word of answer for himself, and his counsel being reviled that offered to speak for him, was far harder to him than his imprisonment. And then going from the bar, he only said, that his predecessor thought otherwise of him. Jeffreys replied, There was not an honest man in England that took him not for a knave; not excepting the king, that had given him another testimony in words.

The trials in the west were deferred (for some time after the fatal blow given to the duke of Monmouth on Tower-Hill,) because of my lord's being at Tunbridge; but the latter end of August, he with a special commission of Oyer and Terminer, assisted with four other judges, set forward with a party of horse, he being made by special commission their general. The first place he came at, was Winchester, where were divers prisoners on suspicion; but here began the tragedy; for the lady Lisle was there arraigned for high treason, in harbouring Mr. Hicks and Mr. Nelthorp, that had been concerned with the duke; the lady being on her trial, the jury being dissatisfied once and again, but my lord's threats and other managery, so disposed the jury, that at last they brought the lady in guilty; on which he pronounced the sentence of death on her, as usual in such cases; but she had the favour of being beheaded; their other prisoners were carried to Salisbury; and this was the most remarkable thing at that assizes.

From thence they set forward for Salisbury, where were many prisoners that had been picked up and down the country, then in the jail, the which, with those that were brought from Winton, were ordered to be carried to Dorchester, there not being evidence enough to accomplish what was then designed by my lord; so that little of moment passed there, but to pursue the matter, proceeds from thence to Dorchester, where he with his assistants, gownmen and swordmen, arrived on the 3d of September, on which day, being Thursday, the commission was read. Friday morning there was an excellent sermon preached before their lordships, by a worthy divine, chaplain to a worthy person of that country, much tending to mercy; it was observed, that while my lord...
chief justice was at church in prayers, as well as at sermon, he was seen to laugh; which was so unbecoming a person in his character, that ought in so weighty an affair as he was then entering upon, to have been more serious, and have craved the assistance of God Almighty.

The sermon being over, their lordships repaired to the court, which by order of the lord chief justice was hung with red cloth, a colour suitable to such a succeeding bloody tragedy, being accompanied by a numerous company of the gentry of that county, as well as the flower of the neighbouring counties of Somerset and Devonshire, and then proceeded to give his charge; in which charge, by reason of the severity of his sentiments, and positions laid down to make discoveries of all such as were abettors, aiders, or assisters to the late duke of Monmouth, on pain of high treason, which was a great surprise to all the auditors, and so vehemently urged, and so passionately expressed, as seemed rather the language of a Romish inquisitor, than a protestant judge; and then adjourned until eight o'clock next morning, when a bill was found against thirty persons charged with high treason, for aiding and assisting the late duke of Monmouth; who put themselves on trial, notwithstanding my lord's threatening, that if any did put themselves on trial, and the country found them guilty, they should have but a little time to live. And at the same time insinuated, That it were better to plead guilty, if they expected any favour.

These thirty being on trial, the evidences being sworn and examined before the jury; upon the whole, by the violent deportment of the lord chief justice, and sharpness of the jury, they found 29 guilty, though some of them were very hardly dealt with, and not so criminal as my lord and the country imagined. Particularly among the 29, were Mr. Matthew Bragg of Thorncomb, and Joseph Speed of Culliton, in the county of Devonshire, and Mr. Smith, constable of Chardstock, in the said county, and George Steward of Culliton aforesaid.

The said 29 being found (as before) guilty, my lord immediately pronounced sentence of death on them all, as usual in cases of high treason, and did the same night give a warrant to the sheriff for the execution of 13 of the 29 on Monday following; which accordingly was done, notwithstanding great application was made to the lord chief justice by gentlemen of the best quality, in this and the neighbouring counties, for a reprieve of Mr. Bragg, to all which he was deaf, and not to be prevailed upon, though he was assured of his honesty, and true conformity to the church of England, yet it availed nothing. At last it was only requested for 10 days respite, yet that had no better effect; but on Monday he with 12 more of that number were accordingly executed at Dorchester.

In the mean time this proceeding was designed to shorten business, and to wheedle the rest that were to follow to a confession, without which the tenth part of them could not be proved guilty. A method was also taken without precedent, to entrap many poor ignorant people, by a couple of officers that were sent into the jail, to call over, and to take the names of the prisoners, on promise, if they confessed they might expect mercy, otherwise not; which many did. And this was written so, that had they pleaded not guilty, these two were designed to have been evidences against them from their own confessions, which so disposed the remaining great numbers, that all, except a very few, pleaded guilty, which put an end to any further trial.

The only thing remaining, was the pronouncing of sentence on them, which were in number 292, who received sentence of death all at once. One Mr. Lawrence put himself on trial, but by the jury found guilty, whose case was hard, his circumstances being so small to be condemned to die; and had actually suffered, had not application been made to my lord's favourites, and with the payment and securing of £400, preserved him from execution.

This matter being adjusted, and execution awarded to about 80, which were executed, and their quarters set up and down the country to the dread of the spectators, as well as the annoyance of the travellers; his extraordinary whippings, though unmerciful, are not to be taken notice of. So we leave this place, and proceed towards the city of Exon: in their way thither, lying at an honourable gentleman's house, divers of the neighbouring parishes made their petitions to the lord chief justice in the behalf of some relations con-
cerned. It happened, that through some disorder among his servants, some pistols were fired that night, which gave him a suspicion, or at least he took it, of some design upon him; on which at parting he said, Not a man of all those parishes that were of that vicini-
tude, if found guilty, should escape. And so we proceed, and arrive at Exon, where to the number of 243 prisoners being in custody for assisting the duke of Monmouth; one among the rest, Mr. Power Acers, pleading not guilty, he being found by the jury, the said lord chief justice immediately pronounced sentence upon him, and immediate execution, which was done to terrify the rest, who all pleaded guilty; so that these unfortunate people had not time to have the fairness of trials allowed them, which is a right due by the laws of God and man. The remaining number he all condemned; and here was a little sparing; not so many ordered for execution as were in the other county, but those that were executed, were hung up and down in most towns of the county, and their quarters and heads scattered up and down the highways and public places. An extraordinary sentence of severe whipping was pronounced against Mr. Samuel Staple, of Thorncomb, in the said county; but these are trifles, and we shall endeavour to pursue our design, and make as quick despatch as we can, that time may not be lost, the king served, and this miscreant’s thirst quenched with protestant blood, which is always well pleasing to inquisitors, and so proceed to the town of Taunton, at which place being arrived, it was thought fit by the lord chief justice to be as expeditious as might be; so that late in the afternoon the court sat, where the commission being read, he proceeded to give charge, which was so very keen and full of sharp invectives, as if the country itself had not been able to make expiation to his lordship to quench his thirst in the blood of those that ventured their all in defence of the protestant religion; and here we enter upon the bloodiest part of the tragedy; in this town, and at Wells in the said county, were more than 500 prisoners.

To begin at Taunton; the next morning after the charge given, the assizes began, where some few put themselves on trial, who were found guilty, and immediately ordered to be executed: of which number one Mr. Simon Hamlin was one, who was a zealous worthy good man, and his case no way dangerous, but on the contrary, had he had to do with a judge of another stamp. To proceed to the rest: this first cruelty caused the rest to plead guilty in hopes of favour, which was only a few days to live, which those that pleaded had not. Among these at Taunton were divers eminent persons that had been taken in the west and carried to London, and brought down there to complete the bloody tragedy in those parts: Mr. Parrot, Mr. Hewling, the elder, Mr. Lisle, Mr. Jenkins, Mr. Hucker, and divers others were very eminent. To take notice of every particular in this matter, will alter our design, and swell the account to too great a bulk, being only designed for a short sketch; and useful it may be to see the cruelty of men when in their power, and how the devil stirreth up his instruments, to pursue those that adventure for the cause of God and religion. Here were in this country executed 239, the rest that were condemned were transported, except such as were able to furnish coin, and that not a little, for an account was taken of men’s abilities, according to which the purchase for life must be managed by two of his favourites, who had a small share, the rest went into his lordship’s pocket; according to the actions of Rome, where sins of any kind may be pardoned for money. This indeed was a glorious design in the eye of the mother church, to root out heresy by executions and transportation, to make room for a pack; here expedition must be made to conclude at Wells, for that a great man being fallen, our great judge designing his chair, which in short he had, as the reward of so eminent and extraordinary a piece of service as he did for the advancement of the Roman catholic interest, which is cruel always where it prevails.

Thus we leave the town of Taunton, after awarding execution to many there, and their quarters to be scattered up and down the country; so we proceed to Wells, where divers prisoners that had been carried from jail to jail, in expectation of evidence against them, were in carts removed to Wells; in which place, to finish this expedition, the same method as was at the former assizes, was also taken here by a severe charge, affronting the gentlemen of this county, as he had done in all the counties before, terrifying the juries (when any pleaded) to make them bring in the persons guilty; some of which were overawed, and it is doubted contrary to their judgments;
which if so, the Lord forgive them. Here were many eminent and worthy persons that received the sentence of death, but the executions of the country being put together, as you have before seen, we make no particular division of the number here, and the number at Taunton, the whole being recited before: we shall therefore endeavour to be as brief as we can, to give you what we think material, and truly matter of fact; my lord now being come to conclude this extraordinary commission, and in haste to be elevated, maketh all manner of despatch to repair to the king, then at Windsor, to give an account of his transactions, and to receive the reward of his meritorious service, in this butchering of protestants, which is so acceptable to his holiness, and his bigoted disciples, as nothing can be more; and indeed, if you will believe them, a work that merits heaven at last, besides what temporal preferments are thought fit in this world. If this judge were a true protestant, his case is much the worse, being made use of as a tool to destroy, and carry on popish designs. Thus the affairs being ended, the country filled with heads and quarters of those that were executed, the rest that had not where-with to purchase their lives, left in custody in order for transportation.

This bloody tragedy in the West being over, our protestant judge returns to London: soon after which alderman Cornish felt the anger of some body behind the curtain; for it is to be noted, that he was sheriff when Best prayed an indictment might be preferred, and was, as well as sheriff Bethel, earnest in promoting it; alleging, that it was no ways reasonable that the juries of London should lie under such a reproof, &c. But passing this over, we now find this person arrived at the pinnacle of honour: the purse and mace were reserved for him, vacant by the death of the lord keeper North; and he advanced to the lord chancellorship of England: raised by this means, as one might think, above the envy of the crowd; and it might be wished, in so dangerous a height he had looked better to his footsteps; for now being created baron of Wem, we find him in a high commission, or ecclesiastical court, suspending the honourable the lord bishop of London, from performing the episcopal office and function of that see, and for no other defect, than not readily complying with the king's letter, in suspending Dr. Sharp, dean of Norwich, for preaching a sermon in the parish church of St. Giles's in the fields, at the request of the parishioners, showing the errors and fallacies of the Romish religion; the better to confirm them in the faith and doctrine of the church of England. Nor was it this good bishop alone that was aimed at; for Magdalen College, at Oxford, was next attempted, and in that very mother of learning, and chief seminary of our church, such alterations were made as startled the kingdom; by whose counsel I undertake not to determine; but in the midst of liberty of conscience, as twice declared. The church of England had a test put upon her sons, which seemed such a paradox that has been rarely heard of, viz. To read the king's declaration for liberty of conscience in the churches, during the time of divine service, and a mark, and penalties threatened to the refusers; which was evidently demonstrated by the imprisonment of those worthy patriots of the church, his grace the lord archbishop of Canterbury, the lord bishops of Bath and Wells, Ely, Peterborough, Chichester, St. Asaph, and Bristol; who for showing their reasons, why they could not comply with this command, by way of humble petition, were sent to the Tower, and afterward tried upon information of high misdemeanor, at the court of King's Bench; where their innocence appearing in a plain manner, they were acquitted, to the scandal of their accusers: yet orders were sent into all parts of England, to return an account to the lord chancellor, of those that refused to read the declaration, that they might be proceeded against, for a contempt of what their consciences would not permit them to do; and for a time they were extremely hot upon it. Much about this time there was a considerable suit depending before him in chancery, between a great heiress and others, which was sufficiently talked of in the world, not without loud and deep reflection on his honesty and honour; for having given the cause for the young lady, he very speedily afterward married her to his son; with this remarkable circumstance, she being a papist, to make sure work, he married them both ways, both by a priest of the church of Rome, and a divine of the church of England. And here, I think, we may place the height and acme of his honour and happiness, where he is not like to
tarry long; for on the news of the great preparations in Holland, and that the prince of Orange was certainly designed for England, the determined councils cooled, and then quite ceased, so that the church of England men, whose cause the prince had espoused, were restored again to the commissions and trusts they had been lately deprived of; and among other charters that were on this occasion restored, was that of the city of London; and that which makes it more memorable, was, that it was brought to Guild-hall by this person, though he was not attended by the shouts and acclamations he expected, nor seemed so florid or frolicksome as heretofore, which some looked upon as a bad omen; and it is reported, soon after he being asked by a courtier, What the heads of the prince’s declaration were? he should answer, He was sure his was one, whatever the rest were.

When the late king James was secured at Feversham, he desired to see his landlord, and demanded his name, who proved to be a person who had turned himself over to the King’s Bench, for a fine which fell upon him (and captain Stanbrooke, in Westminster) by the lord chancellor’s means at the board, when king James, calling for a pen and ink, bid the gentleman write the discharge as effectually as he would, which he signed; adding, that he was now sensible my lord chancellor had been a very ill man, and done very ill things. If he was thus censured by his master for his former services, and he had a bad opinion of him; without prophecy any man might predict his service and interest was ceased; and his life would have been like the scape-goat, he must have borne all their crimes, and been beheaded for his own, for no less indignation than death was couched in the words. Thus may be seen what would have been his end.

The court by this time beginning to scatter, and the prince of Orange approaching, the king thought fit to withdraw himself; upon notice of which the lord chancellor betook himself to Wapping, disguised like a seaman, in order to effect his escape to Hamborough in a collier; but being discovered, he was brought before sir J. Chapman, lord mayor of the city of London, in a strange disguise, very different from the habit in which he formerly appeared; and by reason of the lord mayor’s indisposition, he not being able to commit him, he offered to go to the Tower, to be out of the hands of the rabble, who there in great numbers, with clubs and staves, threatened him with present destruction; but having a guard of the trained bands to conduct him, he got thither safe, and soon after was charged in custody, by a warrant of commitment from the lords at Whitehall, where he continued under much affliction and indisposition, having moved for his Habeas Corpus to be bailed, but was not able to attain it. He had not been in the Tower many days, when, as it is said, (whether or no, I cannot affirm,) he had a barrel of oysters sent him, upon sight of which he said to the bearer, I see I have some friends left still; but upon opening the barrel, he found them to be only friends that were impatient till they gave him a prospect of his future destiny, for verily the mighty present was nothing but a good stout halter. Now, as I said before, whether this passage be true or no, I cannot say, but this I am sure (if we consider his lordship’s life and cruelties,) the moral of it is very good.

Thus he continued for some months in the Tower, his chronical indispositions, the stone, &c. increasing very fast upon him.

The ingenious Dr. Lower was his physician; but nature being now tired out by a tedious combat with his disease, and the guilt of his former bloody life, notoriously known, he contracted an ill habit of body, and at last very happily for himself; if not his relations too, died in the Tower, about nine o’clock in the morning, A. D. 1689.—Thus, reader, you have seen the rise and fall of this unfortunate, great, and wicked man.

An Account of the Direct Persecution of the Right Hon. Lord George Gordon, President of the Protestant Association, and of the Indirect Stigma thrown on that Body in General, through the Artifices of Romish Emissaries.

In order to trace this nefarious business to its original, it will be necessary to observe, that in the year 1778, a bill was brought into the House of Commons by sir George Seville, and afterward passed into an act, for the repeal of certain provisions and penal laws, affecting the Roman catholics in this country; which said provisions and penal laws were contained in an act of parliament passed in the 11th and 12th years of the reign of king William the Third. This obnoxious act being now set
aside by the late repeal, every popish priest is consequently permitted to exercise any part of his function in this kingdom; papists are allowed to keep schools, and to take upon them the education, government or boarding of youth, to purchase estates, with other indulgences and immunities.

We must further observe, that it being proposed, the following winter, to bring a similar bill into parliament, to take off some penalties which were inflicted by the laws of Scotland upon the Roman catholics of that country, the measure was so resented by the Scots, that on the 2d of February an insurrection happened in the city of Edinburgh; in consequence whereof, two popish chapels were attacked and set on fire; the houses of the Roman catholics in different parts of the town were ransacked and demolished; and the tumult rose to such a height, that the utmost exertions of the civil magistrate, assisted by some of the fencibles, were not able to suppress it, till the provost of the city gave assurances, in the most public manner, that the scheme was dropped, and no act of parliament would be applied for, respecting the Roman catholics of Scotland. Such was the effectual opposition the proceedings of the then violent British minister and parliament met with in the North, on the very first appearance of countenancing the papists there.

In England things remained quiet for some time; but at length the fears and jealousies of the people were roused, from a belief (too justly founded) that the late repeal of the statute of king William would be attended with immediate danger to the state, and to the protestant religion; whereupon an association, called The Protestant Association, was formed, whose main object was to defend the protestant religion, as by law established, against the encroachments of popery; and also to prepare and present a petition to parliament, for a repeal of the late act in favour of the Roman catholics. The right honourable lord George Gordon was president of this association; and many respectable and pious ministers, with a great number of worthy private Christians, composed a considerable part of the society.

In consequence of previous notice given in the public prints, upwards of 40,000 persons, with the members of the Protestant Associa-

tion of London, Westminster, Southwark, &c. assembled in St. George's Fields, on Friday the 2d of June, 1730, in the morning, from whence they proceeded peaceably, and in regular order, to the House of Commons, with their petition, which was carried by Mr. Hodgkinson. They consisted of four divisions; namely, the London, the Scotch, the Westminster, and the Southwark. When they arrived at the Parliament-house, their petition, praying for a repeal of the acts lately passed in favour of the Roman catholics, was presented by lord George Gordon, the president; and, being received, the subject matter of it was referred to the consideration of the House.

But on this, as on other occasions of the like nature, where a mixed multitude is collected together, many evil-minded persons, unknown to the association, began to be very riotous, and committed awful outrages, by attacking and setting fire to Newgate and other prisons, releasing the persons confined in them, and demolished the houses and destroyed the goods of several Roman catholics, and others, on pretence of a zeal for the protestant religion, but in fact for the sole purpose of indulging themselves in rioting, excess, and robbery. These lawless miscreants continued their enormities till Thursday evening, when a tremendous scene opened, and the whole city of London was thrown into the utmost consternation, on account of the many jails and houses that were burning at one and the same time; and had not his majesty collected together a military force on the next day to protect the city, it was apprehended that the conflagration would have been universal.

While these horrid acts were perpetrating by an abandoned rabble, lord George Gordon, accompanied by one of the sheriffs, went in person to several places, where the tumults were subsisting, to harangue the outrageous banditti, and exhort them to a peaceable deportment; but all without effect. Such, however, was the malice of his enemies, who were bent on his destruction, that notwithstanding he employed every effort in his power to suppress the rage, and prevent the mischievous designs of the rioters, they did not scruple to accuse him of being their ringleader and principal abettor.

In consequence of this unjust accusation, his lordship was apprehended on Friday the
9th of June, 1780, by a warrant under the hand of one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, and was the same day committed a close prisoner to the Tower, where he was debarred the use of pen, ink, and paper, and no person of his acquaintance was suffered to enter the room, or to speak to him; and a keeper was appointed to watch him night and day, to carry the above rigorous order into strict execution.

In this severe manner was his lordship treated and confined till Michaelmas term of the said year; on the first day of which he applied to the court of King's Bench, by petition founded upon the Habeas Corpus act, to be either tried or set at liberty; a few days after which, in the same term, an indictment for high treason was framed against him, and presented to the gentlemen grand jurors for the county of Middlesex, who returned it into the court of King's Bench a true bill.

The iniquity of this transaction appears the more glaring, when we consider the characters of the evidence upon which the indictment was found. They are thus described, and their accounts represented as follows:

1. Mr. Chamberlane, solicitor to the treasury, produced a paper, signed "G. Gordon," which had been given to a man by way of certificate, of his being a protestant, to prevent his house from being destroyed by the rioters. He swore that he had seen lord George Gordon's writing, and did believe that this letter was written by him.

2. A shabby looking man (name unknown) swore, that he heard lord George Gordon say publicly, at a meeting at Coachmakers' hall, that the king had forfeited his crown, and therefore they had a right to take up arms to recover their religious liberties.

3. Mr. Bowen, a clergyman, swore, that he heard lord George Gordon (out of the house) say to the people, They must be firm, and stand by him, for that the Scotch did not obtain their religious liberty till they had pulled down the mass houses; and that he came a second time, and declared to the people, that alderman Bull and alderman Sawbridge were violent against their petition.

4. Ray, or M-Ray (an Irish chairman) swore, that he heard lord George Gordon say, the petition should be granted, or else —. On being asked, What else! He answered, Else! else! ——He was dismissed.

5. Mr. Justice Wright swore, that his house was destroyed by the rioters, but could not say whether at the instigation of lord George Gordon, or not.

6. Jealous, Parrat, and M-Manus, (three of sir John Fielding's runners,) swore, that they saw lord George Gordon in St. George's Fields, with a great number of people round him, and that he remained there some time, but they could not say how long.

His lordship's trial (founded upon this and such like respectable evidence) came on in the court of King's Bench, on Monday the 6th of February, 1781. The counsel for the crown were, Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Solicitor General, Mr. Bearcroft, Mr. Lee, Mr. Howarth, Mr. Dunning, Mr. Norton. The counsel for the prisoner were Mr. Kenyon and Mr. Erskine.

The futility and contradictory nature of many of the evidence, collected together to procure the conviction and death of lord Gordon, for a crime of which he had always retained an utter detestation; together with the very able and clear justification of his conduct by his learned counsel, set his innocence in so conspicuous a point of view, that he was honourably acquitted by the jury, to the confusion of his enemies, and the entire satisfaction of all real friends to civil and religious liberty, and the protestant cause; and we have the pleasure to observe, that the very just and sensible description of the Protestant Association, given by the Rev. Mr. M——n, a member thereof, on his examination, did not a little contribute to bring about this happy event.

As there never was a single person either convicted, tried, or even apprehended, on suspicion of being accessory to, or any ways promoting the riots, who was a member of that respectable body, the Protestant Association, this circumstance must therefore afford a satisfactory proof that the persecution of lord George Gordon was set on foot and carried on by unprincipled protestants, and avowed papists, in order to take away the life of this truly honourable man, who had always approved himself a hearty and zealous friend to his king and country, a warm defender of his civil and religious liberties, and a strenuous opposer and detester of the tenets and practices of the Roman catholics, as inimical to the best and dearest interests of mankind in general.
BOOK XI.

SKETCH OF THE LIVES OF SOME OF THE MOST EMINENT REFORMERS.

IT will not be inappropriate to devote a few pages of this work to a brief detail of the lives of those men who first stepped forward, regardless of the bigoted power which opposed all reformation, to stem the tide of papal corruption, and to seal the pure doctrines of the gospel with their blood. Among these Great Britain has the honour of taking the lead, and first maintaining that freedom in religious controversy which astonished Europe, and demonstrated that political and religious liberty are equally the growth of that favoured island. — Among the earliest of these eminent persons was

JOHN WICKLIFFE.

This celebrated reformer, denominated the Morning Star of the Reformation, was born about the year 1324, in the reign of Edward II. Of his extraction we have no certain account. His parents designing him for the church, sent him to Queen’s College, Oxford, about that period founded by Robert Eaglesfield, confessor to queen Philippa. But not meeting with the advantages for study in that newly established house which he expected, he removed to Merton College, which was then esteemed one of the most learned societies in Europe.

The first thing which drew him into public notice, was his defence of the University against the begging friars, who about this time, from their settlement in Oxford in 1230, had been troublesome neighbours to the University. — Feuds were continually fomented; the friars appealing to the pope, the scholars to the civil power; and sometimes one party, and sometimes the other, prevailed. The friars became very fond of a notion that Christ was a common beggar; that his disciples were beggars also; and that begging was of gospel institution. This doctrine they urged from the pulpit, and wherever they had access.

Wickliffe had long held these religious friars in contempt for the laziness of their lives, and had now a fair opportunity of exposing them. He published a treatise against able beggary, in which he lashed the friars, and proved that they were not only a reproach to religion, but also to human society. The University began to consider him one of her first champions, and he was soon promoted to the mastership of Balliol college.

About this time, archbishop Islip founded Canterbury Hall, in Oxford, where he established a warden and eleven scholars. To this wardenship Wickliffe was elected by the archbishop, but upon his demise, he was displaced by his successor, Stephen Langham, bishop of Ely. As there was a degree of flagrant injustice in the affair, Wickliffe appealed to the pope, who subsequently gave it against him from the following cause: Edward the Third, then king of England, had withdrawn the tribute, which from the time of king John had been paid to the pope. The pope menaced; Edward called a parliament. The parliament resolved that John had done an illegal thing, and given up the rights of the nation, and advised the king not to submit, whatever consequences might follow.

The clergy now began to write in favour of the pope, and a learned monk published a spirited and plausible treatise, which had many advocates. Wickliffe, irritated at seeing so bad a cause so well defended, opposed the monk, and did it in so masterly a way, that he
was considered no longer as unanswerable. His suit at Rome was immediately determined against him; and nobody doubted but his opposition to the pope at so critical a period was the true cause of his being nonsuited at Rome.

Wickliffe was afterward elected to the chair of the divinity professor; and now fully convinced of the errors of the Romish church, and the vileness of its monastic agents, he determined to expose them. In public lectures he lashed their vices and opposed their follies. He unfolded a variety of abuses covered by the darkness of superstition. At first he began to loosen the prejudices of the vulgar, and proceeded by slow advances: with the metaphysical disquisitions of the age, he mingled opinions in divinity apparently novel. The usurpations of the court of Rome was a favourite topic. On these he expatiated with all the keenness of argument, joined to logical reasoning. This soon procured him the clameur of the clergy, who, with the archbishop of Canterbury, deprived him of his office.

At this time, the administration of affairs was in the hands of the duke of Lancaster, well known by the name of John of Gaunt. This prince had very free notions of religious, and was at enmity with the clergy. The executions of the court of Rome having become very burdensome, he determined to send the bishop of Bangor and Wickliffe to remonstrate against these abuses, and it was agreed that the pope should no longer dispose of any benefices belonging to the church of England. In this embassy, Wickliffe's observant mind penetrated into the constitution and policy of Rome, and he returned more strongly than ever determined to expose its avarice and ambition.

Having recovered his former situation, he inveighed, in his lectures, against the pope—his usurpation—his infallibility—his pride—his avarice—and his tyranny. He was the first that termed the pope Antichrist. From the pope he would turn to the pomp, the luxury, and trappings of the bishops, and compared them with the simplicity of primitive bishops. Their superstitions and deceptions were topics that he urged with energy of mind and logical precision.

From the patronage of the duke of Lancaster, Wickliffe received a good benefice; but he was no sooner settled in his parish, than his enemies and the bishops began to perse-

cute him with renewed vigour. The duke of Lancaster was his friend in this persecution, and by his presence and that of lord Percy, earl marshal of England, he so overawed the trial, that the whole ended in disorder.

After the death of Edward III. his grandson Richard II. succeeded, in the eleventh year of his age. The duke of Lancaster not obtaining to be the sole regent, as he expected, his power began to decline, and the enemies of Wickliffe, taking advantage of this circumstance, renewed their articles of accusation against him. Five bulls were despatched in consequence by the pope to the king and certain bishops, but the regency and the people manifested a spirit of contempt at the haughty proceedings of the pontiff, and the former at that time wanting money to oppose an expected invasion of the French, proposed to apply a large sum, collected for the use of the pope, to that purpose. The question was submitted to the decision of Wickliffe. The bishops, however, supported by the papal authority, insisted upon bringing Wickliffe to trial, and he was actually undergoing examination at Lambeth, when, from the riotous behaviour of the populace without, and awed by the command of sir Lewis Clifford, a gentleman of the court, that they should not proceed to any definitive sentence, they terminated the whole affair in a prohibition to Wickliffe, not to preach those doctrines which were obnoxious to the pope; but this was laughed at by our reformer, who, going about barefoot, and in a long frieze gown, preached more vehemently than ever.

In the year 1378, a contest arose between two popes, Urban VI. and Clement VII. which was the lawful pope, and true vicegerant of God. This was a favourable period for the exertion of Wickliffe's talents; he soon produced a tract against popery, which was eagerly read by all sorts of people.

About the end of the year, Wickliffe was seized with a violent disorder, which it was feared might prove fatal. The begging friars, accompanied by four of the most eminent citizens of Oxford, gained admittance to his bedchamber, and begged of him to retract, for his soul's sake, the unjust things he had asserted of their order. Wickliffe, surprised at the solemn message, raised himself in his bed, and with a stern countenance replied, "I shall not
When Wickliffe recovered, he set about the most important work, the translation of the Bible into English. Before this work appeared, he published a tract wherein he showed the necessity of it. The zeal of the bishops to suppress the Scriptures greatly promoted its sale, and they who were not able to purchase copies procured transcripts of particular gospels or epistles. Afterward, when Lollardy increased, and the flames kindled, it was a common practice to fasten about the neck of the condemned heretic such of these scraps of Scripture as were found in his possession, which generally shared his fate.

Immediately after this transaction, Wickliffe ventured a step further, and affected the doctrine of transubstantiation. This strange opinion was invented by Paschade Radbert, and asserted with amazing boldness. Wickliffe, in his lecture before the university of Oxford, 1381, attacked this doctrine, and published a treatise on the subject. Dr. Barton, at this time vice-chancellor of Oxford, calling together the heads of the university, condemned Wickliffe's doctrines as heretical, and threatened their author with excommunication. Wickliffe could now derive no support from the duke of Lancaster, and being cited to appear before his former adversary, William Courteney, now made archbishop of Canterbury, he sheltered himself under the plea, that, as a member of the university, he was exempt from episcopal jurisdiction. This plea was admitted, as the university were determined to support their member.

The court met at the appointed time, determined at least to sit in judgment upon his opinions, and some they condemned as erroneous, others as heretical. The publication on this subject was immediately answered by Wickliffe, who had become a subject of the archbishop's determined malice. The king, solicited by the archbishop, granted a licence to imprison the teacher of heresy, but the commons made the king revoke this act as illegal. The primate, however, obtained letters from the king, directing the head of the university of Oxford to search for all heresies and the books published by Wickliffe; in consequence of which order the university became a scene of tumult. Wickliffe is supposed to have tired from the storm, into an obscure part of the kingdom. The seeds, however, were scattered, and Wickliffe's opinions were so prevalent, that it was said, if you met two persons upon the road, you might be sure that one was a Lollard. At this period, the disputes between the two popes continued. Urban published a bull, in which he earnestly called upon all who had any regard for religion, to exert themselves at this time in its cause; and to take up arms against Clement and his adherents in defence of the holy see.

A war, in which the name of religion was so vilely prostituted, roused Wickliffe's indignation, even in his declining years. He took up his pen once more, and wrote against it with the greatest acrimony. He expostulated with the pope in a very free manner, and asks him boldly, "How he durst make the token of Christ on the cross (which is the token of peace, mercy, and charity) a banner to lead us to slay Christian men, for the love of two false priests, and to oppress Christendom worse than Christ and his apostles were oppressed by the Jews? When, says he, will the proud priest of Rome grant indulgences to mankind to live in peace and charity, as he now does to fight and slay one another?"

This severe piece drew upon him the resentment of Urban; and was likely to have involved him in greater troubles than he had before experienced, but providentially he was delivered out of their hands. He was struck with the palsy, and though he lived some time, yet in such a way, that his enemies considered him as a person below their resentment. To the last he attended divine worship, and received the fatal stroke of his disorder in his church at Lutterworth, in the year 1384.

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**LORD COBHAM.**

Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, was one among the few who confessed the tenets of Wickliffe after his death. This nobleman was born in the reign of Edward III. and obtained his peerage by marrying the heiress of that lord Cobham who opposed the tyranny of Richard II. He possessed a virtuous bold spirit, and early distinguished himself in the cause of religious liberty; he caused the statute
against provisors to be renewed with addition-
al penalties, and against which Boniface IX.
in vain remonstrated with the parliament.

In 1395, lord Cobham, conjunctively with siri Richard Storey and Thomas Latimer, drew up articles against the corruptions prevalent in the church, and submitted a petition to the house of commons during the king's absence in Ireland, but the latter, instantly returning, put an end to the affair.

The clergy soon marked lord Cobham as the head of the reforming party. It was publicly known, that he had been at a great expense in collecting and publishing the writings of Wickliffe, which he had dispersed among the common people without any reserve; and that he had maintained a great number of Wickliffe's disciples as itinerant preachers in many parts of the country. These things made him more obnoxious to the clergy than any other person at that time in England.

It was imagined, when king Henry IV. came to the throne, that he was well inclined to the cause of reformation; but he attached himself to the clergy, because they were the best able to support his interest. To please the church, and win them to his views, he passed a law, to burn heretics; notwithstanding which, he continued his favour to lord Cobham, and gave him the command of an army with the earl of Arundel, to go to France, where he distin-
guished himself by his prowess. In 1413 Henry died; and Henry V. changing his dis-
ipated character for a religious one, the clergy resolved to attempt the destruction of lord Cobham. As he was esteemed by the people, an order was first obtained to inquire into the growth of heresy at Oxford, commissioners appointed for which purpose declared that the increase of heresy was particularly owing to the influence of lord Cobham. In the end it was determined that a prosecution should be immediately commenced against him; they therefore first applied to the king, and laid be-
fore him the offence of his servant, lord Cob-
ham, and begged his majesty would suffer them, for Christ's sake, to put him to death.

The king, averse to the shedding of blood, enjoined the convocation to postpone the af-
fair a few days, and in the meantime he would reason with the lord Cobham, whose behaviour he by no means approved. He accordingly sent for him, and endeavoured, by all the ar-
guments in his power, to set before him the high offence of separating from the church, and exhorted him to retract his errors. Lord Cobham, denying the pope's supremacy, and asserting that the pope was Antichrist, so shocked the king, that he turned away, and withdrew from him every mark of favour. Lord Cobham having ineffectually tried to in-
terest the king in his behalf, was, on the 23d of September, brought before the bishops of London and Winchester, in the chapter house of St. Paul's. At this examination he read a paper upon the articles respecting which his orthodoxy was called in question. As his confession did not go far enough, a farther hearing was appointed on the Monday follow-
ing. At that time the archbishop, attended by three monks, appeared in court; the area was crowded with a numerous throng of friars, monks, and seculars. Amidst the contum-
acious looks of fiery zealots, he came forward firm and undaunted.

The archbishop accosted him with the ap-
pearance of great mildness, and said that he expected him suing for absolution, but that the door was still open, if reflection had brought him to himself. "I have trespassed against you in nothing, (said he;) I have no need of absolution." Then kneeling down and lifting up his hands to heaven, he broke out, "I con-
fess myself here, before the Almighty God, to have been a grievous sinner; how often have ungoverned passions misled my youth! How often have I been drawn into sin by the tem-
pitations of the world! —Here absolution is want-
ed: O my God! I humbly ask thy mercy." Then turning to the assembly, with tears in his eyes, he cried out with a loud voice, "Lo! these are your guides, good people! For the most flagrant transgressions of God's moral law was I never once called in question by them; I have expressed some dislike to their arbitrary appointments and traditions, and I am treated with unparalleled severity. But let them remember the denunciations of Christ against the Pharisees, all shall be fulfilled." He was then desired to give his opinion on the paper sent the day before, and particularly with regard to the holy sacrament. To which he answered, that "Christ, sitting with his disciples the night before he suffered, took
bread, &c." The archbishop then asked him, "Whether, after the words of consecration, he believed there remained any material bread."

"The Scriptures (said he) make mention of the word material. I believe, as was before expressed, that Christ's body remains in the form of bread." Immediately the cry of heresy was heard from every part: one of the bishops said, "It was a foul heresy to call it bread." Lord Cobham quoted the words of St. Paul,—"The bread that we break, &c. Still they urged it was against the determinations of the holy church. "I know none holier, (replied lord Cobham,) than Christ and his apostles; and this determination is none of theirs." "Do you not then believe in the determinations of the church?" "I do not. I believe in the Scriptures, and all that is found upon them; but in your idle determinations I have no belief. To be short with you, I cannot consider the church of Rome as any part of the Christian church: its endeavour is to oppose the purity of the gospel, and to set up in its room I know not what absurd constitutions of its own."

Amidst great disorder he still continued:—

"Before God and man, I here profess, that, before I knew Wickliffe, I never abstained from sin, but after I was acquainted with that virtuous man, I saw my errors, and I hope reformed them."

The resolution with which lord Cobham behaved on this occasion, with the quickness and pertinence of his answers, so much amazed his adversaries, that they had nothing to reply. After some time one of the doctors broke silence, and questioned him concerning the sacrament, confession, the authority of the pope, and the worship of images. These he severally answered with quickness of conception and boldness of language; when the archbishop told him he found lenity indulged to no purpose. "The day (said he) is wearing apace; we must come to some conclusion: take your choice of this alternative; submit obediently to the orders of the church, or endure the consequences." Lord Cobham answered, "My faith is fixed, do with me what you please." The archbishop then pronounced the censure of the church; to which lord Cobham, with great cheerfulness, subjoined, "You may condemn my body; my soul, I am well assured, you cannot hurt;" and turning to the people, exclaimed, "Good Christian people, for God's sake be well aware of these men; they will otherwise beguile you, and lead you to destruction." Having said this, he fell upon his knees, and, raising his hands, begged God to forgive his enemies. He was then delivered to sir Robert Morley, and sent back to the Tower, where he remained in confinement several months, and at length effected his escape into Wales, and, under the protection of some of the chiefs of that country, lay secure from the attempts of his enemies.

The clergy now represented the Lollards as enemies to the government, and a proclamation was issued, prohibiting them from assembling in companies: they however continued to meet privately in the dead of the night, for devotion, in St. Giles's Fields. About one hundred having collected for this purpose one night, word was secretly sent to the king, that lord Cobham, at the head of twenty thousand men, was raising a rebellion in St. Giles's Fields. His majesty immediately armed what few men he could muster, attacked this unsuspecting body of men, and after killing twenty and taking sixty, pressed forward to attack the main army, but found no one to oppose him. Contemptible as this alleged conspiracy was, the king caused a bill of attainder to be passed against lord Cobham, and a thousand marks were offered for his head, with a perpetual exemption from taxes to any town that should secure him.

The undaunted spirit of lord Cobham had given birth to much ferment in parliament, and they tried in vain to abridge the power of the clergy. He remained in exile in Wales, shifting frequently the scene of his retreat. In the simple manners of that mountainous country he found an asylum, which he judged it imprudent to exchange for one, which might prove more hazardous, beyond the sea.

But the zeal of his enemies was not easily baffled. After many fruitless attempts, they engaged the lord Powis in their interest, a very powerful person in those parts, and in whose lands the lord Cobham was supposed to be concealed. This nobleman, by the agency of his tenants, secured him; and he was carried to London in triumph, and put into the hands of the archbishop of Canterbury.

Lord Cobham had now been four years in Wales, but found his sufferings had in no de-
HISTORY OF THE MARTYRS.

gree diminished the malice of his enemies. His fate, indeed, remained not long in suspense. With every instance of barbarous insult, which enraged superstition could invent, he was dragged to execution. St. Giles's Fields was the place appointed, where, both as a traitor and a heretic, he was hung up in chains upon a gallows, and, fire being put under him, was burnt to death.

Thus perished a nobleman who was every way qualified to be an ornament to his country; who became a Christian upon conviction; and, though surrounded by enemies, was not ashamed of the cross of Christ, but continued steadfast to the end, and manfully closed his life, eminently useful to the cause of reformation.

JOHN HUSS.

John Huss was born at Hussenitz, a village in Bohemia, about the year 1380. His parents gave him the best education their circumstances would admit: and having acquired a tolerable knowledge of the classics at a private school, he was removed to the university of Prague, where he soon gave strong proofs of his mental powers, and was remarkable for his diligence and application to study.

In 1398, Huss commenced bachelor of divinity, and was after successively chosen pastor of the church of Bethlehem, in Prague, and dean and rector of the university. In these stations he discharged his duties with great fidelity; and became, at length, so conspicuous for his preaching, which was in conformity with the doctrines of Wickliffe, that it was not likely he could long escape the notice of the pope and his adherents, against whom he inveighed with no small degree of asperity.

The English reformist Wickliffe had so kindled the light of reformation, that it began to illumine the darkest corners of popery and ignorance. His doctrines spread into Bohemia, and were well received by great numbers of people, but by none so particularly as John Huss, and his zealous friend and fellow martyr, Jerom of Prague.

The archbishop of Prague, finding the reformists daily increasing, issued a decree to suppress the farther spreading of Wickliffe's writings: but this had an effect quite different to what he expected, for it stimulated the friends of those doctrines to greater zeal, and almost the whole university united in propagating them.

Being strongly attached to the doctrines of Wickliffe, Huss opposed the decree of the archbishop, who, however, at length obtained a bull from the pope, giving him commission to prevent the publishing of Wickliffe's doctrines in his province. By virtue of this bull, the archbishop condemned the writings of Wickliffe: he also proceeded against four doctors, who had not delivered up the copies of that divine, and prohibited them, notwithstanding their privileges, to preach to any congregation. Dr. Huss, with some other members of the university, protested against these proceedings, and entered an appeal from the sentences of the archbishop.

The affair being made known to the pope, he granted a commission to cardinal Colonna, to cite John Huss to appear personally at the court of Rome, to answer the accusations laid against him, of preaching both errors and heresies. Dr. Huss desired to be excused from a personal appearance, and was so greatly favoured in Bohemia, that king Winceslaus, the queen, the nobility, and the university, desired the pope to dispense with such an appearance; as also that he would not suffer the kingdom of Bohemia to lie under the accusation of heresy, but permit them to preach the gospel with freedom in their places of worship.

Three proctors appeared for Dr. Huss before cardinal Colonna. They endeavoured to excuse his absence, and said, they were ready to answer in his behalf. But the cardinal declared Huss contumacious, and excommunicated him accordingly. The proctors appealed to the pope, and appointed four cardinals to examine the process: these commissioners confirmed the former sentence, and extended the excommunication not only to Huss, but to all his friends and followers.

From this unjust sentence, Huss appealed to a future council, but without success; and, notwithstanding so severe a decree, and an expulsion in consequence from his church in Prague, he retired to Hussenitz, his native place, where he continued to promulgate his new doctrine, both from the pulpit and with the pen.

The letters which he wrote at this time
were very numerous: and he 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 clergy, of those corrupt times. He wrote also many other books, all of which were penned with a strength of argument that greatly facilitated the spreading of his doctrines.

In the month of November, 1414, a general council was assembled at Constance, in Germany, in order, as was pretended, for the sole purpose of determining a dispute then pending between three persons who contended for the papacy; but the real motive was, to crush the progress of the reformation.

John Huss was summoned to appear at this council; and, to encourage him, the emperor sent him a safe-conduct: the civilities, and even reverence, which Huss met with on his journey, were beyond imagination. The streets, and sometimes the very roads, were lined with people, whom respect, rather than curiosity, had brought together. He was ushered into the town with great acclamations; and it may be said, that he passed through Germany in a kind of triumph. He could not help expressing his surprise at the treatment he received: “I thought (said he) I had been an outcast. I now see my worst friends are in Bohemia.”

As soon as Huss arrived at Constance, he immediately took lodgings in a remote part of the city. A short time after his arrival, came one Stephen Paeitz, who was employed by the clergy at Prague to manage the intended prosecution against him. Paeitz was afterward joined by Michael de Cassis, on the part of the court of Rome. These two declared themselves his accusers, and drew up a set of articles against him, which they presented to the pope and the prelates of the council.

When it was known that he was in the city, he was immediately arrested, and committed prisoner to a chamber in the palace. This violation of common law and justice was particularly noticed by one of Huss’s friends, who urged the imperial safe-conduct; but the pope replied, he never granted any safe-conduct, nor was he bound by that of the emperor.

While Huss was in confinement, the council acted the part of inquisitors. They condemned the doctrines of Wickliffe, and even ordered his remains to be dug up, and burnt to ashes; which orders were strictly complied with. In the mean time, the nobility of Bohemia and Poland strongly interceded for Huss; and so far prevailed as to prevent his being condemned unheard, which had been resolved on by the commissioners appointed to try him.

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

After his examination, he was taken from the court, and a resolution was formed by the council to burn him as a heretic if he would not retract. He was then committed to a filthy prison, where, in the daytime, he was so laden with fetters on his legs, that he could hardly move; and every night he was fastened by his hand to a ring against the walls of the prison.

After continuing some days in this situation, 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 distinguished nobles of Bohemia; a few days 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, with tears in his eyes, that he was not conscious of having preached, or written, against the truth of God, or the faith of his orthodox church.

On the 4th of July Dr. Huss was brought, for the last time, before the council. After a long examination he was desired to abjure, which he refused without the least hesitation. The bishop of Lodi then preached a sanguinary sermon, concerning the destruction of heretics, the prologue to his intended punishment. After the close of the sermon, his fate was determined, his vindication disregarded, and judgment was pronounced. Huss heard this sentence without the least emotion. At the close of it he knelt 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 wit-
nesses, 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 esteemed as so many expressions of treason, and tended to inflame his adversaries. Accordingly, the bishops appointed by the council stripped him of his priestly garments, degraded him, and put a paper nitre on his head, on which was painted devils, with this inscription, "A ring-leader of heretics." Our heroic martyr received this mock nitre with an air of unconcern, which seemed to give him dignity rather than disgrace. A serenity, nay, even a joy, 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 peace.

After the ceremony of degradation was over, the bishops delivered Dr. Huss to the emperor, who put him into the hands of the duke of Bavaria. His books were burnt at the gates of the church; and on the 6th of July he was led to the suburbs of Constance, to be burnt alive. On his arrival at the place of execution, he fell on his knees, sung several portions of the Psalms, looked steadfastly towards heaven, and repeated these words: "Into thy hands, O Lord! do I commit my spirit: thou hast redeemed me, O most good and merciful God!"

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

When the fagots were piled up to his very neck, the duke of Bavaria was so officious as to desire him to abjure. "No, (said Huss;) I never preached any doctrine of an evil tendency; and what I taught with my lips I now seal with my blood." He then said to the executioner, "You are now going to burn a goose, (Huss signifying goose in the Bohemian language;) but in a century you will have a swan whom you can neither roast nor boil." If he were prophetic, he must have meant Martin Luther, who shone about a hundred years after, and who had a swan for his arms.

The flames were now applied to the fagots, when our martyr sang 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 severity of the flames, which soon closed his existence.

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**JEROM OF PRAGUE.**

This Reformer, who was the companion of Dr. Huss, and may be said to be a co-martyr with him, was born at Prague, and educated in that university, where he particularly distinguished himself for his great abilities and learning. He likewise visited several other learned seminaries in Europe, particularly the universities of Paris, Heidelberg, Cologn, and Oxford. At the latter place he became acquainted with the works of Wickliffe, and being a person of uncommon application, he translated many of them into his native language, having, with great pains, made himself master of the English tongue.

On his return to Prague, he professed himself an open favourer of Wickliffe, and finding that his doctrines had made considerable progress in Bohemia, and that Huss was the principal promoter of them, he became an assistant to him in the great work of reformation.

On the 4th of April, 1415, Jerom arrived at Constance, about three months before the death of Huss. He entered the town privately, and consulting with some of the leaders of his party, whom he found there, was easily convinced he could not be of any service to his friends.

Finding that his arrival at Constance was publicly known, and that the council intended to seize him, he thought it most prudent to retire. Accordingly, the next day he went to Iberling, an imperial town, about a mile from Constance. From this place he wrote to the emperor, and proposed his readiness to appear before the council, if he would give him a safe-conduct; but this was refused. He then applied to the council, but met with an answer no less unfavourable than that from the emperor.

After this, he set out on his return to Bohemia. He had the precaution to take with him a certificate, signed by several of the Bohemian nobility, then at Constance, testifying that he
had used all prudent means in his power to procure a hearing.

Jerom, however, did not thus escape. He was seized at Hirsaw, by an officer belonging to the duke of Sultsbeach, who, though unauthorized so to act, made little doubt of obtaining thanks from the council for so acceptable a service.

The duke of Sultsbeach, having Jerom now in his power, wrote to the council for directions how to proceed. The council, after expressing their obligations to the duke, desired him to send the prisoner immediately to Constance. The elector palatine met him on the way, and conducted him into the city, himself riding on horseback, with a numerous retinue, who led Jerom in fetters by a long chain; and immediately on his arrival he was committed to a loathsome dungeon.

Jerom was treated nearly in the same manner as Huss had been, only that he was much longer confined, and shifted from one prison to another. At length, being brought before the council, he desired that he might plead his own cause, and exculpate himself: which being refused him, he broke out into the following elegant exclamation:

"What barbarity is this! For three hundred and forty days have I been confined in a variety of prisons. There is not a misery, there is not a want, that I have not experienced. To my enemies you have allowed the fullest scope of accusation: to me, you deny the least opportunity of defence. Not an hour will you now indulge me in preparing for my trial. You have swallowed the blackest calumnies against me. You have represented me as a heretic, without knowing my doctrine; as an enemy to the faith, before you knew what faith I professed: as a persecutor of priests, before you could have an understanding of my sentiments on that head. You are a general council: in you centre all this world can communicate of gravity, wisdom, and sanctity: but still you are men, and men are seducible by appearances. The higher your character is for wisdom, the greater ought your care to be not to deviate into folly. The cause I now plead is not my own cause: it is the cause of men: it is the cause of Christians; it is a cause which is to affect the rights of posterity, however the experiment is to be made in my person."

This speech had not the least effect; Jerom was obliged to hear the charge read, which was reduced under the following heads:—1. That he was a derider of the papal dignity;—2. An opposer of the pope;—3. An enemy to the cardinals;—4. A persecutor of the prelates;—and 5. A hater of the Christian religion.

The trial of Jerom was brought on the third day after his accusation, and witnesses were examined in support of the charge. The prisoner was prepared for his defence, which appears almost incredible, when we consider he had been three hundred and forty days shut up in loathsome prisons, deprived of daylight, and almost starved for want of common necessaries. But his spirit soared above these disadvantages, under which a man less animated would have sunk; nor was he more at a loss for quotations from the fathers and ancient authors, than if he had been furnished with the finest library.

The most bigoted of the assembly were unwilling he should be heard, knowing what effect eloquence is apt to have on the minds of the most prejudiced. At length, however, it was carried by the majority, that he should have liberty to proceed in his defence, which he began in such an exalted strain of moving eloquence, that the heart of obdurate zeal was seen to melt, and the mind of superstition seemed to admit a ray of conviction. He made an admirable distinction between evidence as resting upon facts, and as supported by malice and calumny. He laid before the assembly the whole tenor of his life and conduct. He observed that the greatest and most holy men had been known to differ in points of speculation, with a view to distinguish truth, not to keep it concealed. He expressed a noble contempt of all his enemies, who would have induced him to retract the cause of virtue and truth. He entered upon a high encomium of Huss; and declared he was ready to follow him in the glorious track of martyrdom. He then touched upon the most defensible doctrines of Wickliffe; and concluded with observing that it was far from his intention to advance any thing against the state of the church of God: that it was only against the abuse of the clergy he complained; and that he could not help saying, it was certainly impious that the patrimony of the church, which was originally intended for the purpose of
charity and universal benevolence, should be
prostituted to the pride of the eye, in feasts,
foppish vestments, and other reproaches to the
name and profession of Christianity.

The trial being over, Jerom received the
same sentence that had been passed upon his
martyred countryman. In consequence of this,
he was, in the usual style of popish affectation,
delivered over to the civil power: but as he
was a layman, he had not to undergo the cer-
emony of degradation. They had prepared a
cap of paper painted with red devils, which
being put upon his head, he said, “Our Lord
Jesus Christ, when he suffered death for me
a most miserable sinner, did wear a crown of
thorns upon his head, and for His sake will I
wear this cap.”

Two days were allowed him in hopes that
he would recant; in which time the cardinal
of Florence used his utmost endeavours to
bring him over. But they all proved ineffect-
ual. Jerom was resolved to seal the doctrine
with his blood; and he suffered death with
the most distinguished magnanimity.

In going to the place of execution he sung
several hymns, and when he came to the spot,
which was the same where Huss had been
burnt, he knelt down, and prayed fervently.
He embraced the stake with great cheerfulness,
and when they went behind him to set fire to the fagots, he said, “Come here, and
kindle it before my eyes; for if I had been
afraid of it, I had not come to this place.”—
The fire being kindled, he sung a hymn, but
was soon interrupted by the flames; and the
last words he was heard to say were these:—
“This soul in flames I offer, Christ, to thee.”

The elegant Pogge, a learned gentleman
of Florence, secretary to two popes, and a zeal-
ous but liberal catholic, in a letter to Leonard
Aretin, bore ample testimony of the extraor-
dinary powers and virtues of Jerom, whom he
emphatically styles A prodigious man.

ZISCA.

The real name of this zealous servant of
Christ was John de Trocznow; that of Zisca
is a Bohemian word, signifying one-eyed, as
he had lost an eye. He was a native of Bo-

hemia, of a good family, and left the court of
Wenceslaus, to enter into the service of the
king of Poland against the Teutonic knights.
Having obtained a badge of honour and a
purse of ducats for his gallantry, at the close
of the war, he returned to the court of Win-
ceslaus, to whom he boldly avowed the deep
interest he took in the bloody affront to his
majesty’s subjects at Constance, in the affair
of Huss. Wenceslaus lamented it was not in
his power to revenge it; and from this mo-
mant Zisca is said to have formed the idea of
asserting the religious liberties of his country.
In the year 1418 the council was dissolved,
having done more mischief than good, and in
the summer of that year a general meeting
was held of the friends of religious reformation
at the castle of Wilgrade, who, conducted by
Zisca, repaired to the emperor with arms in
their hands, and offered to defend him against
his enemies. The king bid them use their
arms properly, and this stroke of policy first
ensured to Zisca the confidence of his party.

Wenceslaus was succeeded by Sigismond,
his brother, who rendered himself odious to
the Reformers; and removed all such as were
obnoxious to his government. Zisca and his
friends, upon this, immediately flew to arms,
declared war against the emperor and the
pope, and laid siege to Pilsen with 40,000 men.
They soon became masters of the fortress, and
in a short time all the south-west part of Bo-

hemia submitted, which greatly increased the
army of the reformers. The latter having
taken the pass of Muldaw, after a severe con-

flict of five days and nights, the emperor be-
came alarmed, and withdrew his troops from
the confines of Turkey, to march them into
Bohemia. At Berne, in Moravia, he halted,
and sent despatches to treat of peace, as a pre-
liminary to which, Zisca gave up Pilsen and
all the fortresses he had taken. Sigismond
proceeding in a manner that clearly manifested
he acted on the Roman doctrine, that no faith
was to be kept with heretics, and treating some
of the authors of the late disturbances with se-
verity, the alarm-bell of revolt was sounded
from one end of Bohemia to the other. Zisca
took the castle of Prague by the power of
money, and on the 19th of August, 1420, de-
feated the small army the emperor had hastily
got together to oppose him. He next took
Ausea by assault, and destroyed the town with
a barbarity that disgraced the cause in which he fought.

Winter approaching, Zisca fortified his camp on a strong hill about forty miles from Prague, which he called Mount Tabor, from whence he surprised a body of horse at midnight, and made a thousand men prisoners. Shortly after the emperor obtained possession of the strong fortress of Prague, by the same means as Zisca had before done; it was soon blockaded by the latter, and want began to threaten the emperor, who saw the necessity of a retreat.

Determined to make a desperate effort, Sigismond attacked the fortified camp of Zisca on Mount Tabor, and carried it with great slaughter. Many other fortresses also fell, and Zisca withdrew to a craggy hill, which he strongly fortified, and whence he so annoyed the emperor in his approaches against the town of Prague, that he found he must either abandon the siege or defeat his enemy. The marquis of Misnía was deputed to effect this with a large body of troops, but the event was fatal to the imperialists; they were defeated, and the emperor having lost nearly one third of his army, retreated from the siege of Prague, harassed in his rear by the enemy.

In the spring of 1421, Zisca commenced the campaign, as before, by destroying all the monasteries in his way. He laid siege to the castle of Wisgrade, and the emperor, coming to relieve it, fell into a snare, was defeated with dreadful slaughter, and this important fortress was taken. Our general had now leisure to attend to the work of reformation, but he was much disgusted with the gross ignorance and superstition of the Bohemian clergy, who rendered themselves contemptible in the eyes of the whole army. When he saw any symptoms of uneasiness in his camp, he would spread alarm in order to divert them, and draw his men into action. In one of these expeditions, he encamped before the town of Rubi, and while pointing out the place for an assault, an arrow shot from the wall struck him in the eye. At Prague it was extracted, but, being barbed, it tore the eye out with it. A fever succeeded, and his life was with difficulty preserved. He was now totally blind, but still desirous of attending the army. The emperor having summoned the states of the empire to assist him, it was resolved, with their assistance, to attack Zisca in the winter, when many of his troops departed till the return of spring.

The confederate princes undertook the siege of Soisin, but at the approach merely of the Bohemian general, they retreated. Sigismond nevertheless advanced with his formidable army, consisting of 15,000 Hungarian horse and 25,000 infantry, well equipped for a winter campaign. This army spread terror through all the east of Bohemia. Wherever Sigismond marched, the magistrates laid their keys at his feet, and were treated with severity or favour, according to their merits in his cause. Zisca, however, with speedy marches, approached, and the emperor resolved to try his fortune once more with that invincible chief. On the 15th of January, 1442, the two armies met on a spacious plain near Kamnitz. Zisca appeared in the centre of his front line, guarded, or rather conducted, by a horseman on each side, armed with a pole-axe. His troops having sung a hymn, with a determined coolness drew their swords, and waited for a signal. When his officers had informed him that the ranks were all well closed, he waved his sabre round his head, which was the sign of battle.

This battle is described as a most awful sight. The extent of the plain was one continued scene of disorder. The imperial army fled towards the confines of Moravia, the Taborites, without intermission, gallant their rear. The river Igla, then frozen, opposed their flight. The enemy pressing furiously, many of the infantry, and in a manner the whole body of the cavalry, attempted the river. The ice gave way; and not fewer than 2000 were swallowed up in the water. Zisca now returned to Tabor, laden with all the spoils and all the trophies which the most complete victory could give.

Zisca now began again to pay attention to the reformation; he forbid all the prayers for the dead, images, sacerdotal vestments, fasts, and festivals. Priests were to be preferred according to their merits, and no one to be persecuted for religious opinions. In every thing Zisca consulted the liberal minded, and did nothing without general concurrence. An alarming disagreement now arose at Prague between the magistrates who were Calixtans, or receivers of the sacraments in both kinds, and the Taborites, nine of the chiefs of whom were privately arraigned, and put to death.
The populace, enraged, sacrificed the magistrates, and the affair terminated without any particular consequence. The Calixtans having sunk into contempt, Zisca was solicited to assume the crown of Bohemia; but this he nobly refused, and prepared for the next campaign, in which Sigismond resolved to make his last effort. While the marquis of Misnia penetrated into Upper Saxony, the emperor proposed to enter Moravia, on the side of Hungary. Before the marquis had taken the field, Zisca sat down before the strong town of Ausig, situate on the Elbe. The marquis flew to its relief with a superior army, and, after an obstinate engagement, was totally defeated, and Ausig capitulated. Zisca then went to the assistance of Procop, a young general whom he had appointed to keep Sigismond in check, and whom he compelled to abandon the siege of Pernitz, after laying eight weeks before it.

Zisca, willing to give his troops some respite from fatigue, now entered Prague, hoping his presence would quell any uneasiness that might remain after the late disturbance; but he was suddenly attacked by the people; and he and his troop having beaten off the citizens, effected a retreat to his army, whom he acquainted with the treacherous conduct of the Calixtans. Every effort of address was necessary to appease their vengeful animosity, and at night, in a private interview between Roquesan, an ecclesiastic of great eminence in Prague, and Zisca, the latter became reconciled, and the intended hostilities were done away.

Mutually tired of the war, Sigismond sent to Zisca, requesting him to sheath his sword, and name his conditions. A place of congress being appointed, Zisca, with his chief officers, set out to meet the emperor. Compelled to pass through a part of the country where the plague raged, he was seized with it at the castle of Briscaw, and departed this life, October 6, 1424. Like Moses, he died in view of the completion of his labours, and was buried in the great church of Czaslow, in Bohemia, where a monument is erected to his memory, with this inscription on it—"Here lies John Zisca, who, having defended his country against the encroachments of papal tyranny, rests in this hallowed place in despite of the pope."

After the death of Zisca, Procop was defeated, and fell with the liberties of his country.

Did our limits permit, the lives of many other early eminent reformers might be added. We shall now proceed to give a concise memoir of the reverend and pious author of that elaborate work, the original Book of Martyrs, which has gotten him a name that will survive the power he wrote against. He was contemporaneous with Luther and Calvin, whose lives are immediately connected with this work, as the main springs of the reformation.

REV. MR. GEORGE FOX.

Our pious author was born at Boston, in Lincolnshire, A. D. 1517; the very year when Luther, in Germany, began the reformation.

Mr. Fox's father died when he was very young; and, his mother marrying again, he came under the tutelage of a father-in-law, with whom he dwelt till the age of sixteen, at which time he was entered of Brasen-Nose college, Oxford; and was chamber-fellow with the celebrated Dr. Alexander Nowel, afterward dean of St. Paul's. Mr. Fox applied to his academical studies with equal assiduity, improvement, and applause. In 1538 he took the degree of bachelor in arts; and that of master, in 1543. The same year he was elected fellow of Magdalen-College.

Upon his first removal to the university, and for some time after, he was strongly attached to the heresies and superstitions of popery. To his zeal for those, he added a life strictly regular and moral. His indefatigable and profound researches into ecclesiastical history and the writings of the primitive fathers, and, above all, his thorough acquaintance with the holy Scripture in its original languages, became the means of convincing him, to what an immense distance the Romish church had departed from the practice and spirit of Christianity.

With the intent to make himself yet a more competent judge of the controversies then in debate between protestants and papists, he searched with indefatigable assiduity into the ancient and modern history of the church.
And with such zeal and industry did Mr. Fox apply himself to these inquiries, that, before he was 30 years of age, he had read over all the Greek and all the Latin fathers; all the scholastic writers; together with the acts of all the councils; and, moreover, made himself master of the Hebrew language. But from this strict and severe application, by night as well as by day, from forsaking his old popish friends, and courting the most sequestered retirement; from the dubious and hesitating manner in which, when he could not avoid being in company, he spoke of religious subjects; and, above all, from his sparing attendance on the public worship of the church, which he had, before, been remarkable for strictly and constantly frequenting; arose the first surmises of his being alienated from the reigning superstition, and infected with (what the bigoted Romanists termed) the "new heresies;" and he saw himself expelled from the university in a short time after, his college passing judgment on him as a convicted heretic.

This gentleman's troubles sat the heavier on him, as they lost him the countenance and good offices of his friends, who were afraid to assist and protect a person condemned for a capital offence. His father-in-law, particularly, seized this opportunity to withhold from Mr. Fox the estate which his own father had left him; thinking, that he, who stood in danger of the law himself, would with difficulty find relief by legal means.

Thus forsaken and oppressed, Mr. Fox was reduced to great straits; when God raised him up an unexpected patron in sir Thomas Lucy, of Warwickshire; who received him into his house, and made him tutor to his children. Here he married a citizen's daughter of Coventry; and continued in sir Thomas's family till his pupils were grown up; after which, he with some difficulty procured entertainment with his wife's father at Coventry; from whence, a few years before the death of Henry VIII. he removed to London.

Being for a considerable time after his arrival in the capital without employment or preferment, he was again reduced to extreme want. But the Lord's good providence relieved him at length in the following extraordinary manner. As he was sitting one day in St. Paul's church, his eyes hollow, his countenance wan and pale, and his whole body emaciated, (or, rather, within a little of being literally starved to death) a person, whom he never remembered to have seen before, came and sat down by him, and, accosting him familiarly, put a respectable sum of money into his hand, saying, "Be of good comfort, Mr. Fox; take care of yourself, and use all means to preserve your life: for, depend upon it, God will, in a few days, give you a better prospect and more certain means of subsistence." He afterward used his utmost endeavours to find out the person by whose bounty he had been so seasonably relieved; but he was never able to gain any discovery. However, the prediction was fulfilled; for, within three days from that memorable incident, he was taken into the duchess of Richmond's family, to be tutor to her nephew the earl of Surrey's children, who (on the imprisonment of the earl, and of his father, the duke of Norfolk, in the Tower) were committed for education to the care of the duchess.

With this female Mr. Fox lived at Ryegate, in Surrey, during the latter part of Henry VIII's reign, the five years reign of king Edward VI. and part of queen Mary's. Gardiner, the bloody bishop of Winchester, in whose diocese this good man so long lived, would have soon brought him to the shambles, had he not been protected by one of his noble pupils the duke of Norfolk. Gardiner always hated Mr. Fox, (who, it is said, was the first person that ventured to preach the gospel at Ryegate;) and saw with deep concern the heir of one of the noblest families in the kingdom trained up in attachment to protestantism, under Mr. Fox's influence.

About this time the city of Basle was one of the most famous in Europe for printing; and many of the learned refugees, who retired thither, got their subsistence by revising and correcting for the press. To this employment Mr. Fox betook himself; and it was here that he laid the first plan of his inestimable history and martyrology, entitled, "Acts and Monuments of the Church."

In the month of November, 1553, the bloody queen Mary died, and, the day before she died in England, Mr. Fox, in a sermon at Basle, predicted her death.

The accession of Elizabeth to the throne encouraged Mr. Fox to return home; where
on his arrival he found a faithful and serviceable friend in his late pupil the duke of Norfolk; who hospitably and nobly entertained him at his manor of Christ-Church, in London, till his (the duke's) death: from which latter period, Mr. Fox inherited a pension, bequeathed to him by his benefactor, and ratified by his son the earl of Suffolk.

Nor did the good man's successes stop here. On being recommended to the queen by her secretary of state, the great Cecil, her majesty gave him the prebendary of Shipton, in the cathedral of Salisbury; which was, in a manner, forced upon him; for he brought himself with difficulty to accept of it. Dr. Fuller tells us, that archbishop Parker summoned him to subscribe; in hope, "that the general reputation of his piety might give greater countenance to conformity." But, instead of complying with his command, Mr. Fox pulled out of his pocket the New Testament in Greek; and, holding it up, said, "To this will I subscribe." And, when a subscription to the canons was required of him, he refused, saying, "I have nothing in the church but a prebend at Salisbury; and if you take it away from me, much good may it do you." He was however permitted till his death to retain it.

Mr. Fox, on his re-settlement here, sat himself to revise and enlarge his admirable Martyrology. With prodigious pains, and constant study, he finished that celebrated work in eleven years. For the sake of greater correctness, he never employed any amanuensis: but wrote every line of this vast book with his own hand, and searched and transcribed all the records and papers himself. But, by such excessive toil, leaving no part of his time free from study, nor affording himself either the repose or recreations which nature required, his health was so reduced, and his person became so emaciated and altered, that such of his friends and relations, as only conversed with him occasionally, could not recollect him at sight. Yet, though he grew daily more lean, withered, and exhausted, his hard studies went on as briskly as ever, nor would he be persuaded to lessen his accustomed labours. — The papists foreseeing how extremely detrimental his history of their errors and cruelties would prove to their cause, exerted their whole art and strength to lessen the reputation of his work. This malice of theirs was of signal ser-

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

Thus having long served both the church and the world by his ministry, by his pen, and by the unsullied lustre of a beneficent, useful, and holy life, he comfortably resigned his soul to Christ, on the 18th of April, 1587. He was interred in the chancel of St. Giles's, Cripplegate, of which parish he had been, in the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, for some time vicar. In his able martyrlogy he has elabo-

rately treated of the vices and absurdities of Papal Hierarchy, of which the following is a brief enumeration.

Errors, Rites, Ceremonies, and Superstitious Practices, of the Romish Church.

TRADITIONS.] The church of Rome having deprived the laity of the Bible, substitutes in its stead apostolic and ecclesiastical traditions; and obliges her disciples to admit for truthwhatever she teaches them: but what do the holy Scriptures say? "Why do ye transgress the commandment of God by your tradition?" Matt. xv.3,9, &c. They also command us "to call no man master (in spiritual concerns;) to try the spirit, and to beware of false teachers."

PRAYERS AND DIVINE SERVICES IN LATIN.] The Roman catholics will not interpret the Scriptures otherwise than according to the sense of holy Mother Church, and the pretended unanimous consent of the fathers: they assert also, that the Scriptures ought not to be read publicly, nor indifferently by all; and, that the common people may be enslaved by gross ignorance, they perform public worship in an unknown tongue, contrary to the rule laid down by the apostle, "That all things should be done to edification." St. Paul says, "If I pray in an unknown tongue, my spirit prayeth, but my understanding is unfruitful."

SEVEN SACRAMENTS.] Two only were in-

stituted by Christ, to which the Romish church has added five more, making in all seven, necessary to salvation, namely, the Eucharist, Baptism, Confirmation, Penance, Extreme
Uction, Orders, and Matrimony. To those two which Christ instituted, she has added a mixture of her own inventions; for in the sacrament of baptism, she uses salt, oil, or spittle; and in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, the laity have only the bread administered to them; and even that not after the manner ordained by Christ, who broke the bread and gave it to his disciples; instead of which the church of Rome administers to her members not bread, but a wafer; and the priests only drink the wine, though our blessed Lord said, "Drink ye all of this." Matt. xxvi. 27.

The Mass.] Roman catholics believe it to be a true, proper, and propitiatory sacrifice, and therefore call it the Sacrament of the Altar; whereas, the death of Christ was a full and complete sacrifice, "in which he hath, by one offering, perfected for ever them that are sanctified. He himself is a priest for ever; who, being raised from the dead, died no more; and who, through the eternal Spirit, offered himself without spot to God." Paul's Epist. to the Hebrews, ch. ix. 10. It was on account of this gross absurdity, and the irreligious application of it, that our first reformers suffered, and so many were put to death in the reign of queen Mary.

Transubstantiation.] Roman catholics profess, that in the most holy sacrament of the Lord's supper, there is really and substantially the body and blood, together with the soul and divinity, of Christ; and that the whole substance of the bread is turned into his body, and the whole substance of the wine into his blood; which conversion, so contradictory to our senses, they call Transubstantiation, but at the same time they affirm, that, under either kind or species, only one whole entire Christ, and the true sacrament, is received. But why are those words, "This is my body," to be taken in a literal sense, any more than those concerning the cup? Our Saviour says, "I am the true vine, I am the door." St. Paul says, "Our fathers drank of the rock that followed them, and that rock was Christ;" and, writing to the Corinthians, he affirms, that, "he had fed them with milk." Can these passages be taken literally? Why then must we be forced to interpret our Saviour's words in a literal sense, when the apostle has explained the intention of the sacrament to be, "to show forth the Lord's death till he come?"

Purgatory.] This, they say, is a certain place, in which, as in a prison, after death, those souls, by the prayers of the faithful, are purged, which in this life could not be fully cleansed; nor not by the blood of Christ: and notwithstanding it is asserted in the Scriptures, "if we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness." 1 John i. 9. This place of purgatory is in the power of the pope, who dispenses the indulgences, and directs the treasury of his merits, by which the pains are mitigated, and the deliverance hastened. For the tormented sufferers, in this ideal inquisition, his monks and friars say masses, all of whom must be paid for their trouble; because, No penny, no pater-noster; by which bubble the church of Rome amasses great wealth.

Idolatry and Creature-worship.] In all the Romish worship, the blessed virgin is a principal object of adoration. She is styled the Queen of Heaven, lady of the world, the only hope of sinners, queen of angels, patroness of men, advocate for sinners, mother of mercies; under which titles they desire her, by the power of a mother, to command her Son. In some prayers, they invoke God to bring them to heaven by the merits and mediation of the Virgin Mary and all her saints, and that they may enjoy perpetual soundness both of body and mind by her glorious intercession. Hence it might be imagined by a papist, that the sacred writings were full of encomiums on this pretended mother of God; whereas, on the contrary, we do not find Christ in any part of Scripture called the Son of Mary, nor that he at any time calls her mother; and when the woman cried, "Blessed is the womb that bore thee, and the paps that thou hast sucked." "Yea, (returns our Lord) rather blessed are they that hear the word of God, and keep it." Nor does our Saviour own any relation but that of a disciple; for when his mother and brethren stood without, desiring to speak with him, Jesus answered, "Who are my mother and brethren?" And looking round upon his disciples, he saith, "Behold my mother and my brethren; for whosoever shall do the will of my Father who is in heaven, the same is my brother, sister, and mother." Of the same
nature are their prayers to other saints and angels, by which they derogate from the honour of our Christ, and transfer his offices to others; though the Scriptures expressly assert, there is but one mediator between God and man. Nor must we omit under this head the idolatry of the mass, in the elevation of the host. Thus is the second commandment infringed, which the Romish church has endeavoured as much as possible to suppress, and in many of their little manuals it is altogether omitted.

Papal Sovereignty.] This is politically supported by a pretended infallibility; auricular confession, founded upon the priest’s power to forgive sins; indulgences; pretended relics; penance; strings of beads for Ave-Marys and pater noster; celibacy; merits and works of supererogations; restrictions; monkish austerities; religious vows and orders; palms; candles; decorated images; holy water; christening of bells; hallowed flowers and branches; agnus dei; oblations, consecrations, &c. &c.

Ludicrous Forms and Ceremonies.] At the feast of Christmas, the Roman catholics have exhibited in their churches a cradle, with an image of an infant in it, which is rocked with great seeming devotion; and on Good-Friday they have the figure of our Saviour on the cross, and then they perform the service which they call the Tenebres; having abundance of lighted candles, all of which they extinguish one by one, after which the body is taken down from the cross and put into a sepulchre, and men stand to watch it.

Cruel Maxims.] Papists hold that heretics may not be termed children or kindred; that no faith is to be kept with heretics; and that it is lawful to torture or kill them for the good of their souls.

MARTIN LUTHER.

This illustrious German divine and reformer of the church, was the son of John Luther and Margaret Lindeman, and born at Isleben, a town of Saxony, in the county of Mansfield, November 10, 1483. His father’s extraction and condition were originally but mean, and his occupation that of a miner: it is probable, however, that by his application and industry he improved the fortunes of his family, as he afterward became a magistrate of rank and dignity. Luther was early initiated into letters, and at the age of thirteen was sent to school at Magdeburg, and thence to Eysenach, in Thuringia, where he remained four years, producing the early indications of his future eminence.

In 1501 he was sent to the university of Erfurt, where he went through the usual courses of logic and philosophy. When twenty, he took a master’s degree, and then lectured on Aristotle’s physics, ethics, and other parts of philosophy. Afterward, at the instigation of his parents, he turned himself to the civil law, with a view of advancing himself to the bar, but was diverted from this pursuit by the following accident. Walking out into the fields one day, he was struck with lightning so as to fall to the ground, while a companion was killed by his side; and this affected him so sensibly, that, without communicating his purpose to any of his friends, he withdrew himself from the world, and retired into the order of the hermits of St. Augustine.

Here he employed himself in reading St. Augustine and the schoolmen; but, in turning over the books of the library, he accidentally found a copy of the Latin Bible, which he had never seen before. This raised his curiosity to a high degree: he read it over very greedily, and was amazed to find what a small portion of the Scriptures was rehearsed to the people. He made his profession in the monastery of Erfurt, after he had been a novice one year; and he took priest’s orders, and celebrated his first mass in 1507. The year after, he was removed from the convent of Erfurt to the university of Wittemberg; for this university being just founded, nothing was thought more likely to bring it into immediate repute and credit, than the authority and presence of a man so celebrated, for his great parts and learning, as Luther. In 1512, seven convents of his order having a quarrel with their vicar-general, Luther was chosen to go to Rome, to maintain their cause. At Rome he saw the pope and the court, and had an opportunity of observing also the manners of the clergy, whose hasty, superficial, and impious way of celebrating mass, he has severely noted. As soon as he had adjusted
the dispute which was the business of his journey, he returned to Wittemberg, and was created doctor of divinity, at the expense of Frederic, elector of Saxony; who had often heard him preach, was perfectly acquainted with his merit, and reverenced him highly. He continued in the university of Wittemberg, where, as professor of divinity, he employed himself in the business of his calling. Here then he began in the most earnest manner to read lectures upon the sacred books: he explained the epistle to the Romans, and the Psalms, which he cleared up and illustrated in a manner so entirely new, and so different from what had been pursued by former commentators, that, "there seemed, after a long and dark night, a new day to arise, in the judgment of all pious and prudent men." The better to qualify himself for the task he had undertaken, he applied himself attentively to the Greek and Hebrew languages; and in this manner was he employed, when the general indulgences were published in 1517. Leo X. who succeeded Julius II. in March 1513, formed a design of building the magnificent church of St. Peter's at Rome, which was, indeed, begun by Julius, but still required very large sums to be finished. Leo, therefore, in 1517, published general indulgences throughout all Europe, in favour of those who would contribute any sum to the building of St. Peter's; and appointed persons in different countries to preach up these indulgences, and to receive money for them. These strange proceedings gave vast offence at Wittemberg, and particularly inflamed the pious zeal of Luther; who, being naturally warm and active, and in the present case unable to contain himself, was determined to declare against them at all adventures. Upon the eve of All-saints, therefore, in 1517, he publicly fixed up, at the church next to the castle of that town, a thesis upon indulgences; in the beginning of which, he challenged any one to oppose it either by writing or disputation. Luther's propositions about indulgences, were no sooner published, than Tetzel, the Dominican friar and commissioner for selling them, maintained and published at Francfort a thesis, containing a set of propositions directly contrary to them. He did more; he stirred up the clergy of his order against Luther; anathematized him from the pulpit, as a most damnable heretic; and burnt his thesis publicly at Francfort. Tetzel's thesis was also burnt, in return, by the Lutherans at Wittemberg; but Luther himself disowned having had any hand in that procedure. In 1518, Luther, though dissuaded from it by his friends, yet, to show his obedience to authority, went to the monastery of St. Augustine at Heidelberg, while the chapter was held; and here maintained, April 20, a dispute concerning "justification by faith;" which Bucer, who was present at it, took down in writing, and afterward communicated to Beatus Rheinanus, not without the highest commendations. In the meantime, the zeal of his adversaries grew every day more and more active against him; and he was at length accused to Leo X. as a heretic. As soon as he returned therefore from Heidelberg, he wrote a letter to that pope, in the most submissive terms; and sent him, at the same time, an explication of his propositions about indulgences. This letter is dated on Trinity-Sunday, 1518, and was accompanied with a protestation, wherein he declared, that "he did not pretend to advance or defend any thing contrary to the holy Scriptures, or to the doctrine of the fathers, received and observed by the church of Rome, or to the canons and decretes of the popes: nevertheless, he thought he had the liberty either to approve or disapprove the opinions of St. Thomas, Bonaventure, and other schoolmen and canonists, which are not grounded upon any text."

The emperor Maximilian was equally solicitous with the pope about putting a stop to the propagation of Luther's opinions in Saxony; troublesome both to the church and empire. Maximilian, therefore, applied to Leo, in a letter, dated August 5, 1518, and begged him to forbid, by his authority, these useless, rash, and dangerous disputes; assuring him also, that he would strictly execute in the empire whatever his holiness should enjoin. In the meantime Luther, as soon as he understood what was transacting about him at Rome, used all imaginable means to prevent his being carried thither, and to obtain a hearing of his cause in Germany. The elector also was against Luther's going to Rome, and desired of cardinal Cajetan, that he might be heard before him, as the pope's legate in Germany. Upon these addresses, the pope consented that the cause should be tried before
cardinal Cajetan, to whom he had given power to decide it. Luther, therefore, set off immediately for Augsburg, and carried with him letters from the elector. He arrived here in October, 1518, and, upon an assurance of his safety, was admitted into the cardinal's presence. But Luther was soon convinced, that he had more to fear from the cardinal's power than from disputations of any kind; and, therefore, apprehensive of being seized, if he did not submit, withdrew from Augsburg upon the 20th. But, before his departure, he published a formal appeal to the pope, and finding himself protected by the elector, continued to teach the same doctrines at Wittenberg, and sent a challenge to all the inquisitors to come and dispute with him.

As to Luther, Militius, the pope's chamberlain, had orders to require the elector to oblige him to retract, or to deny him his protection: but things were not now to be carried with so high a hand, Luther's credit being too firmly established. Besides, the emperor Maximilian happened to die upon the 12th of this month, whose death greatly altered the face of affairs, and made the elector more able to determine Luther's fate. Militius thought it best, therefore, to try what could be done by fair and gentle means, and to that end came to some conference with Luther. During all these treaties, the doctrine of Luther spread, and prevailed greatly; and he himself received great encouragement at home and abroad. The Bohemians about this time sent him a book of the celebrated John Huss, who had fallen a martyr in the work of reformation; and also letters, in which they exhorted him to constancy and perseverance, owning, that the divinity which he taught was the pure, sound, and orthodox divinity. Many great and learned men had joined themselves to him. In 1519, he had a famous dispute at Leipsic with John Eccius. But this dispute ended at length like all others, the parties not the least nearer in opinion, but more at enmity with each other's persons. About the end of this year, Luther published a book, in which he contended for the communion being celebrated in both kinds; which was condemned by the bishop of Misaia, January 24, 1520. While Luther was labouring to excuse himself to the new emperor and the bishops of Germany, Eccius had gone to Rome, to solicit his condemnation; which, it may easily be conceived, was now become not difficult to be attained. Indeed the continual importunities of Luther's adversaries with Leo, caused him at length to publish a formal condemnation of him; and he did so accordingly, in a bull, dated June 15, 1520; this was carried into Germany, and published there by Eccius, who had solicited it at Rome; and who, together with Jeron Alexander, a person eminent for his learning and eloquence, was intrusted by the pope with the execution of it. In the meantime, Charles V. of Spain, after he had set things to rights in the Low Countries, went into Germany, and was crowned emperor, October the 21st, at Aix-la-Chapelle. The diet of Worms was held in the beginning of 1521; which ended at length in this single and peremptory declaration of Luther, that "unless he was convinced by texts of Scripture or evident reason (for he did not think himself obliged to submit to the pope or his councils,) he neither could nor would retract any thing, because it was not lawful for him to act against his conscience.

Before the diet of Worms was dissolved, Charles V. caused an edict to be drawn up, which was dated the 8th of May, and decreed that Martin Luther be, agreeably to the sentence of the pope, henceforward looked upon as a member separated from the church, a schismatic, and an obstinate and notorious heretic. While the bull of Leo X. executed by Charles V. was thundering throughout the empire, Luther was safely shut up in the castle of Wittenberg; but weary at length of his retirement, he appeared publicly again at Wittenberg, March 6, 1522, after he had been absent about ten months. Luther now made open war with the pope and bishops; and, that he might make the people despise their authority as much as possible, he wrote one book against the pope's bull, and another against the order falsely called "the order of bishops." He published also, a translation of the "New Testament" in the German tongue, which was afterward corrected by himself and Melancthon. Affairs were now in great confusion in Germany; and they were not less so in Italy; for a quarrel arose between the pope and the emperor, during which Rome was twice taken, and the pope imprisoned. While the princes were thus employed in quarrelling with each other, Luther persisted in carrying on the work of the reformation, as well by opposing the papists, as by combating the Ana-
baptists and other fanatical sects; which, having taken the advantage of his contest with the church of Rome, had sprung up and established themselves in several places.

In 1527, Luther was suddenly seized with a coagulation of the blood about the heart, which had like to have put an end to his life. The troubles of Germany being not likely to have any end, the emperor was forced to call a diet at Spires, in 1529, to require the assistance of the princes of the empire against the Turks. Fourteen cities, viz. Strasburg, Nuremberg, Ulm, Constance, Retlingen, Windsheim, Memmingen, Lindow, Kempten, Hailbronn, Isny, Weissenburg, Northingen, S. Gal, joined against the decree of the diet protestation, which was put into writing, and published the 19th of April, 1529. This was the famous protestation, which gave the name of Protestants to the reformers in Germany.

After this, the protestant princes laboured to make a firm league among themselves, and with the free cities, that they might be able to defend each other against the emperor and the catholic princes. The emperor opposed the league, and enjoined the elector of Saxony and his allies to approve of what the diet had done; but the deputies drew up an appeal, and the protestants afterward presented an apology for their "Confession"—that famous confession which was drawn up by the temperate Melancthon, as also the apology.—These were signed by a variety of princes, and Luther had now nothing else to do, but to sit down and contemplate the mighty work he had finished: for that a single monk should be able to give the church of Rome so rude a shock, that there needed but such another entirely to overthrow it, may be well esteemed a mighty work.

In 1533 Luther wrote a consolatory epistle to the citizens of Oschatz, who had suffered some hardships for adhering to the Augsburg confession of faith: and in 1534, the Bible translated by him into German was first printed, as the old privilege, dated at Bibliopolis, under the elector's own hand, shows; and it was published the year after. He also published this year a book "against masses and the consecration of priests." In February, 1537, an assembly was held at Smalkald about matters of religion, to which Luther and Melancthon were called. At this meeting Luther was seized with so grievous an illness, that there was no hope of his recovery. As he was carried along, he made his will, in which he bequeathed his detestation of popery to his friends and brethren. In this manner was he employed till his death, which happened in 1546. That year, accompanied by Melancthon, he paid a visit to his own country, which he had not seen for many years, and returned again in safety. But soon after, he was called thither again by the earls of Mansfelt, to compose some differences which had arisen about their boundaries; where he was received by 100 horsemen, or more, and conducted in a very honourable manner; but was at the same time so very ill, that it was feared he would die. He said, that these fits of sickness often came upon him, when he had any great business to undertake: of this, however, he did not recover, but died February 18, in his 63d year. A little before he expired, he admonished those that were about him to pray to God for the propagation of the gospel; "because," said he, "the council of Trent, which had sat once or twice, and the pope, will devise strange things against it." Soon after, his body was put into a leaden coffin, and carried with funeral pomp to the church at Iselben, when Dr. Jonas preached a sermon upon the occasion. The earls of Mansfelt desired that his body should be interred in their territories; but the elector of Saxony insisted upon his being brought back to Wittemberg, which was accordingly done; and there he was buried with the greatest pomp that perhaps ever happened to any private man. Princes, earls, nobles, and students without number, attended the procession of this extraordinary reformer; and Melancthon made his funeral oration.

We will close this account of the great founder of the reformation, by subjoining a few opinions, which have been passed upon him, by both papists and protestants. "Luther," says Father Simon, "was the first protestant who ventured to translate the Bible into the vulgar tongue from the Hebrew text, although he understood Hebrew but very indifferently. As he was of a free and bold spirit, he accuses St. Jerom of ignorance in the Hebrew tongue; but he had more reason to accuse himself of this fault, and for having so precipitately undertaken a work of this nature, which required more time than he employed about it. There is nothing great or
learned in his commentaries upon the Bible; every thing low and mean: and though he had studied divinity, he has rather composed a rhapsody of theological questions, than a commentary upon the Scripture text: to which we may add, that he wanted understanding, and usually followed his senses instead of his reason."

This is the language of those in the church of Rome who speak of Luther with any degree of moderation; for the generality allow him neither parts, nor learning, nor any attainment intellectual or moral. But let us leave these impotent railers, and attend a little to more equitable judges. "Luther," says Wharton, in his Appendix to Cave's Historia Literaria, "was a man of prodigious sagacity and acuteness, very warm, and formed for great undertakings; being a man, if ever there was one, whom nothing could daunt or intimidate. When the cause of religion was concerned, he never regarded whose love he was likely to gain, or whose displeasure to incur." He is also highly spoken of by Atterbury and others.

JOHN CALVIN.

This reformer was born at Noyon in Picardy, July 10, 1509. He was instructed in grammar learning at Paris under Maturinus Corderius, and studied philosophy in the college of Montaign under a Spanish professor. His father, who discovered many marks of his early piety, particularly in his apprehensions of the vices of his companions, designed him at first for the church, and got him presented, May 21, 1521, to the chapel of Notre Dame de la Gesine, in the church of Noyon. In 1527 he was presented to the rectory of Marteville, which he exchanged in 1529 for the rectory of Pont l'Eveque, near Noyon. His father afterward changed his resolution, and would have him study law; to which Calvin, who, by reading the Scriptures, had conceived a dislike to the superstitions of popery, readily consented, and resigned the chapel of Gesine and the rectory of Pont l'Eveque, in 1534. He made a great progress in that science, and improved no less in the knowledge of divinity by his private studies. At Bourges he applied to the Greek tongue, under the direction of professor Wolmar. His father's death having called him back to Noyon, he stayed there a short time, and then went to Paris, where a speech of Nicholas Cop, rector of the university of Paris, of which Calvin furnished the materials, having greatly displeased the Sorbonne and the parliament, gave rise to a persecution against the protestants; and Calvin, who narrowly escaped being taken in the college of Forteret, was forced to retire to Xaintonge, after having had the honour to be introduced to the queen of Navarre, who had raised this first storm against the protestants. Calvin returned to Paris in 1534. This year the reformed met with severe treatment, which determined him to leave France, after publishing a treatise against those who believe that departed souls are in a kind of sleep. He retired to Basil, where he studied Hebrew: at this time he published his Institutions of the Christian religion; a work well adapted to spread his fame, though he himself was desirous of living in obscurity. It is dedicated to the French king, Francis I. Calvin next wrote an apology for the protestants who were burnt for their religion in France. After the publication of this work, Calvin went to Italy to pay a visit to the duchess of Ferrara, a lady of eminent piety, by whom he was very kindly received.

From Italy he came back to France, and having settled his private affairs, he purposed to go to Strasbourg or Basil, in company with his sole surviving brother Antony Calvin; but as the roads were not safe on account of the war, except through the duke of Savoy's territories, he chose that road. "This was a particular direction of Providence," says Bayle; "it was his destiny that he should settle at Geneva, and when he was wholly intent upon going farther, he found himself detained by an order from heaven if I may so speak." At Geneva, Calvin therefore was obliged to comply with the choice which the consistory and magistrates made of him, with the consent of the people, to be one of their ministers, and professor of divinity. He wanted to undertake only this last office, and not the other; but in the end he was obliged to take both upon him, in August 1536. The year following he made all the people declare, upon oath, their assent to a confession of faith, which contained a renunciation of popery. He next intimated, that he could not submit to a regulation which the synod of the canton of Berne had lately made. Whereupon the syndics of Geneva summoned an assembly of the people;
and it was ordered that Calvin, Farel, and another minister, should leave the town in a few days, for refusing to administer the sacrament. Calvin retired to Strasburg, and established a French church in that city, of which he was the first minister: he was also appointed to be professor of divinity there. Meanwhile the people of Geneva entreated him so earnestly to return to them, that at last he consented: and arrived September 13, 1541, to the great satisfaction both of the people and the magistrates; and the first thing he did, after his arrival, was to establish a form of church discipline, and a consistorial jurisdiction, invested with power of inflicting censures and canonical punishments, as far as excommunication inclusively. This step was exclaimed against by many, as a revival of Roman tyranny: nevertheless it was carried into execution, the new canon being passed into a law, in an assembly of the whole people, held on Nov. 20, 1541; and the clergy and laity solemnly promised to conform to it for ever. Agreeably to the spirit of this consistorial chamber, which some considered as a kind of inquisition, Calvin proceeded to most unwarrantable lengths; to which indeed he was but too easily impelled by a natural warmth and unrelenting hardness of temper. Michael Servetius, a physician, having written to him some letters upon the mystery of the trinity, which appeared to contain heterodox notions, he actually made them the groundwork of a persecution against him; and this persecution did not cease, or stop in its progress, till the unhappy culprit was consigned to the flames. This pious reformer forgot that he was exercising that spirit of intolerance in the church of Geneva which had so much contributed to drive him from the church of Rome; and he is a strong example to countenance the well-known aphorism, that “Priests of all religions are the same;” that is, will be persecutors when they can. The inflexible rigour with which Calvin asserted, on all occasions, the rights of his consistory, procured him many enemies: but nothing daunted him; and one would hardly believe, if there were not unquestionable proofs of it, that, amidst all the commotions at home, he could take so much care as he did of the churches abroad, in France, Germany, England, and Poland, and write so many books and letters. He did more by his pen than his presence; nevertheless, on some occasions he acted in person, particularly at Francfort in 1556, whether he went to put an end to the disputes which divided the French church in that city. He was always employed, having almost constantly his pen in his hand, even when sickness confined him to his bed; and he continued the discharge of all those duties, which his zeal for the general good of the churches imposed on him, till the day of his death, May 27, 1564. He was a man whom God had endowed with very eminent talents; a clear understanding, a solid judgment, and a happy memory: he was a judicious, elegant, and indefatigable writer, and possessed of very extensive learning, and a great zeal for truth. Joseph Scaliger, who was not lavish of his praise, could not forbear admiring Calvin; none of the commentators he said had so well hit the sense of the prophets; and he particularly commended him for not attempting to give a comment on the Revelation. We understand from Guy Patin, that many of the Roman catholics would do justice to Calvin’s merit, if they dared to speak their minds. It must excite a laugh at those who have been so stupid as to accuse him of being a lover of wine, good cheer, company, money, &c. Artful slanderers would have owned that he was sober by constitution, and that he was not solicitous to heap up riches.

That a man who had acquired so great a reputation and such an authority, should yet have had but a salary of 100 crowns, and refuse to accept more; and after living 55 years with the utmost frugality, should leave but 300 crowns to his heirs, including the value of his library, which sold very dear, is something so heroic, that one must have lost all feeling not to admire. When Calvin took his leave of Strasbourg, to return to Geneva, they wished to continue to him the privileges of a freeman of their town, and the revenues of a prebend, which had been assigned to him; the former he accepted, but absolutely refused the other. He carried one of the brothers with him to Geneva, but he never took any pains to get him preferred to an honourable post, as any other possessed of his credit would have done. He took care indeed of the honour of his brother’s family, by getting him freed from an adultress, and obtaining leave for him to marry again; but even his enemies relate that he made him learn the trade of a bookbinder, which he followed all his life after.
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### BOOK I

**The History of the Martyrs of the Christian Church, from the time of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ to the death of King Edward the Sixth of England**

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