

MASSACRE IN PARIS.



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FOXES  
BOOK OF MARTYRS.

BY REV. J. WILNER, M.A.

WITH NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

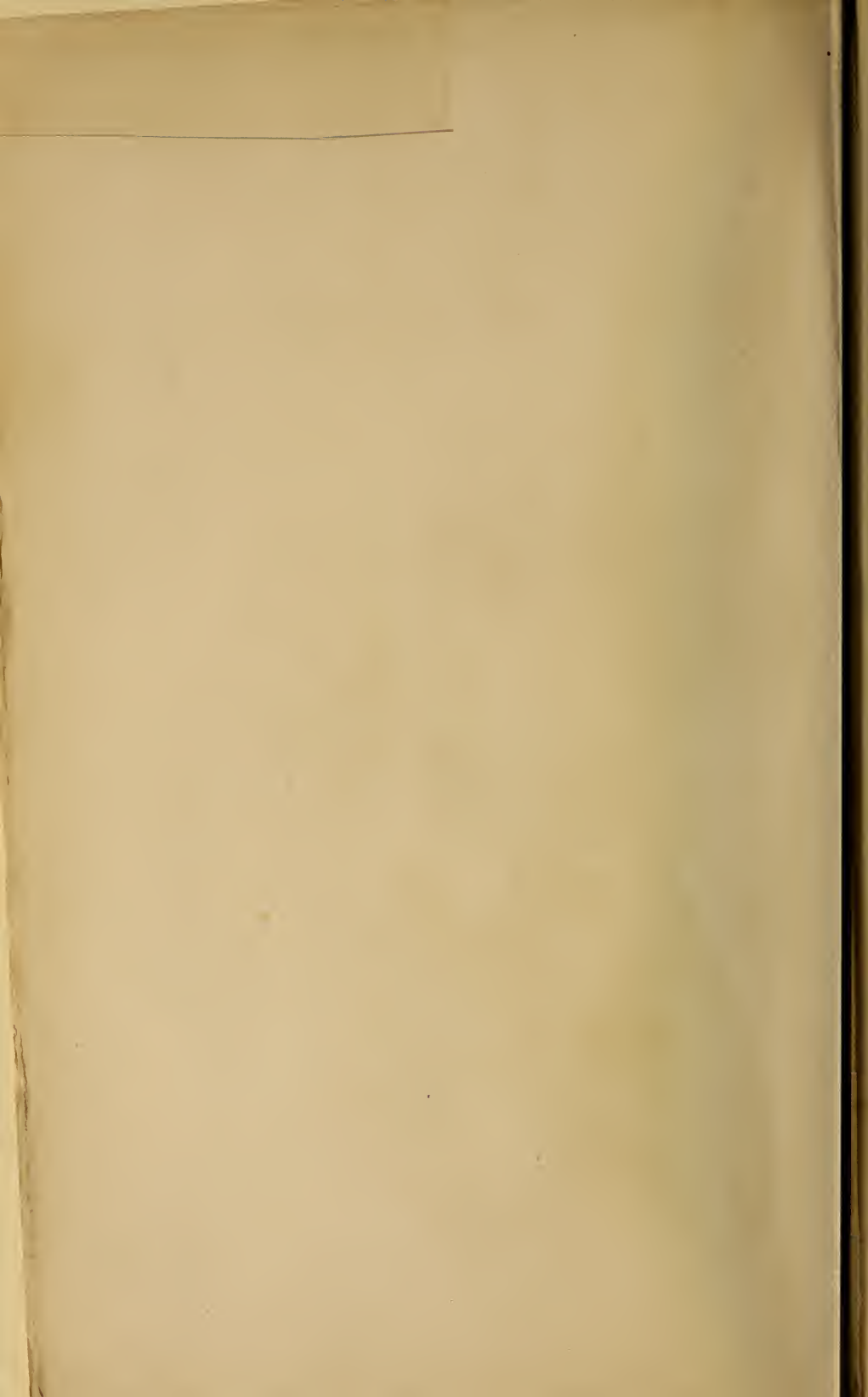
BY REV. INGRAM COBBIN, M.A.



*Burning of Ridley and Latimer.*

London:

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*Foxe, John*  
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FOX E'S  
BOOK OF MARTYRS:

A COMPLETE AND AUTHENTIC ACCOUNT OF

THE LIVES, SUFFERINGS, AND TRIUMPHANT DEATHS OF  
THE PRIMITIVE AND PROTESTANT MARTYRS,  
IN ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD.

WITH NOTES, COMMENTS, AND ILLUSTRATIONS,

BY REV. J. MILNER, M.A.,

ASSISTED BY ORIGINAL COMMUNICATIONS FROM LEARNED AND EMINENT MINISTERS.

*A New and Corrected Edition.*

WITH AN ESSAY ON POPERY, AND ADDITIONS TO THE PRESENT TIME,

BY REV. INGRAM COBBIN, M.A.

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## P R E F A C E.

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FOXÉ'S MARTYRS are among our earliest recollections; and their spirit-stirring incidents rivetted our eyes to their pages in our earliest childhood. Here we see "the great things that faith can do, and the great things that faith can suffer." Here we behold, in fact, what Bunyan has so admirably described in fiction; here is Faithful again suffering and dying; here are graphically described the reacting in all parts of the world, and in our own country in particular, of the awful tragedies of Jerusalem, in which the Saviour of men was put to death, and the proto-martyr Stephen followed his holy example, dying by wicked hands, as a witness to the truth. Here in particular are seen anew the men of modern ages of whom the world was not worthy, "who loved not their lives unto the death," and whose cry mingles with that of the souls of them that were slain for the word of God and for the testimony which they held: "How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost not thou judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth?" These are they arrayed in white robes; these are they which came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb.

Here is "the patience of the saints," showing the influence of pure Christianity upon the mind, and the triumphs of the real believer over the world. These sufferers truly believed the word of God, and received it "not as the word of men, but as it is in truth the word of God, which effectually worketh in them that believe." To them, houses and lands, wealth and honours, friends and relations, not even the dearest ties on earth, nor life itself, were of any estimation when set in competition with their love to the Saviour; and they practically illustrated in their end, the doctrine of their Divine Master, "He that loveth father or mother more than me, is not worthy of me;" while they now reap the reward promised by Him who is "faithful and true." "And every one that hath forsaken houses, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for my name's sake, shall receive an hundredfold, and shall inherit everlasting life," Matt. xix. 29.

The present times especially call for the multiplication of copies of such a work as that of Foxe. Every one can understand *facts*, though every one may not be capable of following up a chain of *reasonings*. And "facts are stubborn things," which no subtilty can evade. The papists point us to paganism as the persecutor of the saints, but Popery is but paganism under a mask; and while it

mingles paganism with its Christianity, it has the heart and spirit of paganism. It is to be hoped that "the man of sin" has arrived at the period when his strength is decayed: but perhaps his dying struggles will be the most violent, and they may not be short or few. He is losing much of his power in lands which he has hitherto ruled with a rod of iron, but he is aiming to redeem his losses in distant regions of the globe, and is obtaining subtle entrance into the British Isles. Under the cloak of Jesuitism and the mask of Puseyism, the inveterate foe of God and man is diligently at work, and may at length boldly show his face even in high places. The increased circulation of such a work as this may greatly assist in defeating his plans, and in throwing a fence around our common Protestant faith.

Rome indeed is ashamed of her own acts, and never admits that she is a persecutor. Hence Foxe, and all other writers who have published her crimes, are denounced as liars. It is in the creed of Jesuitism, for expediency's sake, to aver anything or deny anything. And if we are to believe the statements of the papists, those who have suffered as martyrs, have not suffered by the hands of the church, but of the civil power, to whom the church has always consigned them, that they might be punished "according to law." In the teeth of fire and fagot, they have represented themselves as merciful; and the sanguinary murderers, glutted with the blood of the saints, have dared to assume the name of the meek and lowly Jesus. Let them tell us that there have been Protestant persecutors; there have, to their shame. But persecution is not inherent in Protestantism, while in Popery it is an essential ingredient; and where ten have perished by the hands of Protestant persecutors, in times of darkness and ignorance preceded by Popery, whose example they copied, ten thousand have perished by those of the papists.

Let us, then, hold up the inhuman system to merited execration. Let parents teach their children, and children teach their children, to dread and to oppose this "abomination of desolation," and to shun this "pestilence that walketh in darkness." By aiding to circulate this work they will be doing an essential good; and by the light issuing from the flames of the martyrs' funeral piles, they may help to scatter the darkness which is gathering around.

This edition, already improved by the able hands of the Rev. J. Milner, and by original communications from other learned and eminent ministers, will now be continued to the present time, and furnish the most complete as well as the cheapest Book of Martyrs which has yet been published.

## ESSAY ON POPERY.

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PROTESTANT writers often seem to take up the pen rather in self-defence than as assailants of Popery; or, at least, they do not think of assailing it till it has assumed an imposing posture, and threatened their faith by its daring advances. Such is the relative position of Popery and Protestantism among us at the present moment, though in many other countries the former is on the decline; and every true servant of Christ is called upon to use his best efforts to repel the artful destroyer.

Though apologies are offered for truth, truth needs no apology. We are accused by Papists as schismatics and heretics; but the so-called schism consists in separating from *their* church, and not from the church of Christ; and our heresy is shunning their tradition, and not the word of God—the only standard of truth and infallible guide of our judgments. Whatever does not come from the fountain of truth in doctrine, and whatever does not accord with the practice of the primitive church before the Fathers wrote, or human creeds were invented, or Popish councils assembled, should be avoided as we would avoid the most destructive pestilence. On these grounds would we warn against Popery as the moral Upas-tree—to come within the atmosphere of which is to inhale the most deadly poison for the soul. The limits to which this Essay is restricted, require us to plunge at once into the heart of the subject, without further introductory remarks:—

THE CHURCH OF ROME IS ERRONEOUS IN ITS DOCTRINES. The Papists, with us, believe (1) in *original sin*, its defiling and ruinous nature, its being entailed from one child of Adam to another; but for the cure of this they have, as they imagine, a special remedy, which is baptism, “rightly administered according to the forms of the church:” in which ordinance the merits of Christ are applied, and thus what was contracted in generation is cleansed away by this sort of regeneration! The same doctrine is now notoriously enforced by the semi-papists who have started up in the church of England—a doctrine which at once sets aside the need of a change of heart, and deludes thousands with the idea that they have by this ordinance been made Christians, instead of having only received “an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace,” which if they do not afterwards possess, will cause them to fall short of that qualification which fits for the kingdom of heaven.

(2.) The doctrine of *Justification* lies at the root of the tree of life. Without an entire faith in the merits of a better righteousness than our own, we can never be saved. So conscious are mankind of guilt in the sight of

God, that all the world have virtually at least acknowledged it. Infidels themselves, in moments of danger, have trembled at the thought of eternity, and have even prayed. "How shall man be just with God?" is a question of the utmost moment; yet, deceived by the arch-adversary, men have ever been ready to prefer a religion of external forms, to a religion of the heart—an outside, to an inside cleansing: a religion in which they fancy there is much merit, rather than one in which they must be indebted wholly to Divine grace. Popery panders to this lust of pride. One article, among many others on the subject, by the council of Trent, the indisputable standard of popery, says, "If any one shall affirm that good works do not *preserve* and *increase* justification, but that good works themselves are only the fruits and evidence of justification already had, let such an one be accursed." If justification is to be *preserved* by us, then the justification wrought out by Christ is, at best, but a precarious justification; and if we can *increase* it, then it is incomplete justification. If we appeal to the Bible standard, the question there occurs, "It is God that justifieth; who is he that condemneth?" But popery is a jumble on this great doctrine; it makes Christ to do part and the sinner to do part, and undervalues the efficacy of the atoning blood and all-sufficient righteousness of "the Lord our Righteousness." Thus one of its acknowledged standard authors says, "These penitential works, he [the papist,] is taught to be no otherwise satisfactory, than as joined and applied to the satisfaction Jesus made upon the cross; in virtue of which alone, all our good works find a grateful acceptance in God's sight." Here is the most complete confusion. A man's works must be joined and applied to the satisfaction of Christ; and yet it is in virtue of Christ's satisfaction that our good works can be acceptable to God! If we ask how far the efficacy of Christ's atonement extends, we are told that it extends to all *mortal* sins, as if there could be any sin not mortal, and exposing us to eternal death; but then there are sins from which we must be justified by our own deeds, *venial* transgressions, which prayers, fastings, almsgiving, penance, and purgatory may in the end remove. While many poor souls are deluded by this doctrine of mixed justification, partly by Christ and partly by the sinner himself, the Roman Catholic church, by working on the pride of the human heart on the one hand, and on the fears of trembling souls on the other, derives no small advantage from these misnamed meritorious labours and toils.

Moreover, in addition to his own good deeds, the papist can help himself from the stock of others, who need to perform them no longer! Those saints who have lived such immaculate lives, that they have done more than their duty to God and man, and have got safe to heaven with a treasure of works of *supererogation* to spare, are kind enough to allow the pope for the time being to assign to such as he thinks proper "a portion of this inexhaustible source of merit, suitable to their respective guilt, and sufficient to deliver them from the punishment due to their crimes!" This doctrine was first invented in the twelfth century, and modified and embellished by St. Thomas in the thirteenth. To suppose that a sinful creature, who is bound to love God with all his heart and soul and mind and strength, could with his sinful nature perform more than is here required, is one of the most preposterous ideas that ever

entered into the mind of man. The belief of such a doctrine is "the first-born of delusion;" it need be answered but very briefly from the words of our Divine Lord himself, "When ye shall have done all those things which are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants: we have done that which was our duty to do," Luke xvii. 10. And could we serve and worship God incessantly, with the purity and ardour of the burning seraphs around the eternal throne, we should still do no more than our duty.

(3.) *Absolution* is a power presumed to belong to the popish priesthood. By this the priest pronounces remitted the sins of such as are penitent. The council of Trent and that of Florence declare the form or essence of the sacrament to lie in the words of the absolution, "I absolve thee of thy sins!" According to this, no one can receive absolution without the privity, consent, and declaration of the priest: therefore, unless the priest be willing, God himself cannot pardon any man. They found this doctrine on John xx. 23: "Whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained." Had the words implied power to pardon sins, still that power could not, from this warrant, go beyond the apostles on whom it was conferred, as was the power of working miracles. But we see no such power claimed. The apostles preached the forgiveness of sins to those that repented and believed, (Acts iii. 19, etc. ;) and in all cases their theme was the same, "Be it known unto you therefore, men and brethren, that through this man is preached unto you the forgiveness of sins," Acts xiii. 38. It was, therefore, no more than a declarative absolution, assuring sinners that "He pardoneth and absolveth all them that truly repent, and unfeignedly believe his holy gospel." No power here belongs to the priest; it is God only who can forgive sins.

(4.) *Indulgences*. Nearly allied to the doctrine of absolution, is the power of granting indulgences, or "a remission of the punishment due to sin, granted by the church, and supposed to save the sinner from purgatory." With all his absolution, the good papist stops short of heaven at last; for the moment his breath is out of his body, he enters purgatory. But the keys of heaven being committed to St. Peter, and the popes in succession, they can unlock the gates, and let in the vilest sinners that ever corrupted the world! For various prices souls may be redeemed out of purgatory, and any one may make his friends a present of a plenary remission of all sins! This is too ridiculous to merit notice, but for the awful delusion with which it is connected. The popish priest having asserted his power to forgive sins, poor souls who give credit to his assertion are naturally anxious to obtain pardon from him. But in order so to do, he requires that to him they should make *confession*.

(5) *Purgatory* must here be noticed. It has been defined as "a place in which the just who depart out of this life are supposed to expiate certain offences, which do not merit eternal damnation." Now, all sin is sin; and every sin is "the transgression of the law," 1 John iii. 4; and sin, then, must merit death, "for the wages of sin is death," Rom. vi. 23. Nor does the Scripture tell us anything about the wicked being in punishment for a limited time, or even going to an intermediate state, or passing from hell to heaven. It tells us that the duration of the misery of the wicked is like that of the happiness of the righteous, which is for

ever, Mark ix. 44; 1 Thess. iv. 17, etc.; that the good go instantly into the paradise of God, Luke xxiii. 43, Phil. i. 23; and that the wicked as instantly lift up their eyes in torments—torments from which escape to heaven is rendered impossible by an impassable gulf, Luke xvi. 26.

There are two scriptures on which the papists found their doctrine of purgatory, Matt. xii. 32, and 1 Pet. iii. 18—20. The language of the former is a strong mode of expressing the unchangeable punishment of him who sins against the Holy Ghost. "It shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, neither in the world to come." But it does not warrant us to say that any are forgiven in the world to come; and St. Paul assures us, "Behold, now is the accepted time; behold, now is the day of salvation," 2 Cor. vi. 2. The second passage must be greatly wrested if we attempt to make anything more from it than what appears on its very face. Christ, who by his Spirit inspired Noah the preacher of righteousness, preached to the antediluvian sinners, now, and when the apostle Peter wrote, confined in the prison to which all unbelievers are for ever consigned. This doctrine of purgatory is, however, in harmony with the other parts of the popish creed, as it evidently leaves the work of pardon through Christ incomplete, and leaves even the best to make atonement to justice in another world!

(6.) *The sacrifice of the mass* is one of the peculiar doctrines of popery. For not believing in this, many a one has been sent by the papists in a chariot of fire, to join "the noble army of martyrs." The *mass* is similar to what Protestants call the communion service. High mass is the same thing more lengthened and showy. In the early ages of the church, the congregation was dismissed before the celebration of the Lord's Supper, none but the communicants being allowed to remain. The officiating minister said, "*Ita missa est,*" and the congregation withdrew; hence in process of time arose the name. The *mass* is held to be a true and proper sacrifice for sin; and a sacrifice for the living and the dead! Here again is a reflection on the merits of the Divine Redeemer, and a vile anti-scriptural doctrine, the work of human invention. When Christ died on the cross, his work was "finished," John xix. 30; and the apostle assures us that "by one offering he hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified," Heb. x. 14. Besides, a sacrifice must have a victim; but at best it is but the *commemoration* of the offering of the one only and spotless Victim—"the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sin of the world." Every time that mass is offered, Christ is insulted and dishonoured. There is no praise to the mass, any more than to human merit, given by the redeemed in heaven; but their song is, "Worthy is the Lamb that was slain, to receive power, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honour, and glory, and blessing," Rev. v. 12.

(7.) *Transubstantiation* is closely connected with the preceding doctrine. A momentary glance only can here be taken of this leading article of popery. In the Romish church the belief of this doctrine was often made a test of the faith of an individual, and was admirably evaded in those memorable lines of queen Elizabeth:—

"Christ was the word that spake it;  
He took the bread, and brake it;  
And what that word doth make it,  
That I believe and take it."



Revelation is often above reason; as, for example, in describing the nature and existence of God: "Canst thou by searching find out God? canst thou find out the Almighty unto perfection?" Job xi. 7. Revelation is not contrary to reason, nor contrary to common sense; but nothing can be more absurd than the popish pretence of making a bit of wafer to be the body of Christ, which body, in that case, has been multiplied like the loaves and fishes, and eaten over and over again in all places, for many ages to the present time! And the words on which this doctrine is founded are known to every scholar of the humblest pretensions to mean no more than "this *represents* my body." A man must want common sense to suppose that Christ really gave his body to his disciples, when he administered the last supper, and yet that the same body was afterwards crucified, rose from the dead, and ascended into heaven. The bread is bread that the priest gives, and the wine is wine; and what pretence soever he may make, he can make nothing more of it.

Having thus briefly touched on the leading *doctrines* of Popery as its ground-work, the due notice of which would furnish matter for volumes, our space will only admit of a rapid glance at its *practice*:—

I. THE CHURCH OF ROME IS ARBITRARY IN ITS DISCIPLINE. There is laxity enough among its priests, but woe be to the poor laity that fall within its power, even if they be monarchs on their thrones. All must lick the dust before the sentence of popes, councils, cardinals, inquisitors, and priests! Operating on the peace of whole nations, the curse or excommunication of the pope has unseated the monarch on his throne, and sent the potentate on his knees to ask the restoration of his crown! It will be sufficient to mention the cases of Henry IV., emperor of Germany, and of king John of England. Penances the most absurd and degrading have been submitted to by the slaves of popery, for which there is not the shadow of authority in the word of God, and which could never in their nature show real sorrow of heart, or make the least atonement for sin. What can be the real benefit derived from repeating continually as many Ave Marias, Pater-nosters, or Credos, as the priest may determine? from walking barefoot? from licking the dust? consigning the penitent to a hair-shirt, or obliging or advising the poor devotee to inflict sharp castigations on his naked body?

II. THE CHURCH OF ROME IS PRESUMPTUOUS IN ITS CLAIMS. Its popes, besides claiming to be successors of St. Peter, claim to sit in the seat of God himself. The man who has suffered himself to be called "*Dominus Deus Noster Papa*"—"OUR LORD GOD THE POPE"—is surely the apostate of Scripture, who, "as God, sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God," 2 Thess. ii. 4. No being, how great soever he may be supposed to be, can forgive sins, but God only, Mark ii. 7; but this the bishop of Rome and his priests, authorized by him, claim as their prerogative. With great artifice they will pretend that this is ultimately the work of God; but with the most presumptuous assumption they dare to teach their deluded votaries that it is the work of the pope and the church! The catechism of the council of Trent declares that the Almighty has given to his church the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and that the penitent's sins are forgiven by the minister of religion,

through the power of the keys. The arrogance that presumes to dispose at pleasure of heaven itself, may easily be supposed to claim no inferior power on earth. Hence the bull of pope Sixtus V. against Henry, king of Navarre, and the prince de Condé, claims an authority which exceeds all the powers of earthly kings and potentates. "And if," says the bull, "it find any of them resisting the ordinance of God, it takes more summary vengeance upon them, and hurling them from their throne, debases them as the ministers of aspiring Lucifer, whatever may be their power, to the lowest abysses of the earth!" Acting under this supposed authority, pope Pius V. excommunicated queen Elizabeth, asserting that "him God hath constituted prince over all nations and kingdoms, that he might pluck up, destroy, dissipate, overturn, plant and build!" In fact, the claims of popery for its head, have gone so far as to attribute to the pontiff all power in heaven and on earth; and it has been asserted that "the pope could do all things, sin excepted;" that "the sentences of God and the pope were one;" that his "indulgence remitted even the punishment of hell;" and that "no appeal could be made from the pope to God, because he is the Christ of God!" Accursed apostasy! where a sinful man, whose carcass must soon pay the forfeiture of sin, and rot in corruption, the best emblem of his own church, presumes to claim the homage of mankind, and the prerogatives that belong only to Deity!

III. THE CHURCH OF ROME IS INIQUITOUS IN ITS PRACTICES. And what else is to be expected from a church which gives permission to do whatever is sinful. The daring sale of indulgences by Tetzel, when they excited the abhorrence of Christendom, was publicly condemned by the nuncio of pope Leo X. Tetzel, in his zeal to raise money for the holy see, probably went further than it was thought prudent to express so publicly, for he even asserted that any one might be permitted to commit the grossest debauchery, and offer violence to the holy Virgin herself, and be forgiven by the power of the pope, whose arms were equal to the cross of Christ! But after the death of Tetzel, A. D. 1519, a list of fees to the people for absolutions, dispensations, etc., was published in Paris, A. D. 1520. Absolution for fornication in a church was to be obtained for nine shillings; for murdering a layman, seven shillings and sixpence; for killing a father, mother, or wife, ten shillings and sixpence; for a priest keeping a concubine, ten shillings and sixpence; for a layman keeping a concubine, the same sum; and for other crimes the mention of which would but defile these pages. "Such is the celebrated tax-book of the Apostolic Chancery, the publication of which stamps the church of Rome with eternal infamy." This publication was indeed, at last, partially condemned, but not till it had been a hundred years in circulation.

But let us see if the holy popes have been more holy than their doctrines, licenses, or agents. No; a worse set of men never corrupted the earth. From the time of Gregory the Great, in the sixth century, to the latest period, the popes have been more or less of abandoned principles. There have been covetous popes, proud popes, profane popes, unchaste popes, dishonest popes, murdering popes, all of whose names and characters may be seen in any impartial history of these pretended representatives upon earth of Him who was "holy, harmless, and undefiled!"

As were the popes, so we must expect to find the priesthood. The "forbidding to marry," a gross mark of the man of sin, has led the popish clergy to practise all kinds of iniquity with greediness; and the secret interviews, at the confessional, with females of every class and character afford facilities for the indulgences of forbidden propensities, of which the priests have not failed to avail themselves. Facts in abundance could be related to justify this charge, but it is not pleasant to dwell upon them, and they are too well known to require reference to authorities. The monasteries and nunneries have been often described as the seats of iniquity; and, in fact, the latter were no better than brothels, of the very worst description. In the days of Henry VIII., when these monasteries were fully explored in England, the abbots, priors, and monks kept as many women each, as any lascivious Mohammedan could desire, and their crimes renewed the existence of Sodom and Gomorrah!

IV. THE CHURCH OF ROME IS CRUEL IN ITS SPIRIT. Those who are conversant with its writers know the hatred which it breeds towards heretics. The council of Trent, besides anathematizing all the great doctrines of the gospel, consigned their defenders to eternal torments. "Cursed be all heretics," cried the cardinal of Lorraine, at the close of its last session; and "Cursed! cursed!" responded all the prelates. "Cursed! cursed!" echoed back the lofty dome of the old cathedral of Trent. Never had there been so much cursing "in any other synod, since the world was made." Here, too, the pages might be filled with specimens of this spirit. But let it suffice to remark how different from the spirit of Jesus, when he reproved his disciples for wishing to call down fire from heaven to consume the Samaritans: "He turned, and rebuked them, and said, Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of," Luke ix. 55.

Carrying out her principles, the popish apostate has deluged the earth with the blood of her victims. The murders committed by queen Mary, and by the Irish papists, are facts too well known in history to be denied. Hundreds of martyrs have perished at the stake, thousands in dungeons, and millions form the aggregate of unfortunate Protestants, that have fallen under the bitter spirit of popery. Papists have imitated Saul of Tarsus, when he was the messenger of death to Damascus, and haled men and women, committing them to prison; and are the fac-similes of those persecutors whom our Lord warns his disciples to expect: "Yea, the time cometh, that whosoever killeth you will think that he doeth God service," John xvi. (2). Torturing, shooting, hanging, strangling, burning alive, starving to death,—in short every variety of suffering that diabolical ingenuity could invent, has been employed to glut the infernal appetites of the demons of the papacy! Among these the holy fathers of the inquisition have shared no inconsiderable part, and have become "drunk with the blood of the saints." Spain and Italy have been the slaughter-houses for the Protestants. Nor are the barbarities of popery confined to those lands; at the present moment their horrid cruelties are not unknown in Sclavonia, and bordering countries. We may say of these blood-thirsty men, as Jacob said of Simeon and Levi, "Instruments of cruelty are in their habitations. O my soul, come not thou into their secret; unto their assembly, mine honour, be not thou united!" Gen. xlix. 5, 6.

V. THE CHURCH OF ROME IS WORLDLY IN ITS POLICY. Its object is to gain dominion; to get a footing in every court; to direct the affairs of kingdoms and empires; and to accumulate wealth. The Jesuits, though at times expelled or pretendedly so from Rome, have been its awful emissaries to augment its power. The intrigues and deceptions of these men would fill volumes, and the conveniency of their creed to deny or affirm anything, or assume any profession as it may serve their purpose, is too well known to need recapitulating here. These men have at times assumed so much that every papal state has alternately ejected them; and large numbers are now in this country—doubtless many under false colours—waiting the most favourable opportunities to corrupt the rising generation, and, as far as possible, restore the dark days of former ages. The Jesuits are unchangeable. So is Popery. And to show that these observations are not without being confirmed by facts, one sufficiently strong may here be quoted. After the Reformation had been carried a considerable length in the minority of king James VI. of Scotland, it was in danger of being overthrown by the artifice of the duke of Lennox, a papist and a creature of the Jesuit court, who had acquired undue ascendancy over the young king. The ministry of the church were alarmed, and more especially when they saw several Jesuits and seminary priests arrive from abroad, and by the open revolt of some who had hitherto professed the Protestant faith. They warned their hearers of the state of things. Lennox at once publicly renounced the popish religion. But the jealousy of the nation was revived and inflamed by the interception of letters from Rome, granting a dispensation to the Roman Catholics to profess the Protestant tenets *for a time*, provided they preserved an inward attachment to the ancient faith, and embraced every opportunity of advancing it in secret. This discovery was the cause of originating the national covenant.

Confession is of most important use in establishing this dominion over men, and even over states and cabinets. Every member of the family is inadvertently made a spy. Every secret is known to the confessor. The king and the subject become alike the slaves of the church! Such a machinery is one of the most profound pieces of policy that could ever be employed by arbitrary states. Entering into the deepest recesses of the human bosom, it brings to light every hidden thing, and at once assumes the control of every heart. Thus have papists learned to rule the world!

VI. THE CHURCH OF ROME IS SELFISH IN ITS MOTIVES. There is nothing in it noble, expansive, or benevolent. While it calls itself the “Catholic” church, it is the most sectarian of all churches, shutting from heaven all that do not enter within its pale. It never teaches its votaries to wish “grace, mercy, and peace” to any but those of its own community. If the most lovely Christians in the world are not papists, they cannot offer up for them the benevolent wish, “Grace be with all them that love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity.”

Whatever the church teaches, or whatever it does, doctrines, sacraments, discipline, all are made to operate in filling her own gaping coffers, ever crying, “Give, give!” Idolatrous as she is in other matters, money is her chief idol. Her churches have been notorious for accumulating wealth, and so also have her convents and monasteries; and the contrivances for

that purpose have been most subtle and successful. The doctrine of purgatory, in particular, has been a mine of wealth to the church. By consigning good and bad to that indescribable yet horrible state, and keeping them there at the pleasure of the keys, mass upon mass has been heaped up mountains high, like Ossa upon Pelion; so that the poor deluded relatives of the departed have exhausted their money and patience in raising the golden ascent, by which to scale the heavens with more facility!

Without going back to the disgusting period which called forth the Reformation, it is sufficient to state, that these vile sources of revenue are still especially made productive at certain periods. The Jubilee bulls every twenty-five years call the faithful to Rome by promising "a plenary indulgence, remission, and pardon of all their sins." In Spain, a lucrative traffic is driven in this article of papal merchandise. Four bulls containing special indulgences are annually sent thither from Rome, which are bought by almost all the Spaniards, at prices suited to the condition of the purchasers. One bull gives plenary indulgences to commit what would otherwise be a mortal sin, by eating various articles of food during Lent. Another relates to frauds on property, allowing the guilty participants to retain it under certain qualifications. And what is called the Defunct bull obtains a plenary indulgence for any dead person, if his soul should happen to be still in purgatory! But no release from purgatory without money! Not a single mass nor pater-noster can be offered up for a poor sinner without money! And the pope and the priest will allow the soul to suffer all the horrible torments which in their books and pictures are described as inflicted on the impenitent through countless ages, unless they have money to turn the keys, and release the poor victims from their misery. Truly, the "spirit of Popery" is the spirit of the evil one—"the spirit that now worketh in the children of disobedience."

VII. THE CHURCH OF ROME IS IDOLATROUS IN ITS WORSHIP. The worshipping of any creature, how exalted soever he may be, or the likeness of anything "in the heaven above, or in the earth beneath," is idolatry. The Virgin Mary, the popes, the saints, the very bones of the saints, have been and are the objects of papal idolatries. So much homage is paid to the Virgin Mary that it has been well observed by a modern deceased writer, that it looks as if the papists thought that there were four subsistences in the Godhead, the Virgin Mary being the fourth. The "One Mediator," "Jesus Christ the righteous," is lost in the crowds, or rather the clouds of petitions offered up to the Virgin. This idolatry has no seeming authority anywhere in the Scriptures but in the angelic salutation, "Hail! highly favoured, the Lord is with thee! blessed art thou among women!" and Mary's words, "From henceforth all generations shall call me blessed," Luke i. 28, 48. Blessed rather signifies "happy;" and not a word is here respecting worship to be offered to Mary by future generations. But "it is a favourite mode of declaiming amongst Roman Catholic divines," says Fletcher, "to represent Jesus Christ as far more willing to listen to the prayers and intercession of the Virgin, than to those of other saints. The consequence of such representations is obvious. More prayers are addressed to the Virgin in the Roman Catholic Church than to any other saint; and in some services there are ten Ave Marias for one Pater-noster." One

exhortation in the Catholic school-book is, "Have recourse to her in all your spiritual necessity; and for that end offer to her daily and particular prayers." The same book says, "She is most powerful with God to obtain from him all that she shall ask of him. She is all goodness in regard to us, by applying to God for us. Being mother of God, he cannot refuse her request; being our mother, she cannot deny her intercession, when we have recourse to her. Our miseries move her, our necessities urge her; the prayers we offer her for our salvation bring us all that we desire." And St. Bernard is not afraid to say, that "never any person invokes that Mother of mercies in his necessities who has not been sensible of the effect of her assistance." The prayers to the Virgin in the Breviary are generally known; they are in harmony with the above declarations.

The following are a few of the appellations of the Virgin: Holy Mother of God; Refuge of Sinners; Comforter of the Afflicted; Queen of Angels, of Patriarchs, of Apostles, of all Saints; Mirror of Justice; Seat of Wisdom; Mystical Rose; Tower of Ivory; House of Gold; and others equally extravagant. In the former, the honour due to Father, Son, and Spirit is given to a mortal—to the Virgin Mary; and the latter are too ridiculous to require comment. Popery is the same now as it was in the dark ages of the church; and the worship of the Virgin is still one of the favourite tenets of Romanism, as shown in the following extract from an encyclical letter of Pius IX.—"In order that our most merciful God may the more readily incline his ear to our prayers, and grant that which we implore, let us ever have recourse to the intercession of the most holy Mother of God, the immaculate Virgin Mary, our sweetest mother, our mediatrix, our advocate, our surest hope and firmest reliance, than whose patronage *nothing is more potent, nothing more effectual with God!*"

VIII. THE CHURCH OF ROME IS ABSURD, RIDICULOUS, AND BLASPHEMOUS IN ITS PRETENSIONS. These absurdities and blasphemies are so numerous, and so notorious, that a few only need be selected; and on these it is unnecessary largely to expatiate.

(1.) *Transubstantiation* is one of the most notorious absurdities of their doctrine. A greater insult was never offered to the human understanding. A wafer and wine are transformed by the priest into the real body and blood of Christ; and though eaten and drunk millions of times, still it is so transformed, eaten, and drunk. Truly, Catholic priests must be knaves, and those of their community who really believe this absurdity must be numbered amongst the most silly of fools. The latter deserve pity, the former only to be ranked with the greatest and most dangerous rogues in society.

(2.) *Relics* have brought no small revenue to the churches in which they have been deposited; and these have rivalled each other in the absurd inventions of popery. At Rome are the heads of St. Peter and St. Paul, encased in silver busts set with jewels; a lock of the Virgin's hair; a phial of her tears; a piece of her green petticoat; a robe of Jesus Christ, sprinkled with his blood; some drops of blood in a bottle; some of the water which flowed out of the wound in his side; some of the sponge; a large piece of the cross; all the nails used in the crucifixion; a piece of the stone of the sepulchre on which the angel sat; the identical porphyry pillar on which the cock perched when he crowed after Peter denied Christ; the

rods of Moses and Aaron, and two pieces of the wood of the real ark of the covenant;—this is Rome in the nineteenth century! We might fill columns with relics of sacred bones, beards, hair, etc., but we must desist. In the church of the Escorial only, in Spain, there are no less than eleven thousand of these ridiculous impositions on the credulity of the weak and superstitious. The most extraordinary efficacy is ascribed to some of these relics, greatly benefiting the churches which have the good fortune to possess them.

(3.) *Patron saints* are another happy invention to bring in grist to the mill. For the accommodation of the worshippers, there are in many churches altars belonging to a variety of these. These eminent saints are many of them doctors of high repute. St. Anthony cures diseases; St. Anthony of Padua delivers from water; St. Barbara protects against thunder and war; St. Blass cures the throat; St. Lucia, the eyes; St. Nicholas helps young women to husbands; St. Ramon protects the pregnant; St. Lazaro serves the purpose of a nurse in giving childbirth; St. Polonia preserves the teeth; St. Domingo cures the fever; and St. Roche guards against the plague!

(4.) *The Agnus Dei* is a wonderful little article. It is made chiefly of virgin wax, and has the image of the Lamb of God on it. The pope consecrates the Agnus Dei the first year of his pontificate, and every seventh year afterwards. It is the object of much devotion; for, kept about the person, it preserves from spiritual and temporal enemies, from the dangers of fire, water, storms, tempests, hunder, lightning, and sudden and unprepared death; puts devils to flight, takes away the stains of past sins, and produces other extraordinary benefits.

(5.) *Pardons*. The marvellous ways in which these might be obtained were published in 1517, in a work entitled the Customs of London. Some of these were as follows:—In St. Peter's at Rome, beneath the image of our Lord at the door, was one of the pence that God was sold for, the looking upon which obtained each time fourteen hundred years of pardon! Beholding a cloth made by our Lady, and exhibited on the Lady-day Assumption, obtained four hundred years of pardon! All who sat in Pope Accensius's chair obtained a hundred thousand years of pardon!

(6.) *Miracles* must be classed among popish absurdities. St. Raymond de Pennafort laid his cloak on the sea, and sailed thereon from Majorca to Barcelona, a distance of one hundred and sixty miles, in six hours! The miracles of other saints are of a like kind. The story of the house of our Lady of Loretto being carried through the air from Nazareth by angels is another prodigious absurdity. The priestly juggle of the annual liquefaction of the blood of St. Januarius at Naples is well known. Nor are these miracles yet finished: Prince Hohenloe recently revived them in Germany, and the Earl of Shrewsbury has attested a new one in Italy. How unlike are these "inventions" of Popery to the miracles of Christ and his apostles, which were wrought before the world, attested by competent witnesses, designed to confirm their mission, and were all free acts of benevolence. The "Miracles of Popery" may be dismissed by writing simply beneath them, "LYING WONDERS!"

(7.) *Pilgrimages* have for ages been of great repute in the Church of Rome. Tribes emerging from barbarism may through this delusion have

become acquainted with the blessings of civilized life; but that pilgrimages should be undertaken in the nineteenth century is another proof that popery loves darkness rather than light. A famous shrine of the Madonna, near Leghorn, is constantly visited; and the Dominicans have lately found an image of the Virgin there, which has brought their order into great repute.

IX. THE CHURCH OF ROME IS INSULTING TO THE WORD OF GOD. It is too notorious, that in all countries where popery prevails, the Bible is not permitted to enter. If some favourable opportunities for its access are embraced, it is soon again interdicted. The darkness of popery cannot bear its light. Numerous proofs could be brought forward that the word of God has always been hated and destroyed by popes and priests. The church substitutes numerous inventions for Scripture authority. Hence its pope, falsely called the successor of St. Peter, who never was at Rome; its seven sacraments, two only of which are found in sacred writ—baptism and the Lord's Supper; hence its purgatory, pilgrimages, images, and other absurdities. Though Christ has left the command, "Search the Scriptures," and apostolic authority records another, "Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly in all wisdom," the church of Rome takes the greatest pains to keep the people in ignorance, and prevent the clear shining of this light. If it had free course, it would soon consume all her false doctrines, and shame all her absurdities and wickednesses. Nothing is hated more by popes and priests than the Bible, and the Bible Society. Against the latter a tremendous bull was thundered forth by the pope only as recently as the year 1824. If the Bible is occasionally found in circulation, it is grossly interpolated, its phrases are adapted to the inventions of the popish church, and its price too high for general use; and indeed, from the ignorance of the people in papal states, but few could use it. Even then the authority of the church is paramount to everything, and nothing is to be believed in the Bible if it is not believed by the church! The Bible, God's book, is fallible; the church of Rome, its head, is infallible!

X. THE CHURCH OF ROME IS INIMICAL TO FREEDOM. To the present moment popish rulers, under the guidance of their priests, have suppressed knowledge, fettered the press, prevented free inquiry after truth, and the labours of Protestants. Papists claim everything for themselves in free countries; but popish countries allow no such liberty to Protestants. Truth is not afraid of papal error, but popery fears the truth. How numerous have been the martyrs in old France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, and other popish countries. And where now is the liberty of worship in most of them? They domineer over the minds of men, and chain both their consciences and their understandings with fetters of iron. Books adapted to enlighten the mind are excluded, while fabulous accounts of the saints are abundantly circulated. Catechisms indeed they have, but they altogether omit the second commandment. Everywhere in the churches you are urged to pray for the dead, and to drop a little money for masses for their poor souls in purgatory; but no effort dare you make to enlighten the living. In all the nations where the Reformation burst forth, it was extinguished by persecution and the inquisition.



XI. THE CHURCH OF ROME IS UNHOLY IN ITS INFLUENCES. Its breath is poison to morality. Its doctrines are calculated to encourage men to sin, because they can always obtain ghostly pardon. From its bosom spring a generation of the worst infidels, disgusted with its fooleries and enormities; and who, for want of better light, confound superstition with religion. Its trickeries and crimes which have occasionally been brought to light, have made hosts of genuine unbelievers. The practices discovered in its monasteries—often sinks of vice—and the lives of many of its clergy, have all aided to make men secret infidels, where they have not been weak enough to become dupes. Religion and pastime have been mingled together to defraud the people. The Sabbath may be desecrated by the covetous dealer or the mountebank; and the songs of the opera be listened to after the chants of the church. The fourth commandment is set aside, like the second, and papists defy the moral authority which says, “Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy.” The scenes of commerce, pleasure, dissipation and vice, which abound in continental cities on the Sabbath, mark them at once as under the dominion of “the man of sin.”

XII. THE CHURCH OF ROME IS COMPARATIVELY MODERN IN ITS ORIGIN, PRINCIPLES, AND CUSTOMS. Its antiquity is often a boast of the advocates of popery; but if antiquity stamped excellency on a religion, then Paganism and Judaism are older than Popery. The church of Rome, however, boasts of its antiquity without cause. The question has been proposed by the papist to the Protestant, “Where was your religion before the days of Wickliffe?” “Where?” was the reply; “why, where yours never was—in the Bible.” Primitive Christianity bears no resemblance to popery. We find there no popes; no cardinals; no monks, nor nuns; no holy wafer, nor holy water; no baptism of bells, nor canonization of saints; no mass, nor giant candles; no chrism, nor cross; no repeating of Pater-nosters nor Ave Marias; no saints’ days, nor popes’ jubilees; no plenary indulgences, nor purgatories; no bulls, nor inquisitions; in fact, we find nothing like popery, except what is under the ban of heaven, and doomed to everlasting destruction: the “man of sin—the son of perdition, who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he, as God, sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God.—That Wicked, whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming: even him, whose coming is after the work of Satan, with all power and signs and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness in them that perish, because they received not the love of the truth that they might be saved,” 2 Thes. ii. 3, 4, 8, 10. The Bible further delineates Popery with unmistakable accuracy: “Now the Spirit speaketh expressly that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrines of devils; speaking lies in hypocrisy; having their conscience seared with a hot iron; forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving of them that believe and know the truth.” “And there came one of the seven angels which had the seven vials, and talked with me, saying unto me, Come hither; I will show unto thee the judgment of the great whore that sitteth upon many waters: with whom the kings

of the earth have committed fornication. So he carried me away in the spirit into the wilderness; and I saw a woman sit upon a scarlet-coloured beast, full of names of blasphemy, having seven heads and ten horns. And the woman was arrayed in purple and scarlet colour; and decked in gold and precious stones and pearls, having a golden cup in her hand full of abominations and filthiness of her fornication: and upon her forehead was a name written MYSTERY, BABYLON THE GREAT, THE MOTHER OF HARLOTS AND ABOMINATIONS OF THE EARTH. And I saw the woman drunken with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus: and when I saw her I wondered with great admiration. And the angel said unto one, Wherefore didst thou marvel? I will tell thee the mystery of the woman, and of the beast that carrieth her, which hath the seven heads and ten horns. The beast that thou sawest was, and is not; and shall ascend out of the bottomless pit, and go into perdition," 1 Tim. iv. 1—3; Rev. xvii. 1—8.

Every part of Popery corrupts Christianity, and its corruptions have crept into its church by degrees. The Bible was not proscribed till the fourth century—this proscription was a novelty; the idolatry of popery did not commence till then—this was another novelty; the clergy were not forbidden to marry till then—another novelty. Infallibility was not claimed till the seventh century; the service was not performed in an unknown tongue before that time; purgatory was then introduced. Transubstantiation was not introduced till the eighth century. Half-communion was not begun till the eleventh century. Priestly absolution and excommunication were powers not claimed till the twelfth century; nor till then was it determined that there should be seven sacraments. The sacrifice of the mass, the worship of the host, and auricular confession, were established only in the thirteenth century. Tradition did not make its claims before the sixteenth century. Thus it appears that popery is a monster of slow growth, and all its parts have not been perfected till within a few centuries.

Such is the church against whose iniquities, doctrines, and practices the martyrs protested, and sealed the truth with their blood. It is heathenism new-modelled, and Christianity foully corrupted. It is doomed to perish, but yet struggles for existence. Its throne totters, but many hands yet strive to hold it up. Its subtle agents are at work to renew its influences in this land of martyrs. The Jesuit, like a sly serpent, creeps into every hole and corner. The "slimy viper" stealthily crawls into our families, schools, colleges, universities, and senate. We trace its existence under the mitre and the cassock; we see it polluting the pulpit and the press. We should beware of its corruptions in innovating ceremonies creeping under the Protestant altars, and in leading articles published in our most popular newspapers. If we would not again fall a prey to the reptile foe, let us learn dexterously to handle the sword of the Spirit, which it cannot resist; and let us say to each other, as Jesus to his disciples—WATCH!

LIFE OF THE  
REV. JOHN FOX, A.M.

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It is seldom we are deeply interested in the works of an author, with whose personal and private history we have no desire to be acquainted. The few instances in which this may be the case regard writers of acknowledged fiction, and such other works as from their nature require no guarantee of their being conformable to the reality of things; but will never be found to include a single writer on civil or personal, political or sacred, history. Authors who have undertaken to inform us on the latter subject, especially, and who have succeeded in winning general attention to their works, are the men whose own history becomes a field of curiosity and research, that the scenes through which they passed may assure us of their competency to the task, and the character they have preserved amidst ordinary or peculiar trials may attest the honesty of every part of their important record. Hence it is that histories of the Christian church have, beyond all other works, required a sure and safe appeal to the character of their authors to give them currency, and have circulated and flourished in the walks of literature in proportion as that appeal has been fearlessly and faithfully answered.

When special periods of ecclesiastical fame or disgrace, triumph or suffering, are chosen by an historian, it becomes of greater importance that we know who and what he is. Few will commit their faith to the details of such a period, who are not first informed to their satisfaction that the author was a man above suspicion—resolved, in the love of truth and the fear of God,

“ ——— Nothing to extenuate  
Or set down aught in malice.”

It is true that such periods are most fertile in determined partisans, and it is equally true that they require every public character deliberately to choose and resolutely to defend his party: and this, in reference to active and warlike agents, can scarcely ever be done without inflaming the passions beyond all reasonable bounds, and giving ascendancy to feelings often at perfect variance with integrity and charity. But writers, who undertake a subsequent record of what these fierce combatants have done, need not be under the same injurious impulse—may without difficulty release themselves from the angry constraint—have,

in fact, the best opportunity and the most pure and powerful motive to atone for the wrong doing of their friends, while they wield the weapons of truth against their foes. How far the subject of the present memoir merited the censure or the praise to which these remarks refer, will appear in some measure from the annals of his life and the features of his general character: while from his great work which this memoir precedes, it must be sufficiently manifest that with whatever errors of spirit or judgment he may have been chargeable, he could have fairly said of himself in the words of a later author—"My work is for the service of truth, by one who would be glad to attend and grace her triumphs; as her soldier, if he has had the honour to serve successfully under her banner; or as a captive tied to her chariot wheels, if he has committed any offence against her."

JOHN FOXE, or FOX, was born at Boston in Lincolnshire, A. D. 1517, the year in which Luther published his Theses against the papal church, and just before the growing power of Henry VIII. led him to shake the foundations of the vast Roman hierarchy, which no British prince before had the courage to speak of but in terms of the profoundest reverence and submission. The town of Fox's birth, on account of its remoteness and seclusion, contained an unusual proportion of independent gentlemen of small fortune, to which class his father belonged; but not being a native of the place his constitution suffered from confinement in the extreme humidity of that corner of the kingdom, so that he died of decline a few years after the birth of this his distinguished child, and we believe only son. His mother, a woman very generally admired and esteemed, soon embraced a second offer of marriage; which, however, neither drove her son from under the paternal roof, nor diminished the care with which she had begun to tutor and train him. His second father became warmly attached to his foster son, and is said to have elicited more of his rising talent than the mother, sanguine as she was on this point, could venture to hope he would ever display. Afterwards indeed, when young Fox openly avowed partiality to protestant principles, his father-in-law either became deeply prejudiced against him on this ground, or was alarmed at the probable consequences of the change to the family, so that he withheld from him the means of support; but as one remarks, "As the hunted deer takes sanctuary by flying to the rest of the herd, they, out of a principle of self-preservation, drive him away for fear lest the hounds in pursuit fall on them; so Foxe's father-in-law was lothe to receive him, and forbade him the protection of his family, lest persecution in quest of his son should bring him and his house into trouble."

At the age of sixteen his "good inclinations and towardness to learning" led to his being sent to the university of Oxford. He was accordingly entered at Brazenose college; and placed under Mr. Hawarden, one of the fellows. It would seem strange that, at a period of difficult communication between one town and another, the more distant university should have been preferred; especially as Cambridge lay mid-way on the road from Boston to Oxford, and was, moreover, of easier access as a place of learning for the sons of the poorer gentry of the land. It was a favourable circumstance for young Fox that the frugality of his parents, while it did not shrink from the expence of an Oxford education,

rendered it necessary that the youth should share his college apartment with another pupil. This incident was the more favourable from that other pupil being some years the elder of the two, and a youth of distinguished genius, industry, and kindness. But the most favourable as well as extraordinary feature of the event was, the decided and growing protestantism of the other collegian, whose abode by night and day it was the privilege of young Fox to share. This undoubtedly laid the foundation of his early and decided love of reforming principles, and of his resolute undeviating course in their defence, when poverty stared him in the face, and death seemed to threaten him at every step.

The companion referred to was no other than Alexander Nowell, the celebrated preacher of Elizabeth's days, and the exemplary dean of St. Paul. He had entered Brazenose at an early age, and continued an under-graduate thirteen years. This suspension of graduateship did not imply inferiority, for the first degree was not then, as at the present day, usually taken at the expiration of the fourth year. At the age of twenty, two years before Fox was admitted as a student, and after a residence of seven years, Nowell was appointed public reader of Logic in the university, which he taught from the work of Rodolphus Agricola. There is something worth dwelling upon in the circumstance of two such individuals being thus early, and as it were accidentally coupled,—not to pull in opposite directions, and thus impede each other's progress, but to administer each to the other's strength, and thus multiply their separate talents and zeal, as well as furnish to both all the additional energy and efficiency that could be derived from the most friendly combination. The few years difference in age was soon lost sight of, or became a motive for the elder to be more generously and faithfully communicative, and for the younger to receive his communications with all the openness of an ardent pupil united with all the gratitude of an obliged and affectionate friend.

But it is in their like-mindedness as studious and zealous protestants, that we reflect on their early union and later co-operation with the greatest delight. At that period there was just enough in the posture of public affairs to encourage two such minds to proceed in their investigation of ecclesiastical evils, and at the same time so little as to convince them that such investigations alone might expose them to the greatest danger; that one new impulse acting upon the fickle mind of an arbitrary monarch might spoil all their hopes, transfer them for the remainder of a short life from a college to a prison, exile them from their native country, or bring upon them a violent and barbarous death. How far these considerations stimulated their zeal and tempered it with due discretion, we have no means of accurately judging; but that their critical circumstances, which must have suggested some such reasoning, neither abated their protestant energy nor deprived them of christian prudence and caution, we have enough in their history to convince us. Undoubtedly the universities contained many young inquirers eager to ascertain whether the protestant or the papal cause were the more just as well as more likely to triumph in the approaching conflict; but it is still more certain that the number was comparatively small of those who turned their inquiries to so much real edification, and directed them to

such honourable purposes and aims as these noble and persevering reformers, Alexander Nowell and John Fox.

The latter took his bachelor's degree in the year 1538, when he reached his twenty-first year; and his master's degree in 1543. In the latter year he was elected fellow of Magdalen college, though many objections were made from various causes. About the same time, Nowell left Oxford to become second master of Westminster School, "where he instructed his pupils in the ancient principles of the true catholic faith, as they were cleared from the papal errors which had so long blended with and disfigured them." The change in both instances, especially in the latter, arose doubtless from the growing disaffection of the leading men at Brazen-nose to a reform in the church, which had now begun to assume a rather auspicious and active appearance. Westminster afforded Nowell a more secure and promising sphere for his bolder efforts in this great and growing cause; while Oxford, having offered to Fox a fellowship which he thought he might safely accept in a more liberal college, continued a few years longer to shelter him in the less public and more cautious pursuit of protestant principles.

Cultivating an early taste for poetry, some portion of the seclusion of his fellowship was given to this pleasing art; but it was an art which he never dissociated from theology, nor allowed essentially to interfere with that sacred and ascendant theme. Nor was his love of poetry ever permitted to divert his attention from those protestant views of theology, which were every year acquiring the strongest influence over him. It was, in fact, very early and efficiently subservient to the extension of those views, and to his assurance that they were strictly in unison with the will of God as revealed in holy writ. In very few years he made himself master of all the controversies which then agitated the christian world, and before he was thirty he had read all the Greek and Latin fathers, together with all the decrees of consistories, convocations, and councils. His acquaintance with Jewish and Rabbinical literature was not so extensive or so profound, as with the erudition and the annals of christian churches; still he was a respectable Hebrew scholar, and had by this time become master of the chief intricacies of that ancient and sacred language.

In early youth he had been, like most others, a zealous and bigoted papist: he might be said to belong to the strictest sect of the Romish church; and had he possessed less ingenuousness of mind, his studies, receiving a papal direction, might have rendered him a still more devoted catholic, and prepared him for the honours of the conclave, if not the glories of the popedom. But his native candour was equal to his industry, and led him to examine and compare at every step; and this soon turned the balance of his judgment in favour of protestant truth. He is said to have been first shaken in his popish belief by perceiving in the writing of its advocates things most repugnant to each other; as that the same man might be superior in matters of faith, and yet his life and manners be inferior to all the world besides. He now pursued his investigations of the system with more ardour than ever, and his mind rapidly advanced to a perfect assurance, which nothing could shake, that some great effort must soon be made, and had in fact already com-

menced, to reform the church of Christ, especially in his own beloved but deluded country, in which the heresy and tyranny of the Romish faith had acquired a long and almost inveterate entrenchment.

There can be no doubt that his conscience and character became proportionably conformed to the will of Christ—that he grew as a christian in the grace of the gospel with the same rapidity, enlargement, and strength as he increased in an acquaintance with its history and truth, and in zeal for its most extensive diffusion. So ardent was his pursuit of personal godliness, that he would spend whole nights in sacred studies and spiritual devotion; reading the scriptures in their original tongues, beseeching in humble prayer to God the spirit of wisdom and knowledge rightly to understand them, and comparing spiritual things with spiritual that he might comprehend the whole truth as it is in Jesus Christ. He would often leave his study or his bed at midnight, and resort to a neighbouring grove, to meditate on what he had been reading, and pour forth the desires of his soul in earnest supplication and grateful thanksgiving. On these occasions his fellow students would sometimes watch and listen to him, and several were deeply impressed by what they overheard in favour of a more earnest pursuit of christian truth and duty.

Some, however, to whom these extraordinary studies and exercises of mind were known, were neither so candid nor so charitable. They reported Mr. Fox to the heads of the university as an abettor of the new faith, which occasioned him to be narrowly watched and restrained in many of his most favourite pursuits. At length his conscience constrained him to cease from attendance on the national worship, which continued, especially in the universities, to be conducted in strict conformity to papal rules and rites. Without abetting the formation of separate protestant societies—a proceeding commenced by some elder and less exposed members of Oxford—he was yet constrained to absent himself, except on necessary and official occasions, both from the Magdalen chapel and the university church. At last he was openly charged with heresy, brought before the heads of his college, and commanded to leave the city and county without delay, and to be thankful that he had met with judges so merciful, and a sentence so far below what his apostacy merited!

Very small is the number of true friends who will firmly stand the day of trial. Many will fawn, and smile, and live upon us in our prosperity, who, when adversity overtakes us will refuse to know us, and even basely deny that they ever knew us before. They leave the garden in winter when there is nothing to gather. So fared it with Mr. Fox. He had several patrons and friends both in the university and the country, who, while he continued but privately a protestant, afforded him their countenance and protection. But so soon as his new principles assumed a tangible and public shape—that is, so soon as he became faithful to his trust, and began to appear a protestant openly, in deed and in truth; especially when the rulers of the university took cognizance of his neglect of papal ceremonies, and his opposition to papal credence and authority; those who had before most befriended him, either in anger or in fear avoided his society and left him to his fate. Hitherto he had

found no difficulty in obtaining periodical remittances of the little property he claimed from his mother, and to which she usually made some addition from her own; but now either her mind was turned from him, or she was obliged to yield to the influence of her husband, whose rigid Romanism made him the adversary of his "heretic" son-in-law, and determined him to withhold all further pecuniary supply. Some of this incensed gentleman's friends have apologised for his conduct, on the plea that the courts of justice would have called him to account for granting further supply to one who had become a voluntary outlaw; but there is much greater reason to believe that he was induced by superstition and priestcraft to appropriate the property of a heretic to the support of a tottering church and the absolution of his own guilt. Be these things as they may, Mr. Fox was reduced by the simultaneous loss of his fellowship and fortune to the deepest personal distress.

"Troubled on every side, yet not distressed; perplexed, but not in despair; persecuted, but not forsaken; cast down, but not destroyed"—Mr. Fox now went from one place to another in the hope and search of honourable and useful occupation. The county of Warwick, and especially the city of Coventry, being well disposed towards the protestant cause, he bent his steps thither, and made his injured case known to a few families in whom he could safely confide; but for some time without any success beyond the temporary supply of pressing necessity. At last when hope appeared to fail, divine Providence directed him to the mansion of Sir Thomas Lucy, in whom he found a patron both able and willing to render him efficient aid. Averse to receiving that aid but as the recompense of honest service, Mr. Fox undertook, at the request of Sir Thomas, the tutorship of his sons, on which task he entered with the best mental, moral, and theological qualifications for its due performance.

While in this occupation Fox married the daughter of a citizen of Coventry, who visited at Charlecote, the seat of his patron. His engagement as tutor could not have been of long duration; and was probably terminated either in consequence of his marriage, or of the strict search then being made for supposed heretics, both publicly and in private families. On leaving Charlecote, Mr. Fox was reduced to great distress. He remained with his wife's father, at Coventry, so long as he could do so with safety; and from thence wrote to his father-in-law at Boston, to ask if he could there be sheltered. He received for answer, "That it seemed to his step-father a hard condition to take into his house one whom he knew to be guilty of and condemned for a capital offence; neither was he ignorant what hazard he should undergo in so doing: nevertheless he would show himself a kinsman, and for that cause neglect his own danger. If he would alter his mind he might come, on condition, to stay as long as himself desired; but if he could not be persuaded to that, he should content himself with the shorter tarrance, and not bring him and his mother into hazard of their lives and fortunes, who were ready to do anything for his sake."

The necessities of Fox compelled him to accept this offer of protection, to which he was also privately urged by his mother; but how long he remained at Boston is uncertain. It was probable of very brief continuance. Nothing is known of his trials and mode of life after leaving the country,



till within a few months of the king's death, when the influence of the queen and Cranmer allowed the reformers to appear more openly in public, at which time Mr. Fox was discovered in London. The doors of St. Paul's were then always open; and numerous idlers, as well as worshippers, were continually found within its precincts. "He is as much known as the middle walk of St. Paul's," became a proverb; and in Lupton's description of the metropolis at that period, the "idlers" in the cathedral are called "dinnerless pedestrians:" some watching the opportunity of an invitation, having on their visiting garments; others, in tattered clothes and with a mournful visage, brooding over their disconsolate condition. Mr. Fox appears to have been among the latter; and the circumstance is thus portrayed by his son, whose narrative of the subsequent events in his father's life are set forth with less interruption:—

"As Master Fox one day sate in St. Paul's church, spent with long fasting, his countenance thin, and eyes hollow, after the ghastly manner of dying men, every one shunning a spectacle of so much horror, there came to him one whom he never remembered to have seen before, who, sitting down by him, and saluting him with much familiarity, thrust an untold sum of money into his hand, bidding him be of good cheer, adding withal, that he knew not how great the misfortunes were which oppressed him, but supposed it was no light calamity; that he should, therefore, accept in good part that small gift from his countryman which common courtesy had forced him to offer; that he should go and take care of himself, and take all occasions to prolong his life; adding, that within a few days new hopes were at hand, and a more certain condition of livelihood." Fox used every endeavour to discover to whom he was indebted for this relief in his hour of need, but without success. Great cities are great solitudes, and Fox felt himself alone in the metropolis, without friends or occupation; though his want of them probably arose more from the danger of making application to individuals likely to patronize him, than from the scarcity of employment for a scholar of his attainments. "Some who looked further into the event by which that prophecy became fulfilled, believed that the friend who performed the kindness came not of his own accord, but was employed by others who were deeply concerned for Mr. Fox's safety; and that it might possibly be through the negligence of the servant, or person commissioned, that he had endured so much misery before the means of relief were afforded him. Certain it is, however, that within three days after the transaction, the presage was made good. Some one waited upon him from the duchess of Richmond, who invited him, upon fair terms," says the writer, "into her service. It had so fallen out, not long before, that the duke of Norfolk, the most renowned general of his time, together with his son, the earl of Surrey, a man, as far as may be imagined, of sincere meaning and sharp understanding, were committed to custody in the Tower of London, for what crime is uncertain. While they were in prison, the earl's children were sent to the aforesaid duchess, their aunt, to be brought up and educated: Thomas, who succeeded in the dukedom; Henry, afterwards earl of Northampton; and Jane, wife of Charles, the last Neville, earl of Westmoreland, afterwards countess of Westmoreland."

To these Fox became tutor. It is uncertain whether his first publication

appeared just before or just after he entered on the duties of this honourable office. The probability is that while in London and in want he had offered the manuscript to some booksellers, and that when they found him thus nobly patronised one of them ventured to publish it. The reader will be pleased to have the title of this curious work before him in its own tongue and shape. It is as follows:—

DE NON PLECTENDIS MORTE  
ADULTERIS CONSULTATIO,  
JOANNIS FOXI.

Impressum Londini per HUGONEM SYNGLETONUM,  
sub intersignio D. Augustini,  
Anno Domini. M. D. 1548.

The work is preceded by an affectionate and able dedication, which the author thus introduces:—

GENEROSO VIRO Thome Pictono,  
I. Foxus salutem et pacem in  
christo.

There are in the body of the work about forty pages; but not a number to any one of them. It is the duodecimo size; the letter is large and open, a Roman character, and the impression is on the whole uniform and good. We have not been able to discover a second edition of this work, nor is it on a subject likely to have created popularity for the author. It contains many admirable remarks, amidst some doubtful propositions, and as a whole is inferior both in style and sentiment to the later productions of the excellent author.

We now follow him to Ryegate, where he commenced the important duties of his new office and where he passed six or seven years in great activity and peace, until the accession of Mary clouded his prospects and sent him into exile. It is here proper to remind the reader that the outraged earl of Surry had five lovely children, three daughters and two sons, and that his death rendered his eldest son immediate heir to the dukedom of Norfolk—a rank which the youth seemed likely very soon to reach, as no hope was at this time entertained that either the duke or the earl, who were both prisoners in the tower, could be saved from death. It will be remembered that the rage of Henry soon cut off the earl,\* and that the king's rather sudden death alone gave the condemned duke a few years more of life, though not of liberty. A question or two of some importance here suggest themselves. How came the children of the earl of Surry under the care of the duchess of Richmond? and how was it that the heir of the dukedom of Norfolk, always

\* The cruel eagerness with which Henry hastened the execution of the earl of Surry has generally been pronounced a mystery; but, if the report be true that he had aspired to a marriage with the princess Mary, the mystery becomes easily solved.

a popish family, was committed for education to John Fox, one of the most marked protestants of the age?

These problems can be solved only by referring to the peculiar circumstances under which the arrangement took place, and the control which the government, if not the king himself must have exercised in the affair. The duchess of Richmond was Surry's sister and the children's aunt: she was a retired widow without son or daughter of her own, and was withal a protestant of superior education and understanding. But then she was the chief witness against her injured and innocent brother! She was in fact the cause—it is to be feared the voluntary cause—of bringing him to the block, by deposing against him all that could be construed into treason! These distressing recollections create the greatest wonder that she, in preference to all others, should have been chosen to govern and guide their youthful course. It would seem scarcely possible to conceal from the children themselves the dreadful secret that they were in the hands of the cruel relative, whose testimony had been mainly instrumental in depriving them of the protection of one of the best of fathers! How could their mother submit with any patience to such a disposal of her almost infant and orphan family.

The only explanation of these mysteries which has been offered is this—that their father being doomed to death, however unjustly, on a charge of treason, the children were at the disposal of government, and the duchess, whose loyalty was undoubted, was most likely to train them in a course of devotion to the reigning prince. Such had been the rapid advance of the reformation that loyalty was likely henceforward to be identified with protestantism. Henry was drawing towards his end, and had appointed his son Edward to set aside the claims of Mary; and the earl of Hertford, into whose hands the regency was likely to fall, was known to be resolute in carrying on the reformation. Hence the expediency of imparting a protestant education to the earl of Surry's children, and hence the policy of substituting as their governess the earl's sister, a protestant, for the more natural appointment of their own mother. The latter was more than suspected of cleaving to the ancient faith, and was known to prefer obscurity and a separation from her family to what she deemed the fellowship and fate of heretics. In her retirement in the north she soon married a second husband, a catholic gentleman of the name of Steyning.

Returning to the incidents of Fox's personal history, we find him residing at Ryegate about seven years, comprehending a few of the last months of Henry VIII., the whole short reign of his son Edward VI., and until his cruel sister and successor commenced the measures which turned the kingdom into a protestant furnace, heated by her fury "seven times hotter than it was wont to be heated." With the exception of the duchess of Richmond and some few of her attendants and friends, Ryegate had not only hitherto been without advocates or examples of the protestant faith; but it had betrayed for ages unusual features of gross ignorance and vulgar superstition. The glad tidings of christian truth had never been heard by its inhabitants, nor had they been directed to any of the spiritual and scriptural exercises of christian worship. No disciple of Wickliffe—no faithful Lollard—no enlightened reformer had

ever been known to lift up his voice in the church or in the streets against a system of the most absurd and stupid idolatry, which the secluded and populous town of Ryegate had been known to prefer to every other mode of expressing its religious feelings. The fame of the virgin Mary had long fled from the town and its temple, and her image, wherever it had aforesaid been exhibited, had given way to that of an old fortune-teller and quack-doctress, reverently called by the besotted people of all ranks, the old lady of Ouldsworth. This woman, if she ever had existence beyond the ancient fables of the place, was reported to have been skilful in recovering the sick to health, and causing the lame to leap for joy. There were other saintly idols held in esteem and adoration by the sages as well as peasants of Ryegate; but no one had such lasting and abounding popularity as this lady—no one was supposed to have conferred half so much benefit on the church and people as she had done. “Great is Diana of the Ephesians!” was not a louder or a warmer cry than was uttered continually by all ranks in her praise, and more than half the industry and traffic of the town were occasioned by the embellishment which she was thought to claim, and by the new honours which her priests and people gathered around her!

No wonder that at such scenes the spirit of Fox “was stirred within him,” and that he burned with zeal to bear his testimony against them, and to cast from the temple of religion such profane and vulgar abuse of divine service. But it was some time before he had an opportunity of accomplishing his pious purpose. He had to wait for a pioneer of government to break up the way, before he could begin a successful march against evils almost as inveterate as they were absurd and contemptible. Soon, however, the establishment of the reformation under Edward VI. enabled him to cast off every restraint, and to stand forth the first protestant preacher in the church of Ryegate. He embraced the opportunity with the liveliest feelings of gratitude, and began proclaiming the glad tidings of salvation through Christ alone with a zeal sufficiently tempered by discretion to obviate improper offence, yet constraining him to bear a testimony not to be mistaken against the idolatries which had so long darkened and deluded the people. The old lady of Ouldsworth met with little forbearance from him; and, through the power of his persuasive eloquence and resistless reasoning and wit, she soon lost her hold of the public confidence, and was removed by common consent from her lofty place in the church.

Uncertain and inconsistent dates render it difficult to determine the precise year in which Mr. Fox commenced his public ministry. Some have led us to believe that he opened his faithful commission soon after the accession of Edward VI.; while others tell us that he was not ordained till the midsummer of 1550, more than two years after that welcome event. The probability is, either that he was licensed to preach before his ordination, and eagerly availed himself of the privilege, or that the latter is the date of his ordination to the priesthood, and that he had become a deacon of the church some time before. Of one fact, however, we are certain—that as he had no clerical appointment at Ryegate, his ministerial labours, however irregular, were as gratuitous as

they were intrepid and faithful.\* He rather abounded than relaxed in his services as tutor to Surry's children, and received nothing beyond the stipulated compensation which those services merited. They now began to impose upon him a task as difficult as it was honourable, and requiring the utmost prudence as well as assiduity and erudition. The duke of Norfolk had been reprieved from death by the rather sudden death of Henry; but the timid and cautious advisers of Edward would not allow the old man to enjoy his liberty, notwithstanding imprisonment was uniting with age to weaken a frame naturally robust, and to hasten a departure which at best could not have been far distant. Thus the eldest pupil of Fox was likely soon to reach the most ancient ducal title in the realm; and this illustrious pupil, with his brother and one sister, were to be fully initiated—such was the engagement—in religious principles the reverse of those which a long line of ancestors had held as a sacred inheritance.

Contrary to general expectation the task of the tutor was nearly over, and his continuance in England began to be unsafe, before the elevation of his pupil took place. The duke of Norfolk, after escaping execution by the death of Henry, obtained release from imprisonment by the death of Edward. One of the first acts of Mary, upon her accession to the throne, was to restore to liberty this aged nobleman, whom she called her father's most faithful servant—an act and a speech too plainly intended to censure his imprisonment by protestant influence over the minds of her father and brother. One purpose of his release evidently was to employ his high military talents against the forces of Sir Thomas Wyatt. This task he executed with great success; but the excitement it produced in his aged and tottering frame very soon brought him to the grave.

“Of no distemper, of no blast, he died;  
But fell like Autumn fruit that's mellow'd long:  
Even wonder'd at because he dropt no sooner,  
He pass'd man's life of threescore years and ten,  
And then ran on eleven winters more;  
Till, like a clock worn out with eating time,  
The wheels of weary life at last stood still.”

Now came on the clouds, most dark and dense, portending the storms which soon burst upon all the distinguished protestants who were either resolved or compelled to continue in the land. Persecution had begun to assume its worst forms: many excellent men were already thrown into dungeons, and some were brought to the scaffold and the stake after brief proceedings which too clearly shewed the malignant purpose of the court, and that it was religion and not sedition which Mary was resolved to punish and suppress. On hearing of these events, and especially finding that they most abounded in the diocese of Stephen Gardiner, who had been appointed bishop of Winchester, and to whom as a clergyman Mr. Fox was locally subject, he began to prepare means for the safety of

\* Anthony Wood tells us that Edward VI. restored Fox to his fellowship of Magdalen college, Oxford: if this were the case, marriage was in that day no impediment, as it is in the present day, to a protestant being fellow of an university college. Fox was then, as at all other times, living openly with the wife of his bosom.

himself and his beloved wife. On his purpose being mentioned to his chief pupil, who had now become duke of Norfolk he spurned the thought of danger, and assured his revered tutor that in the shelter of his mansion he was perfectly safe. Undoubtedly the young nobleman thought as he spoke, since he then looked upon Gardiner as his friend, and not having studied the character of that dissembling prelate, he considered he might implicitly confide in his promise and influence. A remarkable circumstance is mentioned, which appears to have suddenly undeceived him, and while it shews that crafty men as often impose upon themselves as others, manifests the perception which the young duke at once acquired of Gardiner's real character and of Fox's actual danger.

The bishop's intimacy with the Norfolk family, and the obligations he had been under to them for much of his dignity, often led him to visit their mansion in London; and now he had additional reasons to repeat and multiply his visits: he feared the effects of Mr. Fox's instructions, and suspecting the tutor to be concealed in the house deemed it necessary to dispossess him as soon as possible. He began his scheme by requesting of the duke that he might see his tutor, and on one occasion Mr. Fox, not knowing he was present, entered the room, but instantly withdrew. The bishop inquired of the duke who that stranger was? when the duke, fearing some craft in the question, answered that he was a physician, fresh from the university and somewhat uncourtly in his behaviour. The reply of the bishop was—"I like his countenance and aspect well, and when occasion offers I will send for him." This speech confirmed the duke in his suspicion of the bishop, and determined him to provide without delay for the flight and security of Mr. Fox. He dispatched a faithful servant to Ipswich, where he had agents on whom he could depend, and where a vessel was prepared to take his tutor, with a few other protestant friends, to some near and safe port of the opposite shore. Mrs. Fox was at this time near her confinement; but the danger was too great to delay their departure, and they journeyed to Ipswich and embarked with the utmost possible speed.

A sudden and violent storm drove them back to Ipswich the day after they had set sail, and Mr. Fox soon heard that a messenger from the bishop had been in the town inquiring after him and his companions. The officer had even broken into the house of a tenant of the duke, where Mr. Fox had slept the night before his departure, and where he was returning for renewed shelter. On receiving this intelligence he left the town privately on horseback, and returned with the same caution so soon as the weather would allow the vessel again to put to sea. His second embarkation was successful, and within two days he and his wife and friends were safely landed and lodged in the secluded town of Newport in Flanders. In a few days he left that place for Antwerp, then the most flourishing city in Europe, and containing within its ample walls a large number of protestant merchants and some few ministers of the reformation. As, however, the object of Mr. Fox was active occupation, and no opportunity immediately presented itself in this place of turning his talents to any profitable account, he went to Strasburg, and soon after to Basle, where a considerable number of his English brethren, as well as protestant ministers from other countries, had already

taken refuge, and were uniting in measures to diffuse and propagate the truth.

Mr. Fox cheerfully joined with these pious refugees, and soon made them sensible of his superior worth both as a private christian, and a public minister and author. To secure an independent subsistence he engaged to assist John Oporimus, a distinguished printer in Basle, in conducting several valuable works through the press; and in a short time he produced a singular work of his own, which he had evidently prepared for publication in England, and would have printed here but for the necessity of his sudden flight. His early taste for poetry, and the subserviency of his poetic studies and compositions to theology, have been mentioned in an early part of this memoir; and the work now referred to is a remarkable proof of both facts. The reader will be interested in a literal transcription of the title.

CHRISTUS TRIUMPHANS  
Comœdia Apocalyptica  
Autore JOANNE FOXO Anglo.  
Basileæ per JOANNEM OPORINUM.

There precedes the drama an epistle dedicatory thus addressed

CLARISSIMUS VIRIS, D. BYNKSIQ, D. ALCOSTO,  
D. KELKO, cumque his universo Mercatorum  
Christianæ pietati fanentium Sodalitio  
JOANNES FOXUS, SALV.

The *dramatis personæ* are rather numerous, comprising about twenty five characters, including angels and *adolescentes*. The leading parts of the drama are taken by CHRISTUS, *Eva*, *Saulus qui et Paulus*, and *Maria Petris* also occupies a conspicuous place; while the "principalities and powers of darkness" often come forth to commit "spiritual wickedness in high places." The first edition of this remarkable work is printed in a good clear italic type, and is of the duodecimo size. There were two other editions of the work, one published in 1556, and the other in 1672. It was also translated into English, by John Daye, jun. son of the printer to queen Elizabeth *over Aldersgate*; and three editions of the English version were published, in 1579, 1607, and in 1672.\* The distaste of the people of this country to sacred dramas will account for their not being acquainted with this and numerous similar works. Highly dramatic as are most parts of the old testament, especially a few entire books held in the greatest esteem, and read with the deepest delight, even these meet with little or no attention when the hand of man has presumptuously attempted to improve upon the form which the inspiration of divine wisdom chose to give them.

Soon after this publication, Mr. Fox prepared for the press a Latin

\* The last was revised by a clergyman of Cambridge who signs himself T. C. and who dedicates it "to all schoolmasters, on account of the peculiar excellence of its style!"

translation of *Cranmer's Answer to Gardiner on the Sacrament*, intending it to circulate through the several states of Germany, and other parts of the continent where symptoms of reformation in religion began to appear. But upon inquiry and advice he saw fit to withhold it, on account of the several points it contained being warmly contested among protestants themselves, and the diversion it might give to their talents and zeal from objects of more general interest and more essential advantage. In some notes appended to the translation he complains strongly and satirically of Gardiner's style of writing. In a letter to Peter Martyr he repeats some of his animadversions, and observes—"You may as soon extract water from pumice stone as find light from Gardiner's sentences!"

His next work was the commencement of the undertaking which has immortalised his name in all protestant churches. Its title is as follows.

"Commentarii Rerum in Ecclesia gestarum  
maximarumque per totam Europam persecu-  
tionem a wiclevi Temporibus. *Strasburg 1554.*"

In all probability it was printed as he tarried awhile in that city, and where he might have stayed to print the other volumes, but for the disputes then prevailing among the reformers on ceremonial questions. The remaining volumes, all in octavo, were therefore printed at Basle, whither he proceeded in the hope of greater quiet as well as more active and profitable employ.

The contention of the protestant exiles in Strasburg and other continental cities at this time was not confined to the sacramental points just referred to, but extended to questions of ecclesiastical discipline and ritual service. It is well known that the Swiss and French reformers from the beginning proceeded much farther than the English in simplifying both the government of the church and the performance of divine worship. Most of the English exiles were of course attached to the laws and ceremonies established in their own country by the statutes of Edward; while a few were won over to the less intricate and burdensome system adopted by the leading spirits of reform in Switzerland and France. Mr. Fox was among them, and advocated with his usual zeal the general adoption of the rites and rules of the people among whom they had taken refuge, and which, with very slight alterations, continue in force to this day in most of the protestant churches of the continent. In this honest preference he met with much unbecoming opposition from his British brethren, then abroad and afterwards at home. We have no proof that he ever behaved uncivilly to them; but in some of his letters he complains of great incivility from them. In one to Peter Martyr he has a passage worth reciting. "I have discovered what otherwise I could not have believed, how much bitterness is to be found among those, whom continued acquaintance with the sacred volume ought to render gentle, and should always incline to all kindness. As far as in me lies I persuade all parties to concord."

We shall soon observe how far this variation from the national standard obstructed Mr. Fox's promotion in the church of England under the rigid dominion of Elizabeth: at present the order of events requires us



to trace his progress as an author, labouring with the utmost diligence to defend and diffuse the principles for which he had emigrated to a foreign and friendly land. He appears, supremely dependent on the divine blessing, to have relied for subsistence and the support of his wife and infant daughter on his daily labour in revising manuscripts and correcting the press for John Oporinus, whose famous printing office was at that time honoured by the services, while it gave permanence and publicity to the works, of some of the most enlightened and devout men that ever lived. Mr. Fox also found time to proceed with the great work which he had auspiciously commenced, and of which Oporinus was more than willing to undertake the pecuniary responsibility. It has been frequently said that the entire materials of his "Acts and Monuments of the Church" were collected by himself, without the assistance of an individual. The honour of our protestant hero and literary colossus by no means requires us to credit this report: nor is it correct in point of fact. In the absence of direct evidence against it, we should fairly infer that among his brother exiles there must have been a few at least, who, unaccustomed to authorship, were yet both able and willing to render him valuable aid in gathering appropriate facts for his use. But we have information of one distinguished individual at least, who greatly assisted him in this respect. Grindal, who became one of Elizabeth's archbishops, was at that time in Strasburgh, and did much by his studies and letters to furnish Fox with matter for his great work. We have seen that the first volume was published in that city, perhaps under Grindal's own eye, since we find that faithful friend peculiarly anxious that the work should appear in as accurate a state as possible. Still the disputes in Strasburgh, and the greater facilities for printing in Basle, will sufficiently account for the remainder being published at the latter place.

Leaving further mention of the progress of the various editions, we cast an eye a little back to notice a circumstance not mentioned in its proper place—that on his way to Basle Mr. Fox tarried a short time at Frankfort. His name occurs in a tract descriptive of the "Troubles" of that city, published some years after this period; but evidently referring to events which then occurred, and which appear to have involved him, as well as others in some tribulation. They were in fact "Troubles" rising out of the old question of ecclesiastical discipline and ceremonies, and probably contributed, like those of Strasburgh, to hasten his departure towards Basle and determined him to fix his residence there.

Either at Strasburgh or at Frankfort the birth of his first child and only daughter took place; an event which gave him much satisfaction, because it not only removed the fears he had entertained of the effect of recent events on the weak constitution and timid nerves of Mrs. Fox, but was the occasion of her henceforward enjoying a remarkable share of health and spirits. The child was baptised by his friend Grindal, and received the name of Anne, perhaps in memory of Anne Boleyn, for whom he always cherished great esteem. The child grew up an object of great admiration, more for her mental qualities, and the excellence of her religious character, than for any remarkable attractions of person. At a proper age she became the esteemed wife of Sir Richard Willis, bart. of Ditton in the county of Essex.

No further events of importance occurred during the sojourn of Mr. Fox on the continent. He printed four or five more octavo volumes towards completing his great work, and two or three minor works, all in latin; persevering through the greater portion of his time in the more humble task he had undertaken for his employer, with the utmost industry and integrity. At length the time arrived in which he might safely return to England. The death of Mary and the accession of Elizabeth created the opening for this desirable change; of which, however he did not avail himself till several months after his brethren from England were again settled in this country. The delay on his part appears to have arisen, not from any distrust of the new government, but from the advice of Grindal and his own conviction, that it was rather his duty to remain abroad some time longer the better to advance his important undertaking. It is not improbable that his peculiar opinions on church government rendered him either indifferent to or apprehensive of an immediate return. Though he disapproved of the heat of the rigid puritans, and called them on one occasion factious and turbulent spirits—a new sort of monks more pernicious than the old\*—it was yet manifest that he himself was partly a non-conformist; and he might wish to know how Elizabeth would deal with such ultra reformers, before he ventured to place himself at her mercy. Grindal, too, might be fearful of hastily exposing so bold a protestant and so good a man to the displeasure of a queen, known to be almost as hostile to dissenters from high episcopacy as to catholics themselves. That he wished, as some have insinuated to keep back Fox from preferment until he had secured preferment for himself, is contradicted by every part of Grindal's character, and every act of his behaviour toward his esteemed friend.

The first month of the year 1559 saw Elizabeth seated on the throne, and before the spring arrived most of the English exiles had returned to support the protestant cause at home. Mr. Fox, however, remained till the year had closed, ostensibly at least, for completing the first folio edition of his work in latin, the title page of which bears the date of 1559. Even then he was with difficulty persuaded to leave his studies and labours at Basle, though he knew that preferment awaited him in England. It does not appear that any communication had passed between him and his pupil, the young duke of Norfolk, during his absence; but soon after he arrived in London he addressed to his grace a latin letter, soliciting his future patronage and some present aid. He received an immediate and favourable answer, and soon took up his abode in the city mansion of the duke, then in Aldgate. There he was furnished with all desirable facilities for proceeding with the English translation of his recently published latin folio, and was thus engaged without interruption, for twelve or thirteen months; when he visited Norwich, whither his patron sent him on some commission, probably with the kindlier purpose of promoting his health and that of Mrs. Fox, who accompanied him, by a sojourn at one of his country seats. There Mrs. Fox gave birth to a first son in the spring of 1560; of whom the few particulars claiming insertion may at once be introduced.

\* This was done, we believe, when puritan ascendancy deprived his son of the fellowship he held in Magdalen college.

A note on the preceding page intimates that this son was trained and intended for the church, but was deprived of his fellowship in his father's college by puritan influence. To him we are indebted for what must be deemed the most accurate life of Mr. Fox, prefixed to the fourth English edition of the Acts and Monuments. He differs on several material facts from Anthony Wood; but every candid reader will take his integrity for granted, while drawing the inference that he must have been much better acquainted than Wood with the motives and movements of his father's course. Upon leaving Oxford, he took up his residence, probably as tutor, in the house of Sir Moyle Finch, an ancestor of the present earl of Winchelsea, at Eastwell in Kent, where he married a distant relation of his patron, a widow of the name of Leveson.

Mr. Fox continued in the duke of Norfolk's house till that ill-fated nobleman entangled himself in the affairs of Mary queen of Scots. His personal attachment to the unhappy queen is generally undoubted; on no other supposition can we account for the excess of his romantic zeal in her cause, and his willingness to sacrifice life rather than become indifferent to her fate. His gallantry brought him to the scaffold in the year 1572. Both Mr. Fox and his friend Nowell, then dean of St. Paul's, attended him on the melancholy occasion, and we may imagine much easier than describe the feelings of the former on witnessing the execution of one, to whom he had supplied the place of father, and whom, both as pupil and patron, he had held in the highest esteem. This event put the fidelity and prudence of Mr. Fox to the severest test. The tendency of the duke notwithstanding his protestant education, to the religion of his fathers, met from his tutor with no indulgence, else the latter would not have enjoyed as he did the smiles of government, and a respect from the queen amounting to avowed filial reverence. On the other hand, his inflexible protestantism did not extinguish or abate his sympathy with the duke, amidst the perils of his courtly life and the calamities of his early death. It is due both to Mr. Fox and the duke to remark that the latter died professing protestant principles.

Mr. Fox now took up his abode in the famous Grub-street, then the resort of authors of slender substance and laborious habits. In addition to unwearied study and toil through the week, he preached generally twice on the Lord's day, and was seldom recompensed except by the consciousness of labouring for the public good, and often hearing that he had actually promoted it. His popularity was such as to create the warm desire of the bishops that he would be sufficiently decided and comprehensive in his subscription to allow of his taking a place on the episcopal bench. As it was, he received from secretary Cecil a prebend in Salisbury cathedral, which he retained through life. It is said, also, that he was once summoned by archbishop Parker to subscribe, "that the reputation of his piety might give the greater countenance to conformity;" but that, instead of complying, he drew from his pocket the New Testament in Greek, and said emphatically, "To this I will subscribe." When reminded that he was already a dignitary of the church, a post which required subscription to the canon law, he mildly answered, "I have nothing in the church but a prebend at Salisbury, and if you take that from me much good may it do you." From this answer we infer that

he had somehow lost his vicarage of Cripplegate, and that the report of his having been a prebendary of Durham is incorrect.

Although he preached more sermons at this period than any other London divine, very few have ever been published. The most remarkable among them was delivered at St. Paul's cross in the year 1570, and was printed soon after by John Daye. The following year it was translated into latin, and in both languages it obtained a wide circulation, and was productive of much benefit to the protestant cause. The English edition, as it was preached, is printed in a fine black letter, and is preceded by the following quaint notice:—

“Faults excepted in the printing, which I pray thee good reader first to correct, and then read.” The faults are only four. The text of this sermon is the last two verses of the fifth chapter of St. Paul's second epistle to the Corinthians—which he thus translates:

“For Christ therefore, or in Christ's name, we come to you as messengers, even as God himself desiring you, we pray you for Christ's stead that you will be reconciled unto God. For him who knew no sin, God hath made to be sin for us, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him.”

The sermon contains much that we should be glad to extract: the following passage is too good to be omitted. “I remember, about the beginning of queen Mary's reign, there was a certain message sent, not from heaven, but from Rome—not from God, but from the pope—not by any apostle, but by a certain cardinal Pole, a legate of the pope's own white side. And what was the message? Forsooth, that the realm of England should be reconciled to the pope!” After such an introduction, the reader may imagine the sort of sermon John Fox would deliver: on such a back ground, every one will look for a bright and beautiful picture of evangelical truth, and no one will be disappointed. The sermon is followed by an admirable prayer, and by a “Postscript to papists.” Some of his letters mention this sermon, or rather the effect of preaching it, in terms which imply that as it was the first he had delivered at St. Paul's cross, so he wished it to be the last. No mention is made of his preaching on that remarkable spot a second time.

As no order of time is observed in any of the lists of Mr. Fox's works, and as several of them are without date or clue to the year in which they were published, the chief of those which have not been mentioned may here be introduced. He wrote treatises on the Eucharist, on the Apocalypse, on the doctrine of Election, and on Free Justification in Christ. The latter drew forth animadversions from Jerome Osorio, author of several theological works, whom he answered by a second treatise on the subject, entitled *Contra Osorium de Justitia*. He also published “A new year's gift concerning the deliverance of certain christians from Turkish galleys,” and an ingenious essay on the restoration of backsliders, which he entitles “*De lapsis per errorem in Ecclesiam restituendis*.” In addition to these and some other original productions, he undertook, at the request, or rather command, of archbishop Parker, an edition of the Saxon gospels; and he also edited the works of Tindal, Frith, and Barnes. His prefaces and letters were innumerable, and as Daye ob-

tained the name of the reformed printer, so Fox was called the author and *editor* of the reformation.

We now come to a point concerning Mr. Fox, which has been magnified into a prophetic and miraculous character. The boldness of his speech often led his unthinking admirers to attribute to his superior mind a prescience more than human or christian. The first remarkable instance of this was when he avowed his conviction that Mary would soon die, before he could possibly know of her decline and danger. This was soon ascribed to a prophetic acquaintance with the will of Heaven, imparted for the comfort of the banished English. Aylmer, afterwards bishop of London, who was then at Basle is appealed to in support of this extravagant conclusion. It is also confidently asserted, and on authority quite as good as that of the credulous bishop, that Fox predicted the defeat of the Spanish Armada. The good man's reputation receives neither support nor adorning from such an attribute, and had he assumed it, that reputation would not have stood so high as it does. No supernatural prescience was requisite in a sanguine protestant like him to foretell the defeat of the Spanish Armada; and the delight and heat of hope frequently rise high enough to assure us of the speedy fall of those by whom we are unrighteously coerced and persecuted.

Between prophecy and miracle there is but a slender partition. Prophecy is the miraculous in word, and miracle is the prophetic in deed. Hence the enthusiasm which made Mr. Fox a prophet, had no difficulty in announcing his words to have produced miraculous effects. He is said to have assured Lady Anne Heneage that she should not die of a mortal sickness, and contrary to the verdict of her physicians she recovered! On a visit to the earl of Arundel they were walking together towards the river, when Mr. Fox, wishing to depart, was exhorted by the earl to remain because the river, which he had to cross, was greatly agitated by a boisterous wind. Mr. Fox persisted in going, and said, "So let these waters deal with me, as I have in truth delivered to you all that I have spoken." He then stepped into the boat, when the wind ceased and there was a perfect calm! A Mrs. Honiwood, hopeless of life and even longing for death, sent for Mr. Fox, who assured her that she would recover and live to a great age. She is said to have thrown a small glass she had in her hand against the wall, asserting her recovery to be as impossible as that the glass should not be broken. The glass did not break, nor did she die till she had seen ninety winters, and reckoned as many descendants as there are days in the year.

Giving full credit to these statements without feeling the least necessity of drawing prophetic or miraculous inferences from them, we refer with greater pleasure to the high moral qualities by which Mr. Fox was distinguished. His charity was conspicuous. Coming on one occasion from the palace of Aylmer, bishop of London, he saw some miserable beggars at the gate. He found his own pockets empty; but stepped back to the bishop and requested the loan of five shillings, which he obtained, and on passing the gate again distributed the whole among the astonished and grateful mendicants. Some time after, the bishop reminded him of the debt and requested it might be paid: "My lord," answered Fox, "I laid it out for you, and soon you will be paid with

ample interest." He was a man of remarkable discretion: his motto was, "Give none offence." A gentleman with whom he was dining in a large party freely canvassed the character of the earl of Leicester. Mr. Fox felt it an imperious duty to rebuke the offender, and ordered a certain cup to be brought to him. Drinking to the gentleman's health he added, "This cup was given me by the earl of Leicester."

His disinterestedness might be traced through every step of a long life. Although his scruples prevented his promotion, he discovered that Elizabeth had consented to the advancement of some who were as averse to complete conformity as himself. He had courage enough even to rebuke the queen; but he preferred congratulating her on doing justice to others, and wrote an admirable latin panegyric on her conduct towards them, without a syllable of complaint about his own case. His characteristic compassion was often manifested, especially in interceding for the anabaptists, whose extravagance and suspected treason had drawn down upon them the vengeance of the court and council. He gave himself no rest till he had obtained pardon for the greater number and bitterly lamented the fate of two, natives of Holland, who suffered the sentence of death. To these testimonies in his favour we add one specimen of his wit. A young man in his presence remarked that he saw no reason why old authors should be so greatly admired. "No marvel indeed," answered Mr. Fox, "for if you could conceive the reason you would yourself admire them."

We come to the closing scene of this life of distinguished honour and usefulness. For some time Mr. Fox knew his departure to be at hand—a knowledge to be accounted for without ascribing it, as some have done to inspired and prophetic discernment. Incessant and untiring exertion had reduced a frame naturally vigorous and robust to almost the weakness of infancy: leaving him, however, as were his wishes and prayers, in the full possession of reason and enjoyment of religion to the last moment. He died at his lodging in the city on the 20th of April 1587, and was buried in the church at Cripplegate, of which he had been vicar some short time after his return to England. A monument in the chancel marks the spot of his interment: it is on the south side of the communion table, and contains a Latin inscription, partly concealed by woodwork subsequently raised. In the register of burials stands this plain record:—

"April 20th, 1587—John Fox, householder and preacher."

Foxe's Book of Martyrs.

## LIST OF ENGRAVINGS.

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	Page
Massacre of St. Bartholomew . . . . .	<i>(frontispiece)</i>
Burning of Ridley and Latimer . . . . .	<i>(vignette)</i>
Slaughter of Christians at Alexandria . . . . .	88
An Auto da Fé at Madrid . . . . .	155
A Lady brought before the Inquisition after the Torture . . . . .	165
Massacre at Vassy, headed by the Duke of Guise . . . . .	203
Persecutions in the Valleys of Piedmont . . . . .	250
King John resigning his Crown to the Pope's Legate . . . . .	283
Trial of Lambert before Henry VIII. . . . .	350
Burning of George Wishart . . . . .	438
Roger Clarke turning away from the Host . . . . .	448
Representation of a Manufactory of "Saints" . . . . .	496
Burning of John Bradford . . . . .	720
Bishop Ridley before the Convocation at Oxford . . . . .	843



AN UNIVERSAL HISTORY  
OF  
CHRISTIAN MARTYRDOM.

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BOOK I.

An account of the ecclesiastical matters which passed in the Church of Christ from its first establishment till the period of three hundred years; particularly showing the differences between the ancient and present Church of Rome; in which the absurdity, impiety, and blasphemous doctrines of that Church in modern times are fully illustrated.<sup>a</sup>

CHRIST, in the gospel of St. Matthew, chap. xvi., hearing the confession of Simon Peter, who first openly acknowledged him to be the Son of God, and perceiving the secret hand of his Father therein, answered again; and alluding to his name, called him a rock, upon which rock he would build his church so strong, that the gates of hell should not prevail against it, &c. In these words three things are to be noted. First, that Christ will have a church in this world. Secondly, that the same church should be mightily impugned, not only by the world, but also by the utmost strength and powers of all hell. And, thirdly, that the same church, notwithstanding the efforts of the devil and all his malice, should continue. This prophecy of Christ we see wonderfully verified, insomuch that the whole course of the church to this day, seems nothing else but a verification of it. First, that Christ hath set up a church, needs no proof. Secondly, what force, what sides and sorts of men, of princes, kings, monarchs, governors, and rulers of this world, with their subjects publicly and privately, with all their strength and cunning, have bent themselves against this church. And, thirdly, how the said church, notwithstanding all this, hath yet endured.

To bring these events home to the minds of Christians, it will be necessary to treat in the following order:

First, of the suffering time of the church, which continued from the apostles' age about three hundred years.

Secondly, of the flourishing time of the church, which lasted other three hundred years.

Thirdly, of the declining time of the church, which comprehends other three hundred years, or about the thousandth year after the ceasing of persecution. During which space of time, the church, although ambitious and proud, was much altered from the simple sincerity of the primitive time; yet in outward profession of doctrine and religion, it was

<sup>a</sup> To the disgrace of all modern editions which we have seen of the "Lives of the Martyrs," this most interesting and truly historical part of the original work has been totally omitted.

something tolerable, notwithstanding some corruption of doctrine, with superstition and hypocrisy, had then crept in.

Fourthly, followed the time of Antichrist, or, as it is scripturally called, the loosing of Satan, or desolation of the church, which contains the space of four hundred years. In this time both Christian doctrine and sincerity of life was almost extinguished; particularly in the chief heads and rulers of the west church, through the means of the Roman bishops, especially from Gregory the seventh, called Hildebrand, Innocentius the third, and the friars who crept in with him, till the time of John Wickliffe and John Huss, during a space of four hundred years.

Fifthly and lastly, after this time of Antichrist reigning in the church of God by violence and tyranny, followed the reformation, or, as it may properly be called, the purging of the church of God, wherein Antichrist begins to be revealed, and his antichristian doctrine to be detected, the number of his church decreasing, and the number of the true church increasing greatly.

With respect to the church of Rome, in all the ages above specified, it challenged to itself the supreme title, and ringleading of the whole universal church on earth, by whose direction all other churches have been governed. In writing therefore of the church of Christ, one cannot but intermeddle with the acts and proceedings of the said church, because the doings and orderings of all other churches, from time to time, as well in England as in other nations, have chiefly depended upon it; in order to give a general description, briefly to show, as in a summary table, the misguiding of that church, comparing the former primitive state of the church of Rome with the latter times of the same, and then to proceed more at large with all the particulars thereof.

The title and style of that church was such, that it surpassed all other churches: being called the Holy Universal Mother Church, which could not err; and the bishop thereof, Holy Father the Pope, Bishop Universal, Prince of Priests, Supreme Head of the Universal Church, and Vicar of Christ on Earth, who must not be judged, having all knowledge of Scripture, and all laws contained within his breast.

The jurisdiction of that bishop was such, that, challenging to himself both the swords, that is, both the keys of the scripture and the sceptre of the laity, he not only subdued all bishops under him, but also advanced himself above kings and emperors, causing some of them to lie under his feet, some to hold his stirrup, others to lead his horse by the bridle, to kiss his feet, and placing and displacing emperors, kings, dukes, and earls, where and when he listed, taking upon him to translate the empire at his pleasure;<sup>b</sup> first from Greece to France, from France

<sup>b</sup> The disgrace and contempt into which this Antichrist has now fallen, must convince all true Christians of the fulfilment of the scriptures, as they describe his overthrow. Nothing proves so clearly that Buonaparte was intended by the Almighty as a scourge to the nations of the Continent, as his conduct towards the popes of his time, whom he robbed, insulted, and trod under foot, with as great a degree of contumely as preceding popes did the rightful but bigoted sovereigns of great nations in former ages. Some years ago, when the Editor of this work was making a tour through Italy, he was shewn the statues of the popes which are preserved in the pantheon at Rome. It was shortly after the death of Pius VI.; and he remarked that there was only one niche remaining unfilled. The guide, with a melancholy shake of the head, observed that a prophecy had long pre-

to Germany, preferring and deposing whom he pleased, confirming them which were elected. Also being emperor himself, *sede vacante*, pretending authority or power to invest bishops, to give benefices, to spoil churches, to give authority to bind and loose, to call general councils, to judge over them, to set up religions, to canonize saints, to take appeals, to bind consciences, to make laws, to dispense with the law and word of God, to deliver from purgatory, to command angels, &c.

This doctrine was tedious to students, pernicious to men's consciences, injurious to Christ, and contrary in itself.

But it should be noted, that all these deformities, vain title, pretended jurisdiction, heretical doctrine, and schismatical life, came not into the church of Rome at once, nor sprang with the beginning of the same church, but with long working, and continuance of time, by little and little crept in, and came not to full perfection till the time partly of pope Sylvester, partly of pope Gregory the seventh in 1170, partly of Innocent the third, and finally of pope Boniface the eighth in 1300. Of these four popes, the first brought in the title, in the year of the Lord 670, which was never before publicly enacted and received or acknowledged in the church of Rome. The second brought in jurisdiction. The third, which was pope Innocent, with his rabble of monks and friars (amongst whom were Thomas Aquinas, Petrus Lombardus, Johannes Scotus) and such other bishops as succeeded in the see after him, corrupted and obscured the sincerity of Christ's doctrine and manners. And lastly, pope Boniface the eighth, and Clement the fifth, added the temporal sword to be carried before them. And they decreed, that no emperor (were he never so justly elected) should be sufficient and lawful, without the pope's admission. This was in the year 1300, whereby the pope's power was now brought to its full pride and perfection. And thus arose the corruption of the Romish church in continuance of years by degrees, and not at one time, as is here shown.

Hence the church of Rome, as it is now governed with this titular jurisdiction, and institution of doctrine, never descended from the primitive age of the apostles, or from their succession, *nisi tantum æquivoce*<sup>c</sup>, *et non univoce*; like as *Sancta Maria picta non est Sancta Maria, et homo pictus non est homo*: that is, as the picture of the Holy Virgin is not the Holy Virgin, and as a man painted on the wall is not a man: so it is to be said of the church of Rome, that although it hath the name of the church Apostolic, and doth bring forth a long genealogy of outward succession from the apostles, as the Pharisees in Christ's time brought their descent from Abraham their father; yet all this is but only *æquivoce*, that is, the name only, and not in effect or matter.

With respect to the order and qualities of life, let us ask of this Ro-

vailed in that city, that *when the niche in question should be filled there would be no need for any others*. Since then the temporal authority of the pope has been degraded even to ridicule; and every hour seems to prognosticate that the papal supremacy is approximating to its end, at least on the continent.

<sup>c</sup> *Æquivoce*, that is in name only, and not in deed. *Univoce*, that is both in name and also in definition and effect, agreeing with the name.

man clergy, where was this church of theirs which now is, in the ancient time of the primitive church of Rome ; with this pomp and pride ; with this riches and superfluity ; with this *gloria mundi*, and name of cardinals ; with this extortion, bribing, buying and selling of spiritual dignities ; these annats, reformations, procurations, exactions, and other practices for money ; this avarice insatiable, ambition intolerable, fleshly filthiness most detestable, barbarousness and negligence in preaching, promise-breaking faithlessness, poisoning and supplanting one another ; with such schisms and divisions, which never were more practised than in the elections and courts of Rome within these seven hundred years ; with such extreme cruelty, malice, and tyranny in burning and persecuting their poor brethren to death ?

If a man were to write at large all the schisms that have been in the church of Rome since the time of Damasus the first, what a volume would it require ? Or if here should be recorded all whom this church hath burnt and put to death, who would be able to number them ?

If there were no other difference in the matter, but only corruption of life, all that we would tolerate, or impute to the common frailty of man, and charge them no farther than we might charge ourselves. But besides this deformity of life, wherein they have strayed from the former steps of the true church of Rome, we have to charge them in greater points, more nearly affecting the substantial ground of the church.

Although Victor, bishop of Rome, in the year 200, went about to excommunicate the east churches for the observance of Easter day ; yet neither did he proceed therein, nor was he permitted by Ireneus so to do. And although Boniface the first, writing to the bishops of Carthage, required of them to send up their appellations to the church of Rome, alleging the decree of the Nicene council for his authority ; the bishops and clergy of Carthage assembling together in a general council (called the sixth council of Carthage) to the number of two hundred and seventeen bishops, after that they had perused the decrees in the authentic copies of the Nicene council, and found no such order, made a public decree, that none out of that country should make any appeal beyond the see, &c. It is no wonder if appeals were forbidden them to be made to Rome ; for here in England the kings would not permit any to appeal from them to Rome, till Henry II. from political motives submitted to the influence of pope Alexander III. on account of the murder of Thomas à Becket. And also in France the like prohibitions were expressly made by Ludovicus Pius, anno 1264, which forbade, by a public instrument called *Pragmatica sanctio*, all exactions of the pope's court within that realm. The like was done also by king Philip, named Le Bel, anno 1296, which not only restrained all sending or going of his subjects to Rome, but also that no money, armour, nor subsidy should be transported out of his realm. King Charles the fifth, surnamed the Wise, and his son likewise, Charles the sixth, also punished as traitors certain seditious persons for appealing to Rome.

The like resistance was made in France, against the pope's reservations, preventions, and other practices of his usurped jurisdiction, in the days of pope Martin the fifth, anno 1418, when king Henry the sixth in Eng-

land, and king Charles the seventh in France, both accorded with the pope in investing and in the collation of benefices; yet notwithstanding the high court of parliament in France did not admit the same, but still maintained the old liberty and customs of the French church. And when the duke of Bedford came with the king's letters patent to have the pope's procurations and reservations admitted, the parliament would not agree to it, but the king's procurator-general was obliged to interfere.

The Roman emperors made frequent attempts to curtail and check the powers of the popes. The emperor Honorius enacted a law, that none should be made bishops of Rome through ambition, charging all ecclesiastical ministers to cease from ambition; appointing, moreover, that if two were elected together, neither of them should be taken, but the election to proceed to another, who was to be chosen by a full consent of voices.

To this may be added also the law and constitution of Justinian the emperor, ratified and renewed afterwards in the council of Paris, in the time of king Ludovicus Pius; where all bishops and priests were expressly forbidden to excommunicate any man before his cause was known and proved to be such, for which the ancient canons of the church would have him to be excommunicate. And if any should proceed contrary to this law, then the excommunicate person to be absolved by the authority of a higher decree, and the excommunicate to be sequestered from the communion, so long as should seem convenient to him that had the execution thereof, as is expressed 24. q. 3. *De illicita*. Justinian also, in his laws and constitutions, ordained many things of high importance in church matters, such as to have a determinate number of churchmen or clerks in churches; also concerning monasteries and monks; how bishops and priests should be ordained; the removing of ecclesiastical persons from one church to another; the constitution of the churches in Africa; and that the holy mysteries should not be performed in private houses, so that whoever should attempt the contrary should be deprived. *Const.* 58. Also concerning the order and manner of funerals; and that bishops should not keep from their flock. The same Justinian granted to the clergy of Constantinople the privilege of the secular court in cases only civil, and such as touched not the disturbance of the bishop: in all criminal causes he left them to the judgment of the secular court. He also gave laws and decrees for breach of matrimony. And in his *Const.* 123, after the doctrine of St. Paul, he commanded all bishops and priests to sound out their service and to celebrate the mysteries, not after a secret manner, but with a loud voice, so as they might not only be heard, but also that the faithful people might understand what was said and done; whereby we learn that divine prayers and service was then in the vulgar tongue.

These and numerous other instances that could be adduced, shew that even in the early ages of papacy the sovereigns of Europe were jealous of, and adverse to, the institutions and authority of the popes; insomuch that they thought it necessary to point out to the catholic bishops and

priests what they ought to consider as their duty. Carolus Magnus, besides his other laws and political edicts, called five synods, one at Mentz, the second at Rome, the third at Rheims, the fourth at Cabillon, the fifth at Arelate, where sundry rites and ordinances were given to the clergy, about eight hundred and ten years after Christ. The same Carolus also decreed, that only the canonical books of Scripture should be read in the church and none other; which before was also decreed anno 417, in the third general council of Carthage. This monarch also exhorted bishops and priests, to preach the word with a godly injunction; and ordered them to dispense with the superstition which is used at certain places in the burial of the dead.

The said kings and emperors likewise forbade that any freeman or citizen should enter the profession of a monk, without licence asked of the king; and added a double cause for this regulation, first, because many not for mere devotion, but for idleness, and avoiding the king's wars, do give themselves to religion; again, that many be craftily circumvented and deluded by subtle covetous persons seeking to get from that which they have; that no young children or boys should be shaven, or enter any profession, without the will of their parents; and that no young maiden should take the veil or profession of a nun before she came to sufficient discretion of years to discern and chuse what to follow. That none should be interred or buried thenceforth within the church: which also was decreed by Theodosius and Valentinianus forty years before them. The said Carolus, two and twenty years before this emperor, enacted that murderers, and such as were guilty of death by the law, *should have no sanctuary by flying into the church, &c.* which also was decreed by Justinian three hundred years before Carolus.\*

Amongst the numerous other improprieties of the modern church of Rome may be mentioned their vowsons and pluralities of benefices, which were then things as much unknown as they are now pernicious to the church, by taking away all free election of ministers from the flock of Christ.

As these inconveniences came and crept in chiefly by the pretended authority and jurisdiction abused in this latter church of Rome; so it cannot be denied, but the said latter church of Rome hath taken and attributed to itself much more than either the limits of God's word gives, or as stands with the example of the old Roman church, in these three things especially.

The first is this, that whatsoever the Scripture giveth and referreth, either to the whole church universally, or to every particular church severally, this present church of Rome doth arrogate to itself absolutely and only; both doing injury to other churches, and also abusing the Scrip-

\* This singular historical fact forcibly shews the increase of the papal supremacy in modern ages. The sanctuary of the church, in catholic countries, is a safeguard for murderers and criminals of every description. In Italy and Spain, in particular, to the present day, a man who chuses to murder another in the public streets receives protection from entering the porches of a church, and a summary vengeance would fall upon any one who should molest him in such a sacred spot. One of the writers in the Spectator has introduced a beautiful story from a subject of this nature: it is the adventure of a gentleman who takes refuge in a church after killing his antagonist in a duel.

tures of God. For though the Scripture doth give authority to bind and loose, it limiteth it neither to person nor place, that is, not to the city of Rome more than other cities, nor to the see of Peter more than to other apostles; but giveth it clearly to the church, whereof Peter did bear the figure, so that wheresoever the true church of Christ is, there is annexed power to bind and loose, given and taken merely as from Christ, and not immediately by the pope or bishop of Peter's see.

The second point wherein this present church of Rome abuses its jurisdiction contrary to the Scripture and steps of the old Roman church, is this, that it extendeth its authority farther and more amply, than either the warrant of the word, or example of time, will give. For although the church of Rome hath (as other particular churches have) authority to bind and absolve, yet *it hath no authority to absolve subjects from their oath, subjection, and loyalty to their rulers and magistrates, to dispense with perjury, to pronounce remission where no earnest repentance is seen before, to number remission by days and years, to dispense with things expressly in the word forbidden, or to restrain that which the word maketh free, to divide religion into religions, to bind and burthen consciences with constitutions of men, to excommunicate for worldly matters*, such as not ringing of bells at the bishop's coming, for not bringing litter for their horses, for not paying their fees and rents, for withholding the church goods, for holding on their prince's side in princely cases, for not going at the pope's commandment, for not agreeing to the pope's election in another prince's realm, with other such things more vain than these, &c. Again, although the Scripture giveth leave and authority to the bishop and church of Rome to minister sacraments; yet it giveth no authority to make sacraments, much less to worship sacraments. And though their authority serveth to baptise men, yet it extendeth not to christen bells; neither have they authority by any word of God to add to the word of God, or take from the same, to set up unwritten verities under pain of damnation, to make other articles of belief, to institute strange worship, otherwise than he hath prescribed who hath told us how he would be worshipped, &c.

The third abuse of the pope's jurisdiction is, that as in spiritual jurisdiction they have vehemently exceeded the bounds of Scripture, so they have impudently intermeddled themselves in the temporal jurisdiction, wherein they have nothing to do. Insomuch that they have translated their empire, they have deposed emperors, kings, princes, rulers, and senators of Rome, and set up others or the same again at their pleasure; they have also proclaimed wars, and have warred themselves. And though emperors in ancient times have dignified them with titles, have enlarged them with donations, and they received their confirmation by the emperors, yet, like ungrateful clients to such benefactors, they afterwards stamped upon their necks, made them hold their stirrup, and also the bridle of their horse; have likewise caused them to seek confirmation at their hand; and, in fact, have made themselves emperors, *sede vacante, et in discordia electionis*, and also have been senators of the city; moreover, have extorted by their own hands the plenary fulness of power and jurisdiction of both the swords, especially since the time of pope Hildebrand; which Hildebrand deposing Henry, the fourth

emperor, made him give attendance at his city gate. And after him pope Boniface the eighth shewed himself to the people on the first day like a bishop, with his keys before him; and the next day in his robes imperial, having a naked sword borne before him, like an emperor; this happened in the year 1298.

Thus having sufficiently shewn the manner of life, title, jurisdiction, and government of the pope's see (in all which points it is to be seen how this latter church of Rome hath receded from the true ancient church of Rome) it now remains to proceed to the fourth and last point, which is of doctrine, wherein consisteth the chief matter that is with us and against them, and which proves that they are neither to be reputed for true catholics, being altered so far from them; *nor we other than heretics, if we should now join with them.* For the proof whereof, let us examine the doctrine and rites of the said church of Rome now used, and compare the same with the teaching of the ancient catholics, to the intent that such persons as have been hitherto, and yet are seduced by the false statements and image of this pretended church, perceiving what lieth within it, may be warned betimes either to avoid the peril, or if not, to blame none but themselves for their own wilful destruction.

And though I could here charge the new fangled church of the pope with seven or eight heinous crimes, such as blasphemy, idolatry, heresy, superstition, absurdity, vanity, cruelty, &c. yet to pass this matter with them, these two things I will and dare boldly affirm, that in this doctrine of the pope, now taught in the church of Rome, is neither any consolation of conscience, nor salvation of man's soul. For seeing there is no life nor soul's health but only in Christ, nor any promise of salvation or comfort made but only by faith in the Son of God, what assurance can there be of perfect peace, life, or salvation, where that which only maketh all, is least made of, and other things which are of least import are most esteemed?

And, therefore, as it may be truly said that this doctrine of the pope is void of all true comfort and salvation, so likewise it seemeth that those which addict themselves so devoutly to the pope's learning, were never earnestly afflicted in conscience, never humbled in spirit, nor broken in heart; never entered into any serious feeling of God's judgment, nor ever felt the strength of the law and of death. For if they had, they would soon have seen their own weakness, and been driven to Christ; then would they have seen what a horrible thing it is to appear before God the judge, or once to think on him (as Luther says) without Christ; and, on the contrary, they would know what a glory, what a kingdom, what liberty and life it were to be in Christ Jesus by faith.

And thus were the old Romans first taught by St. Paul writing to them. The same did Cornelius the Roman, the first that was baptized of the Gentiles, learn of St. Peter when he received the Holy Ghost, not by the deeds of the law, but only by hearing the faith of Jesus preached. And in the same doctrine the said church of the Romans many years continued, so long as they were in affliction. And in the same doctrine the bishop of Rome with his Romans now also should still remain, if they were such ancient Catholics as they pretend, and



would follow the old mother church of Rome; but what wonder if the Romans now in so long a tract of time have lost their first sap, seeing that the church of the Galatians, in the very time of St. Paul, their schoolmaster, he being amongst them, had scarcely turned his back but they almost turned from the doctrine of faith.

And lest any should think that we here protest against the corrupt errors and deformities of this latter church of Rome from motives of any rancour, rather than necessary causes and demonstrations, I shall take some little pains to descry the particular branches and contents of the pope's doctrine, now set forth, to the intent that all true christian readers, comparing the one with the other, may discern *what great alteration there is between the church of Rome that now is, and the church of Rome that then was planted by the apostles in the primitive time.* And to open to the simple reader some way whereby he may the better judge in such matters of doctrine, and not be deceived in discerning truth from error. First, we will mention certain principles or general positions, as infallible rules or truths of the Scripture, whereby all other doctrines and opinions of men being tried and examined, may the more easily be judged whether they be true or contrary to the holy Scripture.

CERTAIN PRINCIPLES, OR GENERAL VERITIES, FOUNDED UPON  
THE TRUTH OF GOD'S WORD,

1. As sin and death came originally by the disobedience of one to all men of his generation by nature, so righteousness and life came originally by the obedience of one to all men regenerated of him by faith and baptism. Rom. 5.

2. The promise of God was freely given to our first parents without their deserving; that the seed of the woman should break the serpent's head. Gen. 3.

3. Promise was given freely to Abraham before he deserved any thing, that in his seed all nations should be blessed. Gen. 12.

4. To the word of God neither must we add nor take from it. Deut. 4.

5. He that doth the works of the law shall live therein. Lev. 18. Gal. 3.

6. Accursed is he who abideth not in every thing that is written in the book of the law. Deut. 27. Gal. 3.

7. God only is to be worshipped. Deut. 6. Luke 4.

8. All our righteousness is like a defiled cloth. Isa. 64.

9. In all my holy hill they shall not kill nor slay, saith the Lord. Isa. 11; 65.

10. God loveth mercy and obedience more than sacrifice. Hos. 6. 1 Sam. 15.

11. The law worketh anger, condemneth and oppresseth sin. Rom. 3.

12. The end of the law is Christ, for righteousness to every one that believeth. Rom. 10.

13. Whosoever believeth and is baptized, shall be saved. Matth. ult.

14. A man is justified by faith, without works; freely by grace, not of ourselves. Gal. 2. Ephes. 2.

15. There is no remission of sins without blood. Heb. 9.

16. Whatsoever is not of faith is sin. Rom. 14. Without faith it is impossible to please God. Heb. 11.

17. One mediator between God and man, Christ Jesus. 1 Tim. 2. And he is the propitiation for our sins. 1 John 2.

18. Whosoever seeketh by the law to be justified, is fallen from grace. Gal. 5.

19. In Christ be all the promises of God, Est & Amen. 2 Cor. 1.

20. Let every soul be subject to superior powers, giving to Cæsar that which is Cæsar's, and to God that which is God's. Rom. 13.

These principles and infallible rules of Scripture, which no man can deny, prove that the doctrine of the pope's church is not catholic, but full of errors and heresies, as in the sequel will be more expressly and particularly explained.

#### A SUMMARY COLLECTION OF THE ERRORS, HERESIES, AND ABSURDITIES

Contained in the Pope's Doctrines, contrary to the Rules of God's Word, and the First Institution of the Church of Rome.

##### OF FAITH AND OF JUSTIFICATION.

First, as to the only means and instrumental cause of our justification, whereby the merits of Christ's passion is applied to us and made ours, ye heard before how St. Paul ascribes the same only to faith, as appears by all his letters, especially to the Romans; where he, excluding all kind of works, ascribes all our salvation, justification, righteousness, reconciliation, and peace with God only to faith in Christ. Contrary to which doctrine, the pope and his church hath set up sundry other means of their own devising, whereby the merits of Christ's passion, they say, are applied to us and made ours, to the putting away of sins, and for our justification, as hope, charity, sacrifice of the mass, auricular confession, satisfaction, merit of saints, and holy orders, the pope's pardons, &c. So that Christ's sacrifice, stripes, and suffering, by this teaching, do not heal us, nor are beneficial to us, though we believe never so well, unless we had also these works and merits above recited. This error and heresy of the church of Rome, though it seems at first sight to the natural reason of man to be of small importance, yet if it be earnestly considered, it is in very deed the most pernicious heresy that ever crept into the church; upon which, as the only foundation, all or the most part of all the errors, absurdities, and inconveniences of the pope's church are grounded. For this being once admitted, that a man is not justified by his faith in Christ alone, but that other means must be sought by our own working and merits, to apply the merits of Christ's passion unto us; then is there neither any certainty left of our salvation, nor end in setting up new means and merits of our own devising for remission of sins. Neither has there been any heresy that either hath rebelled more presumptuously against the high majesty of God the Father, nor more perniciously hath injured the souls of the simple, than this doctrine.

Secondly, the christian reader in the gospel, reading of the great grace and sweet promises of God given to mankind in Christ his son, might thereby take much comfort of soul, and be at rest and peace with the Lord his God; but there comes in the pestiferous doctrine of these

heretics, wherewith they obscure this free grace of God to choke the sweet comforts of man in the Holy Ghost, and oppress Christian liberty, and bring us into spiritual bondage.

Thirdly, as in this their impious doctrine they shew themselves manifest enemies to God's grace, so they are no less injurious to christian men, whom they leave in a doubtful distrust of God's favour and of their salvation, contrary to the word and will of God, and right institution of the apostolic doctrine.

## OF SIN.

Of sin likewise they teach not rightly, nor after the institution of the apostles and the ancient church of Rome; as they consider not the deepness and largeness of sin, supposing it still to be nothing else but the inward actions with consent of will, or the outward, such as are against will: whereas the essence of sin extends not only to these, but also comprehends the blindness and ignorance of the mind, lack of knowledge, the untowardness of man's mind, the privy rebellion of the heart against the law of God, the undelighting will of man to God and his word, &c.

## OF PENANCE OR REPENTANCE.

Of penance, this corrupt Lateran church of Rome has made a sacrament (contrary to the fourth principle), which penance, say they, standeth of three parts, contrition, confession, and satisfaction canonical. Contrition, as they teach, may be had by strength of free-will, without the law and the Holy Ghost, *per actus elicitis*, through man's own action and endeavour. Which contrition first must be sufficient, and so it meriteth remission of sin. In confession they require a full rehearsal of all sins, *whereby the priest knowing the crimes, may minister satisfaction accordingly*. And this rehearsing of sins, *ex opere operato*, deserveth remission, contrary to the fourteenth principle before mentioned. Satisfaction they call *opera indebita*, enjoyed by the ghostly father. And this satisfaction (say they) taketh away and changeth eternal punishment into temporal pains, which pains also it doth mitigate. *And again, these satisfactions may be taken away by the pope's indulgence, &c.*

## OF FREE WILL.

Concerning free-will, as it may in some case be admitted, that men without grace may do some outward functions of the law, and keep some outward observances or traditions; so as touching things spiritual and appertaining to salvation, the strength of man being not regenerate by grace, is so infirm and impotent that he can perform nothing neither in doing well nor willing well; though, after he be regenerated by grace, may work and do well, but yet that there still remains, notwithstanding, a great imperfection of flesh, and a perpetual repugnance between the flesh and spirit. And thus was the original church of the ancient Romans first instructed, from which we may see now how far this latter church of Rome has degenerated, which affirms, that men without grace may perform the obedience of the law, and prepare themselves to grace by working, so that those works may be meritorious and obtain grace. Which grace once obtained, then men may (say they)

perfectly perform the full obedience of the law, and accomplish those spiritual actions and works which God requires, and to those works of condignity deserve everlasting life. As to the infirmity which still remains in nature, that they do not regard nor once speak of.

#### OF INVOCATION AND ADORATION.

Besides these uncatholic and almost unchristian absurdities and defect from the apostolical faith above specified, let us consider the manner of their invocation, not to God alone, as they should, but to dead men, saying that saints are to be called upon, *tanquam mediatores intercessionis*, as mediators of intercession; *Christum vero tanquam mediatorem salutis*, and Christ as the mediator of salvation. They affirm, moreover, that Christ was a mediator only in time of his passion, which is repugnant to the words of St. Paul, writing to the old Romans, chap. viii., where he, speaking of the intercession of Christ, saith, "who is even at the right hand of God, who also maketh intercession for us," &c. And if Christ be a mediator of salvation, what needs then any other intercession of saints for our suits? Or what does he want more of the saints, who is sure to be saved only by Christ?

Hitherto also pertains the worshipping of relics, and the false adoration of sacraments, that is, the outward signs of the thing signified, contrary to the seventh principle before stated. Add to this also the profanation of the Lord's supper, contrary to the use for which it was ordained, in reserving it after the communion ministered, in setting it to sale for money, and falsely persuading both themselves and others, that the priest doth merit both to himself who speaks, and to him who hears *ex opere operato, sine bono motu utentis, &c.* that is, only by the mere doing of the work, though the party that useth the same hath no motion in him.

#### OF SACRAMENTS, BAPTISM, AND THE LORD'S SUPPER.

With respect to sacraments, their doctrine is likewise corrupt and erroneous.

In the sacrament of baptism they are to be reproved, not only for adding to the simple words of Christ's institution divers many new-found rites and fantasies of men, but also where the use of the old church of Rome was only to baptise men, *they baptise also bells, and apply the words of baptism to water, fire, candles, stocks, and stones, &c.*

But especially in the supper of the Lord their doctrine most filthily swerves from the right meaning of the scripture, and should be exploded out of all christian churches. The first error is their idolatrous abuse by worshipping, adoring, censing, knocking, and kneeling to it, in reserving also and carrying about in pomp and processions in towns and fields. Secondly, also in substance thereof their teaching is monstrous, leaving no substance of bread and wine to remain, but only the real body and blood of Christ, putting no difference between calling and making. Because Christ called bread his body, therefore, say they, *he made it his body*, and so of a wholesome sacrament make a perilous idol: and that which the old church of Rome did ever take to be a mystery, they turn into a blind mist of mere accidents to deceive the people; and to worship a thing made, for their maker; a creature for their creator; and

that which was threshed out of a wheaten sheaf, they set up in the church and worship for a saviour; and when they have worshipped him, then they offer him to his Father; and when they have offered him, then they eat him up, or else close him fast in a cell, where if he corrupt and putrify before he be eaten, then they burn him to powder and ashes. And notwithstanding they know well by scripture that the body of Christ can never corrupt and putrify, yet for all this corruption will they needs make it the body of Christ, and burn all them who believe not that which is against true christian belief.

## OF MATRIMONY.

Contrary to the ordinances of the scripture, the new catholics of the pope's church call marriage a state of imperfection, and prefer single life be it never so impure, before the former, pretending that where the one replenishes the earth, the other fills heaven. Ministers and priests such as are found to have wives, they not only remove out of their place, but also pronounce sentence of death upon them, and account their children illegitimate. Again, as good as the third part of the year they exempt and suspend from liberty of marriage. Besides all this, they have added a novel prohibition of spiritual kindred, that is, that such as have been gossips, or godfathers and godmothers together in christening another man's child, must not by their law marry together. Finally, in this doctrine and cases of matrimony, they gain much money from the people, nourish adultery, and fill the world with offences that give great occasion of murdering infants.

## OF MAGISTRATES AND CIVIL GOVERNMENT.

It is known what rules and lessons St. Paul gave to the old Romans concerning magistrates, to whose authority he would have all human creatures subjected, as they are the ministers of God, having the sword given unto them, wherewith they ought to repress false doctrine and idolatry, and maintain that which is true and right, Rom. xiii. Now let us survey the pope's proceedings, and mark how far he transgresses in this, as he doth in all other points, from true christianity.

1. First, *The pope with all his clergy, exempt themselves from all civil obedience.*

2. They arrogate to themselves authority to ordain and constitute, without leave or knowledge of the ordinary magistrate.

3. They take upon themselves to depose and set up rulers and magistrates when they please.<sup>f</sup>

## OF PURGATORY.

The paradoxes, or rather the fantasies, of the latter church of Rome, concerning purgatory, are monstrous, and neither old nor apostolical.

1. First (they say) there is a purgatory where souls burn in fire after this life.

2. The pain of purgatory differs nothing from the pains of hell, but only that it has an end; the pains of hell have none.

<sup>f</sup> It is likely that this degree of power is lost to them for ever; but it still remains their nominal prerogative.

3. The painful suffering of this fire scours away the sins before committed in the body.

4. The time of these pains endures in some longer, in some less, according as their sins deserve.

5. After the time of their pains has expired, then the mercy of God translates them to heavenly bliss, which the body of Christ hath bought for them.

6. The pains of purgatory are so great, that if all the beggars of the world were seen on the one side, and but one soul in purgatory on the other side, the whole world would pity more that one, than all the others.

7. The whole time of punishment in this purgatory must continue till the fire has scoured away the spots of every sinful soul there burning, unless there come some release.

8. Helps and releases that may shorten the time of their purgation, may be obtained by the pope's pardon and indulgences, sacrifices of the altar, dirges and trentals, prayer, fasting, &c.

Lack of belief of purgatory bringeth to hell.

In short, let us examine the whole religion of this latter church of Rome, and we shall find it to consist altogether in outward and ceremonial exercises; as outward confession, absolution at the priest's hand, outward sacrifice of the mass, buying of pardons, purchasing of obiits, external worshipping of images and relics, pilgrimage to this place or that, building of churches, founding of monasteries, outward works of the law, outward gestures, garments, colours, choice of meats, difference of times and places, peculiar rites and observances, set prayers, and number of prayers prescribed, fasting of vigils, keeping of holidays, coming to church, hearing of service, external succession of bishops and of Peter's see, external form and notes of the church, &c. So that by this religion to make a true christian and a good catholic, there is scarcely any working of the Holy Ghost required. As for example, to make this matter more demonstrable, let us define a christian man after the pope's making, whereby we may see the better what is to be judged of the scope of his doctrine.

#### A CHRISTIAN MAN, AFTER THE POPE'S MAKING, DEFINED.

According to the catholic religion, a true christian man is thus defined: first, to be baptised in the Latin tongue (*which the godfathers profess they cannot understand*), then confirmed by the bishops; the mother of the child to be purified; after he is grown in years, then to come to the church to keep his fasting days, to fast the lent, to come under *benedicite*; that is, to be confessed of the priest, to do his penance, at Easter to take his rites, to hear mass and divine service, to set up candles before images, to creep to the cross, to take holy bread and water, to go in procession, to carry his palms and candle, and to take ashes; to fast the ember days, rogation days, and vigils; to keep the holidays, to pay his tithes and offerings, to go on pilgrimage, to *buy pardons*, to worship his Maker over the priest's head, and to receive the pope for his supreme lord, and to obey his laws; to receive St. Nicholas' clerks, to have his beads, and to give to the high altar; to

take orders if he will be a priest, to keep his vow, and not to marry; when he is sick to be anointed and take the rites of the holy church, to be buried in the church-yard, to be rung for, to be sung for, to be buried in a friar's cowl, and to conform living and dying to the Romish rule. All these points being observed, who can deny but this is a devout man, and perfect christian catholic, *and sure to be saved*, as a true faithful child of the holy mother church?

Now look upon this definition, and say, good reader, what faith or spirit, or what working of the Holy Ghost in all this doctrine is to be required. The grace of our Lord Jesus give the true light of his gospel to shine in our hearts. Amen.

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## SECTION II.

Containing a history of the first Ten Persecutions of the Primitive Church, from the year of our Lord, 67, and the reign of Nero Domitius, till the time of Constantine the Great; in which are detailed the lives and actions of the principal Christian martyrs of both sexes, who suffered for their faith in Europe and in Africa.

THE dreadful martyrdoms we are now about to describe, arose from the persecutions of the Christians by pagan fury, in the primitive ages of the church, during the space of three hundred years, until the time of Constantine the great.<sup>g</sup>

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

<sup>g</sup> Eusebius was the principal historian who has transmitted to us an account of the sufferings of these blessed martyrs, and to his works we are indebted for many valuable anecdotes not to be found in any other writer.

<sup>h</sup> De Civit. 22. cap. 6.

The first martyr to our holy religion was its Blessed Founder himself.<sup>i</sup> His history is sufficiently known, as it has been handed down to us in the New Testament; nevertheless it will be proper here to give an outline of his sufferings, and more particularly as they will be followed by those of the apostles and evangelists. (A. D. 1 to 18.) The persecutions by the emperors took place long after the death of our Saviour.

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

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

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

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

When he had chosen his twelve apostles, he preached the celebrated sermon on the Mount; after which he performed several miracles, par-

<sup>i</sup> A reverend editor of an edition of the Book of *Christian Martyrs*, published some years since, with a pompous title-page, and announced as the only "*complete and original History of Martyrdom*," has absurdly described as martyrs, Noah, Lot, Joseph, the Children of Israel, Shadrach, Meshach, Abednego, &c. It is, nevertheless, evident, that these characters, who sustained with all becoming fortitude, as we learn from scripture, the malignity of their persecutors, ought not to be classed amongst the blessed martyrs, whose lives were sacrificed for their perseverance in the doctrines of Christianity. As well might be recorded in a history of martyrs every man who had been in danger of perishing by the hand of an assassin.



ticularly the feeding of the multitude, and the walking on the surface of the sea.

On the celebration of the passover, Jesus supped with his disciples; he informed them that one of them would betray him, and another deny him: in short he preached his farewell sermon. A multitude of armed men soon afterwards surrounded him, and Judas kissed him, in order to point him out to the soldiers, who were not acquainted with his person. In the conflict occasioned by the apprehension of Jesus, Peter cut off the ear of Malchus, the servant of the high-priest, for which Jesus reproved him, and, by touching the wound, healed it. (A. D. 34.) Peter and John followed Jesus to the house of Annas, who refusing to judge him, sent him bound to Caiaphas, in whose house Peter denied Christ, as he had predicted; but, on Christ reminding him of his perfidy, the apostle went out and wept bitterly.

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

Previous to the crucifixion, the Jews, by way of derision, clothed Christ in a regal robe, put a crown of thorns upon his head, and a reed, for a sceptre, in his hand; they then mocked him with ironical compliments, spat in his face, smote his cheeks, and taking the reed out of his hand, they struck him with it upon the head. Pilate would have released him, but the general cry was, Crucify him, crucify him; which occasioned the governor to call for a basin of water, and having washed his hands, he declared himself innocent of the blood of Christ, whom he termed a just person. But the Jews said, "Let his blood be upon us, and our children:" and the governor found himself obliged to comply with their wishes. Their imprecation, too, has manifestly taken place, as they have ever since been a people scattered and cursed.<sup>j</sup>

<sup>j</sup> A similar example of punishment is to be noted amongst the Romans; for when Tiberius Cæsar, having received accounts from Pontius Pilate, of the doings of Christ, of his miracles, resurrection, and ascension into Heaven, and how he was received as a divine messenger, was himself also moved with belief, and conferred with the whole senate of Rome to have Christ adored as God: they refused, because that, contrary to the law of the Romans, he was consecrated for God, before the senate of Rome had so decreed and approved him. Tertul. Apol. cap. 5. Thus the senate following rather the law of man than of God, the permission of God stirred up their own emperors against them in such a degree, that the senators were almost all destroyed, and the whole city horribly afflicted for the space of three hundred subsequent years. Tiberius, who for a great part of his reign was a moderate prince, was afterwards a severe tyrant, who neither favoured his own mother, spared his own nephews, nor the princes of the city, nor such as were his own counsellors, of whom, to the number of twenty, he left only two or three alive. History relates him to have been so tyrannical, that in his reign many were accused, and condemned with their wives and children. In one day, according to Suetonius, he ordered twenty persons to be drawn to the

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

When Christ was upon the cross, the earth was covered with darkness, and the stars appeared at noon-day, which struck the people and even the Jews with terror. In the midst of his tortures, He cried out, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me!" and then expressed a desire to drink, when one of the soldiers gave him, upon the point of a reed, a sponge dipped in vinegar, which however he refused. About three o'clock in the afternoon he gave up the ghost, and at that moment a violent earthquake commenced, when the rocks were rent, the mountains trembled, and the dead emerged from the graves. These and other prodigies attended the death of Christ, and such was the mortal end of the Redeemer of mankind. It is not a subject of wonder that the heathens who lived so long after him, endeavoured by persecution and the most horrid cruelties, to prevent the propagation of that source of comfort and happiness in all affliction, which has resulted from the blessed system of faith that our Saviour confirmed with his blood.

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

##### I. ST. STEPHEN.

This early martyr was elected, with six others, as a deacon of the first Christian church. He was also an able and successful preacher. The principal persons belonging to five Jewish synagogues entered into dispute with him; but he, by the soundness of his doctrine, and the

place of execution. By him, also, Pilate, under whom Christ was crucified, was apprehended and accused at Rome, deposed, then banished to the town of Lyons, and at length committed suicide. Herod and Caiaphas also did not long escape. We shall here, combining historical facts with our narrative, inform the reader, that it was in the reign of Tiberius, that Jesus, the Son of God, in the four-and-thirtieth year of his age, which was the seventeenth of this emperor, suffered martyrdom. After this, Tiberius lived six years, during which time no persecution had begun in Rome against the Christians. It was in the reign of this emperor that St. Paul was converted to the faith.

strength of his arguments, overcame them all, which so much irritated them, that they bribed false witnesses to accuse him of blaspheming God and Moses. On being carried before the council, he made a noble defence; but this so much exasperated his judges, that they resolved to condemn him. At the instant Stephen saw a vision from heaven, representing Jesus, in his glorified state, sitting at the right hand of God. This vision so enraptured him, that he exclaimed, "Behold I see the heavens open, and the Son of Man standing on the right hand of God." This caused him to be condemned, and having dragged him out of the city they stoned him to death. On the spot where he was martyred, Eudocia, the empress of Theodosius, erected a superb church, and the memory of the martyr is annually celebrated on the 26th day of December.

The death of Stephen was succeeded by a severe persecution in Jerusalem, in which 2000 Christians, with Nicanor the deacon, were martyred, and many others obliged to leave their country.<sup>k</sup>

#### II. ST. JAMES THE GREAT.

He was a Galilean, and the son of Zebedee, a fisherman, the elder brother of St. John, and related to Christ himself; for his mother Salome was cousin to the Virgin Mary. Being one day with his father fishing in the sea of Galilee, he and his brother John were called by the Saviour to become his disciples. They cheerfully obeyed the mandate, and leaving their father, followed Jesus. It is to be observed, that Christ placed greater confidence in them than in any other of the apostles, Peter excepted. Christ called these brothers Boanerges, or sons of thunder, on account of their vigorous minds and zealous spirits.

When Herod Agrippa was made governor of Judea by the emperor Caligula, he raised a persecution against the Christians, and particularly selected James as an object of his vengeance. This martyr, on being condemned to death, showed such intrepidity and constancy of mind, that even his accuser was struck with admiration, and became a convert to christianity. This transition so enraged the people in power, that they condemned him likewise to death; when the apostle, and his penitent accuser, were both beheaded on the same day and with the same sword. These events took place in the year of Christ 44; and the 25th of July was fixed by the church for the commemoration of James's martyrdom. About the same period, Timon and Parmenas, two of the seven deacons, suffered martyrdom, the former at Corinth, and the latter at Philippi, in Macedonia.

#### III. ST. PHILIP.

This apostle and martyr was born at Bethsaida, in Galilee, and was the first called by the name of disciple. He was employed in several important missions by Christ, and being deputed to preach in Upper

<sup>k</sup> Dorotheus, in his Synopsis, asserts, apparently upon good authority, that Nicanor, one of the seven deacons, with two thousand others, who believed in Christ, suffered on the same day when Stephen was martyred. He also adds, that Simon, another of the deacons, afterwards bishop of Bostrum, in Arabia, was there burned. Parmenas, another of the deacons, suffered at the same time.

Asia, laboured very diligently in his apostleship. He then travelled into Phrygia, and arriving at Heliopolis, found the inhabitants so sunk in idolatry, as to worship a large serpent. St. Philip, however, was the means of converting many of them to christianity, and even procured the death of the serpent. This so enraged the magistrates, that they committed him to prison, had him severely scourged, and afterwards crucified. His friend, St. Bartholomew, found an opportunity of taking down the body, and burying it; for which, however, he was very near suffering the same fate. The martyrdom of Philip happened eight years after that of James the Great, A. D. 52; and his name, together with that of St. James the Less, is commemorated on the 1st of May.

#### IV. ST. MATTHEW.

This evangelist, apostle, and martyr, was born at Nazareth, in Galilee; but resided chiefly in Capernaum, on account of his business, which was that of a tax-gatherer, to collect tribute of such as had to pass the sea of Galilee. On being called as a disciple, he immediately complied, and left every thing to follow Christ. After the ascension of his Lord, he continued preaching the gospel in Judea about nine years. Intending to leave Judea, to go and preach among the Gentiles, he wrote his gospel in Hebrew, for the use of the Jewish converts; but it was afterwards translated into Greek by St. James the Less. He then went to Ethiopia, ordained preachers, settled churches, and made many converts. He afterwards proceeded to Parthia, where he had the same success; but returning to Ethiopia, he was slain by a halberd in the city of Nadabar, about the year of Christ 60; and his festival is kept by the church on the 21st day of September. He was inoffensive in his conduct, and remarkably temperate in his mode of living.

#### V. ST. MARK.

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

#### VI. ST. JAMES THE LESS.

This apostle and martyr was so called to distinguish him from St. James the Great. He was the son of Joseph, the reputed father of Christ;

and after the Lord's ascension was elected bishop of Jerusalem. He wrote his general epistles to all Christians and converts whatever, to suppress a dangerous error then propagating, viz. "That faith in Christ was alone sufficient for salvation, without good works." The Jews, being at this time greatly enraged that St. Paul had escaped their fury, by appealing to Rome, determined to wreak their vengeance on James, who was now ninety-four years of age: they accordingly threw him down, beat, bruised, and stoned him; and then dashed out his brains with a club, such as was used by fullers in dressing cloths. His festival, together with that of St. Philip, is kept on the first of May.<sup>1</sup>

## VII. ST. MATTHIAS.

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

## VIII. ST. ANDREW.

This apostle and martyr was the brother of St. Peter, and preached the gospel to many Asiatic nations. On arriving at Edessa, the governor of the country, named Egeas, threatened him for preaching against

<sup>1</sup> Egissippus in his commentaries, gives the following interesting account of this martyr. —"James, the brother of our Lord, took in hand to govern the church after the apostles, being counted of all men, from the time of Christ, to be a just and perfect man. There were many others of the name; but this was born holy: he drank no wine nor any strong drink, neither did he eat any living creature, the razor never came upon his head, he was not anointed with oil, neither did he use bath; to him only was it lawful to enter into the holy place; neither was he clothed with woollen cloth, but with silk; and he entered into the temple, always upon his knees, asking remission for the people, so that his knees, by constant use, lost the sense of feeling, being benumbed and hardened like the knees of a camel. He was (for worshipping God, and craving forgiveness for the people), called the Just, and for the excellency of his life named Oblas, which is the safeguard and justice of the people, as the prophets declare of him: therefore, when many of the heretics which were among the people asked him what manner of man Jesus should be, he answered, that he was the Saviour. But the aforesaid heretics, neither believe the resurrection, nor that one shall come, who shall render unto every man according to his works; but as many as believe, they believe in James's faith. When some, therefore, of the princes did believe, there was a tumult made of the Scribes, Jews, and Pharisees, saying, it is dangerous lest that all the people do look for this Jesus as for Christ. Therefore, they gathered themselves together, and said to James—'We beseech thee restrain the people, for they believe in Jesus as though he were Christ; we pray thee persuade them all which come unto the feast of the passover of Jesus; for we are all obedient unto thee, and all the people do testify of thee that thou art just, neither that thou dost accept the person of any man; therefore persuade the people that they be not deceived in Jesus, and all the people and we will obey thee; therefore stand upon the pillar of the temple, that thou mayest be seen from above, and that thy words may be perceived of all the people, for to this passover all the tribes do come with all the country.' And thus the Scribes and Pharisees did set James upon the battlements of the church, and they cried unto him and said, 'Thou just man, whom we all ought to obey, because this people is led after Jesus, who is crucified, tell what is Jesus crucified?' And he answered with a great voice, 'What do you ask me of Jesus the Son of Man, seeing that he sitteth on the right hand of God, and shall come in the clouds of Heaven.' When many were persuaded of this, they glorified God upon the witness of James, and said, 'Hosanna in the highest to the Son of David.'"

the idols they worshipped. St. Andrew, persisting in the propagation of his doctrines, was ordered to be crucified, two ends of the cross being fixed transversely in the ground. He boldly told his accusers, that he would not have preached the glory of the cross, had he feared to die on it. And again, when they came to crucify him, he said that he coveted the cross, and longed to embrace it. He was fastened to the cross, not with nails, but cords; that his death might be more slow. In this situation he continued two days, preaching the greatest part of the time to the people; and expired on the 30th of November, which is commemorated as his festival.

#### IX. ST. PETER.

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

When Herod Agrippa caused St. James the Great to be put to death, and found that it pleased the Jews, he resolved, in order to ingratiate himself with the people, that Peter should be the next sacrifice. He was accordingly apprehended, and thrown into prison; but an angel of the Lord released him, which so enraged Herod, that he ordered the sentinels who guarded the dungeon in which he had been confined, to be put to death. St. Peter, after various miracles, retired to Rome, where he defeated the artifices, and confounded the magic of Simon Magus, a great favourite of the emperor Nero: he likewise converted to christianity one of the concubines of that monarch, which so exasperated the tyrant, that he ordered both St. Peter and St. Paul to be apprehended. During the time of their confinement, they converted two of the captains of the guard, and forty-seven other persons to christianity. Having been nine months in prison, Peter was brought from thence for execution, when after being severely scourged, he was crucified with his head downwards; which position, however, was at his own request.<sup>m</sup> His festival is observed on the 29th of June, on

<sup>m</sup> As to the cause and manner of his death there are many who describe them, as Hierome, Egissippus, Eusebius, Abdias, and others, although they do not all precisely agree in the time. The words of Hierome are these, "Simon Peter the son of Jonas, of the province of Galilee, and of the town of Bethsaida, the brother of Andrew, after he had been bishop of the church of Antioch, and had preached to the dispersed of them that believed of the circumcision, in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia, in the

which day he as well as Paul suffered. His body being taken down, embalmed, and buried in the Vatican, a church was erected on the spot; but this being destroyed by the emperor Heliogabalus, the body was concealed till the 20th bishop of Rome, Cornelius, conveyed it again to the Vatican; afterwards Constantine the Great erected one of the most stately churches in the universe over the place. Before we quit this article, it is requisite to observe, that previous to the death of St. Peter, his wife suffered martyrdom for the faith of Christ, when he exhorted her, as she was going to be put to death, to remember her Saviour.

#### X. ST. PAUL.

This apostle and martyr was a Jew of the tribe of Benjamin, born at Tarsus in Cilicia. He was at first a great enemy to, and persecutor of the Christians; but after his miraculous conversion, he became a strenuous supporter of christianity.<sup>n</sup> At Iconium, St. Paul and St. Barnabas were near being stoned to death by the enraged Jews; on which they fled to Lycaonia. At Lystra, St. Paul was stoned, dragged out of the city, and left for dead. He, however, happily revived, and escaped to Derbe. At Philippi, Paul and Silas were imprisoned and whipped; and both were again persecuted at Thessalonica. Being afterwards taken at Jerusalem, he was sent to Cesarea, but appealed to Cæsar at Rome. Here he continued a prisoner at large for two years; and at length being released, he visited the churches of Greece and Rome, and preached in France and Spain. Returning to Rome, he was again apprehended, and by the order of Nero, martyred, by beheading.

second year of Claudius the emperor (which was about the year of our Lord 44) came to Rome to withstand Simon Magus, and there kept the priestly chair the space of five-and-twenty years, until the last year of the aforesaid Nero, which was the fourteenth year of his reign, in which he was crucified, his head being down, and his feet upward, himself so requiring, because he was, he said, unworthy to be crucified after the same form and manner as the Lord Jesus.

<sup>n</sup> The circumstances of the conversion of this apostle are not so well known as they ought to be: in fact, there are many important events in the lives of the martyrs which none can properly know but those who read the Greek and Latin works of theological historians. The following particulars of St. Paul are from Hieronymus, (*De viris Illustribus.*)

PAUL, before his conversion was called SAUL; and after performing many journeys and unspeakable labours in promoting the gospel of Christ, he suffered under persecution and was beheaded. Before he was converted he was a promoter of the death of Stephen. He was brought up under Gamaliel. While on his way to Damascus, the Lord's glory came suddenly upon him, and he was struck to the earth; on which, from a persecutor, he immediately became a professor, an apostle, and a martyr.

Among his labours in spreading the doctrine of Christ he converted to the faith Sergius Paulus, the proconsul of Cyprus, on which he took his name, and, was thence called Paulus instead of Saulus. After many labours he took to him Barnabas, and went up to Jerusalem to Peter, James, and John, where he was ordained, and sent out with Barnabas to preach to the Gentiles.

Besides what is mentioned of his miraculous conversion, in the sacred scriptures, we may add, that this apostle, in the 25th year after the passion of our Lord, and in the second of Nero, was sent in chains to Rome, where he almost daily disputed for two years against the Jews. Nero, who had not then broken out in his wickedness, caused him to be discharged, and he was sent to preach the gospel in the west, and about the coasts of Italy; where he did much good, and, to use his own words, was delivered by the Lord out of the lion's mouth. He was beheaded on the same day on which Peter was crucified.

Two days are dedicated to the commemoration of this apostle; the one to his conversion, which is on the 25th of January, and the other to his martyrdom, which is on the 29th of June, A. D. 72.

XI. ST. JUDE.

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

XII. ST. BARTHOLOMEW.

This apostle and martyr preached in several countries, performed many miracles, and healed various diseases. He translated St. Matthew's gospel into the Indian language, and propagated it in that country; but at length, the idolators growing impatient with his doctrines, severely beat and crucified him. He was scarcely alive when taken down and beheaded. The anniversary of his martyrdom is on the 24th of August.

XIII. ST. THOMAS.

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

XIV. ST. LUKE THE EVANGELIST.

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

XV. ST. SIMON.

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

XVI. ST. JOHN.

He was distinguished as a prophet, an apostle, a divine, an evangelist, and a martyr. He is called the beloved disciple, and was brother to James the Great. He was previously a disciple of John the baptist, and afterwards not only one of the twelve apostles, but one of the three to whom Christ communicated the most secret passages of his life. He founded churches at Smyrna, Pergamos, Sardis, Philadelphia, Laodicea, and Thyatira, to which he directs his book of Revelations. Being at Ephesus, he was ordered by the emperor Domitian to be sent bound to Rome, where he was condemned to be cast into a caldron of boiling oil.<sup>o</sup> But here a miracle was wrought in his favour; the oil did him no

<sup>o</sup> With respect to this punishment the Legend and Perionius say, it took place at Rome, Isidorus also writing of him, declares that he turned certain places of wood into gold, and



injury; and Domitian, not being able to put him to death, banished him to Patmos to labour in the mines, A. D. 73. He was, however, recalled by Nerva, who succeeded Domitian, but was deemed a martyr on account of his having undergone an execution, though it did not take effect. He wrote his epistles, gospel, and Revelation, each in a different style; but they are all equally admired. He was the only apostle who escaped a violent death, and lived the longest of any, he being nearly 100 years of age at the time of his death. The church devotes the 27th of December to his memory.

#### XVII. ST. BARNABAS.

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

#### ACCOUNT OF THE FIRST PRIMITIVE PERSECUTION,

Beginning in the year 67, under the reign of the emperor Nero.

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

Nero, finding that his conduct was greatly blamed, and a severe odium cast upon him, determined to charge the whole upon the Christians, at once to excuse himself, and have an opportunity of fresh persecutions. The barbarities inflicted on the Christians, during the first persecution, were such as excited the sympathy of even the Romans themselves.

stones by the sea-side into pearls, to satisfy the desire of those whom he had persuaded to renounce their riches; and they afterwards repenting that for worldly treasure they had lost Heaven, the apostle again changed the same into their former substance. It is said by Eusebius that he raised a widow and a young man from death to life. That he drank poison and it hurt him not. These and other miracles, though they may be true, and are found in several writers, yet are not mentioned in the sacred books, and may therefore be considered at best as apocryphal.

<sup>p</sup> Eusebius, speaking of his cruelties, says, that one might then see cities full of men's bodies, and carcasses cast out naked, without reverence of sex, in the open streets. Nero was the first who began persecution against the Christians, and not only in Rome, but also through the provinces, thinking to abolish and to destroy the name of Christians in all places. In consequence of his cruelties towards the Christians, he was the first who received the name of anti-christ. See Orosius, lib. 7. and Hist. Eccles. lib. 2. cap. 24.

Nero nicely refined upon cruelty, and contrived all manner of punishments for his victims. 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 garden. This persecution was general throughout the Roman empire; but it increased rather than diminished the spirit of christianity. Besides St. Paul and St. Peter, many others, whose names have not been transmitted to posterity, and who were mostly their converts and followers, suffered; the facts concerning the principal of them we shall proceed to describe.

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

ARISTARCHUS, the Macedonian, was born in Thessalonica, and being converted by St. Paul became his constant companion. He was with the apostle at Ephesus, during a commotion raised in that city by Demetrius the silversmith. They both received severe insults on the occasion from the populace, which they bore with christian patience, giving good advice in return for ill usage, and not in the least resenting any indignity. Aristarchus accompanied St. Paul from Ephesus into Greece, where they were very successful in propagating the gospel, and converting many to christianity. Having left Greece they traversed a great part of Asia, and made a considerable stay in Judea, where they were also very prosperous in making converts. After this Aristarchus went with St. Paul to Rome, where he suffered the same fate as the apostle; for being seized as a Christian, he was beheaded by the command of Nero.

TROPHIMUS, an Ephesian by birth, and a Gentile by religion, was converted by St. Paul to the christian faith. On his conversion he accompanied his master in his travels; and on his account the Jews raised great disturbance in the temple at Jerusalem, the last time St. Paul was in that city. They even attempted to murder the apostle, for having introduced a Greek into the temple; such an one being looked upon by the Jews with detestation. Lysias, the captain of the guard, however, interposed, and rescued St. Paul by force from the hands of the Jews. On quitting Jerusalem, Trophimus followed his master to Rome, and did him very essential service. He then attended him to Spain, and passing through Gaul, the apostle made him bishop of that province, and left him in the city of Arles. There he continued about twelve months, when he paid another visit to St. Paul in Asia, and went with him for the last time to Rome, where he was witness to the martyrdom of his master, which was but the fore-runner of his own: for being soon after seized on account of his faith, he was beheaded by order of the emperor Nero.

JOSEPH, commonly called BARSABAS, was a primitive disciple, and is usually deemed one of the seventy. He was, in some degree, related to the Redeemer; and he became a candidate, together with Matthias, to

fill the vacant place of Judas Iscariot, to which Matthias was elected. Ecclesiastical writers make very little other mention of Joseph; but Papias informs us, that he was once compelled to drink poison, which did not do him the least injury, agreeably with the promise of the Lord to those who believe in him. He was during his life a zealous preacher of the gospel; and having received many insults from the Jews, at length obtained martyrdom, being murdered by the pagans in Judea.

ANANIAS, bishop of Damascus, is celebrated in the sacred writings as the person who cured St. Paul of the blindness with which he was struck by the amazing brightness which shone upon him at his conversion. He was one of the seventy, and was martyred in the city of Damascus. After his death a christian church was built over the place of his burial, which is now converted into a Turkish mosque.

### ACCOUNT OF THE SECOND PRIMITIVE PERSECUTION.

#### UNDER THE EMPEROR DOMITIAN.

The emperor Domitian was naturally of a cruel disposition; he first slew his brother, and then raised a second persecution against the Christians. His rage was such, that he even put to death several Roman senators; some through malice, and others to confiscate their estates. He then commanded all the lineage of David to be sacrificed. Two Christians were brought before the emperor, and accused of being of the tribe of Judah, and line of David; but from their answers, he despised them as idiots, and dismissed them accordingly. He, however, was determined to be more secure upon other occasions; and on this plea he took away the property of many Christians, put several to death, and banished others. Among the numerous martyrs that suffered during this persecution was Simeon, bishop of Jerusalem,<sup>q</sup> who was crucified; and St. John, who was boiled in oil, and afterwards banished to Patmos. Flavia, the daughter of a Roman senator, was likewise banished to Pontus; and a cruel law was made, "That no Christian, once brought before the tribunal, should be exempted from punishment without renouncing his religion."

During this reign there were various tales published in order to injure the Christians. Among other falsehoods, they were accused of indecent nightly meetings, of a rebellious turbulent spirit, of being inimical to the Roman empire, of murdering their children, and even of being cannibals; and at this time, such was the infatuation of the Pagans, that if famine, pestilence, or earthquakes, afflicted any of the Roman provinces, it was charged on the Christians. These persecutions naturally multiplied the number of informers; and many, for the sake of gain, swore away the lives of the innocent. When any Christians were brought before the magistrates, a test was proposed, when, if they refused to take the oath, death was pronounced against them; and if they confessed themselves Christians, the sentence was the same. The various kinds of punishments and inflicted cruelties were, during this persecution, imprisonment, racking, searing, broiling, burning,

<sup>q</sup> A curious anecdote relative to Simeon will be found at the commencement of the third persecution.

scourging, stoning, hanging, and worrying. Many were lacerated with red hot pincers, and others were thrown upon the horns of wild bulls. After having suffered these cruelties, the friends of the deceased Christians were refused the privilege of burying their remains.

The following were the most remarkable individual 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 travelled into Egypt to study astronomy, and made particular observations on the great supernatural eclipse, which happened at the time of our Saviour's crucifixion. On his return to Athens he was highly honoured by the people, and at length promoted to the dignity of senator of that celebrated city. Becoming a convert to the gospel, he advanced from the worthy pagan magistrate to the pious christian pastor; for even while involved in the darkness of idolatry, he was as morally just as when he became a disciple and minister of Christ. After his conversion, the sanctity of his conversation and purity of his manners recommended him so strongly to the Christians in general, that he was appointed bishop of Athens. He discharged this duty with the utmost diligence till the second year of this persecution, A. D. 69, when he was apprehended, and received the crown of martyrdom, by being beheaded.

NICOMEDES, a Christian of distinction at Rome, during Domitian's persecution, made great efforts to serve the afflicted; comforting the poor, visiting the imprisoned, exhorting the wavering, and confirming the faithful. For those and other pious actions he was seized as a Christian, and was sentenced and scourged to death.

PROTASIUS and GERVASIUS were martyred at Milan; but the particular circumstances attending their death are not recorded.

TIMOTHY, the celebrated disciple of St. Paul, and bishop of Ephesus, was born at Lystra in the province of Lycaonia; his father was a Gentile, and his mother a Jewess; but both his parents and his grandmother embraced christianity, by which means Timothy was taught from his infancy the precepts of the gospel. Upon St. Paul's reaching Lycaonia, he ordained Timothy, and made him the companion of his labours. St. Paul mentions him with peculiar esteem, and declares, that he could find no one so truly united to him, both in heart and mind.

Timothy attended St. Paul to Macedonia, where, together with Silas, he laboured in the propagation of the gospel. When St. Paul went to Achaia, Timothy was left behind to strengthen the faith of those already converted, and induce others to adopt the true faith. St. Paul at length sent for Timothy to Athens, and then despatched him to Thessalonica, to protest to the suffering Christians there against the terrors of the persecution which then prevailed. Having performed his mission, he returned to Athens, and there assisted St. Paul and Silas in composing the two epistles to the Thessalonians. He then accompanied the apostle to Corinth, Jerusalem, and Ephesus. After performing several of his commissions for him and attending him on various journeys, the apostle constituted Timothy bishop of Ephesus, though he was only thirty years of age; and in two admirable epistles gave him instructions for his conduct. Timothy was so temperate in his living,

that St. Paul blamed him for being too abstemious, and recommended to him the moderate use of wine to recruit his strength and spirits.

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

### ACCOUNT OF THE THIRD PRIMITIVE PERSECUTION

UNDER THE ROMAN EMPERORS.

Only one year elapsed between the second and third Roman persecutions. Upon Nerva succeeding Domitian, he gave a respite to the Christians; but reigning only thirteen months, his successor Trajan, in the tenth year of his reign, and in the year 108, began the third persecution against them. While this persecution raged, Plinius Secundus, a heathen philosopher, wrote to the emperor in favour of the Christians,<sup>r</sup> to whose epistle Trajan returned this indecisive answer:—"That Christians ought not to be sought after, but when brought before the magistracy they should be punished." Provoked by this reply, Tertullian exclaimed in the following words: "O confused sentence! he would not have them sought for as innocent men, and yet would have them punished as guilty." His officers were uncertain, if carried on with severity, how to interpret the meaning of his decree. Trajan, however, soon after wrote to Jerusalem, and gave orders to exterminate the stock of David; in consequence of which, all that could be found of that race were put to death.<sup>s</sup>

<sup>r</sup> This second Pliny was one of the most strenuous defenders of the persecuted Christians. He wrote to Trajan to stop the cruelties exercised against them. He observed in his letter, that he examined them, "and found some, *who, though they had embraced christianity, did not object to sacrifice to the gods, and to Trajan's image.*"—"Others," said he, "confessed they had been Christians, but afterwards denied the fact, affirming to me the whole sum of that sect or error to consist in this, that they were wont, at certain times appointed, to convene before day, and to sing certain hymns to one Christ their God, and to confederate among themselves: to abstain from all theft, murder, and adultery; to keep their faith, and to defraud no man; which done, then to depart for a time, and afterward to resort again to take food in company together, both men and women, one with another, and yet without any act of evil." "In the truth whereof to be further certified whether it were so or not, I caused two maidens to be laid on the rack, and with torments to be examined of the same. But finding no other thing in them, but only strange and immoderate superstition, I thought to cease of farther inquiry, till I might be further advertised in the matter from you."

<sup>s</sup> When the order for extermination arrived at Jerusalem, it appears, according to Egissippus, that certain sectaries of the Jewish nation accused Simeon, then bishop of Jerusalem, and son of Cleophas, as being of the stock of David, and that he was a Christian. Some of his accusers, says Egissippus, were apprehended and proved to be of the stock of David, and so were justly put to death themselves who sought the destruction of others. Of Simeon, the blessed bishop, Egissippus thus writes, "The Lord's nephew, when he was accused to Attalus the pro-consul, by the malice of the Jews, to be of the line of David, and to be a Christian, was scourged many days together, being of age 120 years; which martyrdom he endured so firmly, that both the consul and the multitude wondered at the sight."

About this period the emperor Trajan was succeeded by Adrian, who continued the persecution with the greatest rigour. When Phocas, bishop of Pontus, refusing to sacrifice to Neptune, was, by his immediate order, cast first into a hot lime-kiln, and being drawn from thence, was thrown into a scalding bath till he expired.

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

Ignatius had either presentiment or information of his fate; for writing to Polycarp at Smyrna, he thus described his adventures; "From Syria, even till I came to Rome, had I battle with beasts, as well by sea as land, both day and night, being bound in the midst of a cruel legion of soldiers who, the more benefits they received at my hands, behaved so much the worse unto me. But being now well acquainted with their injuries, I am taught every day more and more. *And would to God I were once come to the beasts which are prepared for me; which also I wish with gaping mouths were ready to come upon me, whom also I will provoke that they, without delay, may devour me. And if they will not, unless they be provoked, I will then enforce them against myself. Now begin I to be a scholar; I esteem no visible things, not yet invisible things, so that I may get or obtain Christ Jesus. Let the fire, the gallows, the wild beasts, the breaking of bones, the pulling asunder of members, the bruising of my whole body, and the torments of the devil and hell itself come upon me, so that I may win Christ Jesus!*"

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

About this time, Alexander, bishop of Rome, with his two deacons, were martyred; as were Quirinus and Hermes, with their families;

Zenon, a Roman nobleman, and about ten thousand other Christians.<sup>t</sup> Many were crucified on Mount Ararat, crowned with thorns, and spears run into their sides, in imitation of Christ's passion. Eustachius, a brave and successful Roman commander, was ordered by the emperor to join an idolatrous sacrifice, in celebration of some of his own victories; but his faith was so strong, that he nobly refused it. Enraged at the denial, the ungrateful emperor forgot the services of this skilful commander, and ordered him and his whole family to be martyred.

During the martyrdom of Faustines and Jovita, brothers and citizens of Bressia, their torments were so many, and their patience so firm, that Calocerius, a pagan, beholding them, was struck with admiration, and exclaimed, in ecstasy, "Great is the God of the Christians!" for which he was apprehended and put to death. Many other cruelties and rigours were exercised against the Christians, till Quodratius, 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. He went so far as to command that no Christian should be punished on the score of religion or opinion only; but this gave occasion against them to the Jews and pagans, for then they began to suborn false witnesses, to accuse them of crimes against the state.

The history of Nicephorus makes mention of Anthia, a godly woman, who committed her son Eleutherius to Anicetus, bishop of Rome, to be brought up in the doctrines of the christian faith. He afterwards became bishop in Apulia, and was there beheaded with his mother Anthia. Justus also and Pastor, two brethren, ended their lives in a city of Spain called Complutum, by an exemplary martyrdom.

Adrian died in the year 138, and was succeeded by Antoninus Pius, so amiable a monarch, that his people gave him the title of "The Father of Virtues." Immediately on his accession to the throne, he published an edict, forbidding further persecution of the Christians, and concluded it in these words:—"If any hereafter shall vex or trouble the Christians, having no other cause but that they are such, let the accused be released, and the accusers be punished." This stopped the persecution, and the Christians enjoyed a respite from their sufferings during this emperor's reign, though their enemies took every occasion to do them what injuries they could.<sup>u</sup>

<sup>t</sup> Florigellus, the author of "Flores Historiarum," affirms that Alexander bishop of Rome was beheaded seven miles out of the city, in the year 105. Eusebius records no more of him, but that in the third year of Adrian he ended his life and office, after he had been bishop ten years. Various miracles are reported of this Alexander, in the canon legends, and lives of saints. A singular circumstance, well worthy of notice, is mentioned of him. He is said to have been the founder of *holy water*, which was *mixed with salt*, to purge and purify those on whom it is sprinkled, after receiving the priest's blessing. It is also believed that he was the first who ordained water to be mixed with wine in the chalice.

<sup>u</sup> Adrian died of a bleeding at the nose in the year 129, according to some historians. He commanded the cessation of the persecutions against the Christians some years before his death; as is proved by Justin, who quotes his letter to Fuodanus, the pro-consul, in which he orders that nothing shall be done to the Christians, unless they are complained of as malefactors acting contrary to law. The piety and goodness of Antoninus were so great,

## ACCOUNT OF THE FOURTH PRIMITIVE PERSECUTION

UNDER THE ROMAN EMPERORS, WHICH COMMENCED A. D. 162.

ANTONINUS PIUS was succeeded by Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Verus, who began the fourth persecution, in which many Christians were martyred, particularly in several parts of Asia, and France. Such were the cruelties used in this persecution, that many of the spectators shuddered with horror at the sight, and were astonished at the intrepidity of the sufferers. Some of the martyrs were obliged to pass, with their already wounded feet, over thorns, nails, sharp shells, &c.; others were scourged till their sinews and veins lay bare; and after suffering most excruciating tortures, they were destroyed by the most terrible deaths.

GERMANICUS, a young and holy Christian, being delivered to the beasts on account of his faith, behaved with such astonishing courage, that several pagans became converts to a faith which inspired so much fortitude. This so enraged others, that they cried he merited death, as they did also of Polycarp, the pious and venerable bishop of Smyrna. At the death of Germanicus, many of the multitude wondering at the beloved martyr for his constancy and virtue, began suddenly to cry with a loud voice, "Destroy the wicked men, let Polycarp be sought for." And whilst a great uproar and tumult began to be raised upon these cries, a certain Phrygian, named Quintus, lately arrived, was so afflicted at the sight of the wild beasts, that he rushed to the judgment seat, and abused the judges, for which he was put to death without mercy or delay.

POLYCARPUS hearing that persons were seeking to apprehend him, escaped, but was discovered by a child. From this circumstance, and having dreamed that his bed suddenly became on fire, and was consumed in a moment, he concluded that it was God's will he should suffer martyrdom. He therefore did not attempt to make a second escape when he had an opportunity of doing it. Those who apprehended him were amazed at his serene countenance and gravity. After feasting them, he desired an hour for prayer, which being allowed, he prayed with such fervency, that his guards repented they had been instrumental in taking him. He was, however, carried before the pro-consul, condemned, and conducted to the market place. Wood being provided, the holy man earnestly prayed to Heaven, after being bound to the stake; and as the flames grew vehement, the executioners gave way on each side, the heat becoming intolerable. In the mean time the bishop sung praises to God in the midst of the flames, but remained unconsumed therein, and the burning of the wood spreading a fragrance around, the guards were much surprised. Determined, however, to put an end to his life, they struck spears into his body, when the quantity

that he used to say, that he had rather save one citizen, than destroy one thousand of his adversaries. At the beginning of his reign, such was the state of the church, as Adrian his predecessor had left it, that although there was no edict to persecute the Christians, yet the tumultuous rage of the heathen multitude did not cease to disturb and afflict the quiet people of God, imputing to the Christians whatever misfortune happened contrary to their desires.



of blood that issued from the wounds extinguished the flames. After considerable attempts, they put him to death, and burnt his body when dead, not being able to consume it while living. Twelve other Christians who had been intimate with Polycarp, were soon after martyred.<sup>v</sup>

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

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

JUSTIN, the celebrated philosopher, fell a martyr in this persecution. He was a native of Neapolis, in Samaria, and was born A. D. 103. He had the best education the times could afford, and travelled into Egypt, the country where the polite tour of that age was made for improvement. At Alexandria he was informed of every thing relative to the seventy interpreters of the sacred writings, and shewn the rooms, or rather cells, in which their work was performed. Justin was a great lover of truth, and an universal scholar; he investigated the Stoic and Peripatetic philosophy, and attempted the Pythagorean system; but the behaviour of one of its professors disgusting him, he applied himself to the Platonic, in which he took great delight. About the year 133, when he was thirty years of age, he became a convert to christianity. Justin wrote an elegant epistle to the Gentiles, to convert them to the faith he

<sup>v</sup> The ancient historians assert, that this extraordinary event had such an effect upon the people that they began to adore the martyr; and the pro-consul was admonished not to deliver the body, lest the people should leave Christ and begin to worship him. It appears from the accounts of Ireneus and Eusebius, that Polycarp was a very aged man, who had served Christ eighty-six years, and laboured also in the ministry about the space of seventy years. He was a scholar and hearer of John the evangelist, and was placed by him in Smyrna. Of him also Ignatius makes mention in his epistle which he wrote in his journey to Rome, going towards his martyrdom, and commends to him the government of the church at Antioch, whereby it appears that Polycarp was then in the ministry. .

had newly acquired, and lived in so pure and innocent a manner, that he well deserved the title of a christian philosopher. He likewise employed his talents in convincing the Jews of the truth of the christian rites, and spent much time in travelling, till he took up his abode in Rome, and fixed his habitation on the Veminal mount. He kept a public school, taught many who afterwards became great men, and wrote a treatise to confute heresies of all kinds. As the pagans began to treat the Christians with great severity, Justin wrote his first apology in their favour, and addressed it to the emperor Antoninus, to two princes whom he had adopted as his sons, and to the senate and people of Rome in general. This piece, which occasioned the emperor to publish an edict in favour of the Christians, displays great learning and genius.

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

It appears that only seven pieces of the writings of this celebrated martyr, and great philosopher, are now extant, viz: The Two Apologies; An Exhortation to the Gentiles; An Oration to the Greeks; A Treatise on Divine Monarchy; A Dialogue with Trypho the Jew; and An Epistle to Diagnetus. His *Oratio*, and *Parænesis ad Grecos*, are well known.

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

At this time some of the northern nations having armed against Rome, the emperor marched to encounter them; he was, however, drawn into an ambuscade, and dreaded the loss of his whole army. Surrounded by mountains and enemies, and perishing with thirst, the troops were driven to the last extremity. All the pagan deities were invoked in vain; when the men belonging to the militine, or thundering legion, who were nearly all Christians, were commanded to call upon God for succour: they immediately withdrew from the rest, prostrated themselves upon the earth, and prayed fervently. A miraculous deliverance immediately ensued: a prodigious quantity of rain fell, which being caught by the men, and

filling the dykes, furnished a sudden and astonishing relief. The emperor, in his epistle to the Roman senate, wherein the expedition is described, after mentioning the difficulties to which he had been driven, speaks of the Christians in the following manner.

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

It appears that the storm which so 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 were entirely recovered. This affair occasioned the persecution to subside for some time, at least in those parts immediately under the inspection of the emperor; for we find that it soon after raged in France, particularly at Lyons, where the torture, to which many Christians were put, almost exceeds the powers of description. All manner of punishments were adopted, torments, and painful deaths; such as being banished, plundered, hanged, burnt. Even the servants and slaves of opulent Christians were racked and tortured, to make them accuse their masters and employers. The following were the principal of these martyrs: Vetius Agathus, a young man, who having pleaded the Christian cause, was asked if he was a Christian; when answering in the affirmative, he was condemned to death. Many, animated by this young man’s intrepidity, boldly owned their faith and suffered like him. Blandina, a Christian, but of weak constitution, being seized and tortured on account of her religion, received so much strength from Heaven, that her torturers became frequently tired; and were surprised at her being able to bear her torments for so great a length of time, and with such resolution. Sanctus, a deacon of Vienna, was put to the

<sup>w</sup> Marcus Aurelius, in this letter, states his army to have consisted of 975,000 fighting men; but this must be a prodigious overstatement.

torture, which he bore with great fortitude, and only cried. "I am a Christian." Red hot plates of brass were placed upon those parts of the body that were tenderest, which contracted the sinews; but remaining inflexible, he was re-conducted to prison. Being brought from his place of confinement a few days afterwards, his tormentors were astonished to find his wounds healed, and his person perfect: however they again proceeded to torture him; but not being able, at that time to take his life, they remanded him to prison, where he remained for some time, and was at length beheaded. Biblias, a timid woman, had been an apostate, but having returned to the faith, was martyred, and bore her sufferings with great patience. Attalus, of Pergamus, was another sufferer; and Pothinus, the venerable bishop of Lyons, who was ninety years of age, was so treated by the enraged mob, that he expired two days after their outrage in the prison.

At Lyons, exclusive of those already mentioned, the martyrs were compelled to sit in hot iron chairs till their flesh broiled. This was inflicted with peculiar severity on Sanctus, already mentioned, and some others. Some were sown up in nets, and thrown on the horns of wild bulls; and the carcasses of those who died in prison, previous to the appointed time of execution, were thrown to dogs. Indeed, so far did the malice of the pagans proceed, that they set guards over the bodies while the beasts were devouring them, lest the friends of the deceased should get them by stealth; and the offals left by the dogs were ordered to be burnt. The martyrs of Lyons are said to have been forty-eight in number, and their executions happened in the year of Christ, 177. They all died with great fortitude, glorifying God and the Redeemer.

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

They were then separated, that they should not condole with each other, and he began to tamper with Epipodius, the younger of the two. He pretended to pity his condition, and entreated him not to ruin himself by obstinacy. "Our deities," continued he, "are worshipped by the greater part of the people in the universe, and their rulers; we adore them with feasting and mirth, while you adore a crucified man: we, to

honour them, launch into pleasures; you, by your faith, are debarred from all that indulges the senses. Our religion enjoins feasting, your's fasting; our's the joys of licentious blandishments, your's the barren virtue of chastity. Can you expect protection from one who could not secure himself from the persecutions of a contemptible mob? Then quit a profession of such austerity, and enjoy those gratifications which the world affords, and which your youthful years demand." Epipodius, in reply, contemning his compassion, said, "Your pretended tenderness is actual cruelty; and the agreeable life you describe is replete with everlasting death. Christ suffered for us, that our pleasures should be immortal, and hath prepared for his followers an eternity of bliss. The frame of man being composed of two parts, body and soul; the first as mean and perishable, should be rendered subservient to the latter. Your idolatrous feasts may gratify the mortal, but they injure the immortal part: that cannot, therefore, be enjoying life which destroys the most valuable moiety of your frame. Your pleasures lead to eternal death, and our pains to eternal happiness."

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

Valerian and Marcellus, who were nearly related to each other, were imprisoned at Lyons, in the year 177, for being Christians. By some means, however, they made their escape, and travelled different roads. The latter made several converts in the territories of Besançon and Chalons; but being apprehended, was carried before Priscus, the governor of those parts. This magistrate, knowing Marcellus to be a Christian, ordered him to be fastened to some branches of a tree, which were drawn for that purpose. When he was tied to different branches, they were let go, with a design to tear him to pieces by the suddenness of the rebound. This invention failing, he was conducted to Chalons, to be present at some idolatrous sacrifices, refusing to assist in them, he was put to the torture, and afterwards fixed up to the neck in the ground, in which position he expired, A. D. 179, after remaining three days. Valerian was also apprehended, and, by the order of Priscus, was first brought to the rack, and then beheaded in the same year as his relation Marcellus.

About the same time the following martyrs suffered: Benignus, at Dijon; Spensippus, and others, at Langres; Androches, Thyrsesus, and Felix, at Salieu; Sympoviam and Florella, at Antun; Severinus, Felician, and Exuperus, at Vienna; Cecilia, the virgin, at Sicily; and Thrasus, bishop of Phrygia, at Smyrna.

In the year 180 the emperor Antoninus died, and was succeeded by his son Commodus, who did not imitate his father in any respect. He

had neither his virtues nor his vices; he was without his learning and his morality, and at the same time without his prejudices against christianity. His principal weakness was pride, and to that may be chiefly ascribed the errors of his reign; for having fancied himself Hercules, he sacrificed those of every creed to his vanity, who refused to subscribe to his own absurd opinions.

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

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

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

\* This Commodus is said in history to have been so sure and steady-handed in casting the dart, that in the open theatre, before the people, he would encounter with the wild beasts, and be certain of striking them in the place specified. Among his vicious qualities, he was so far overcome in pride and arrogance, that he would be called Hercules, and many times would shew himself to the people, wishing to be counted king of men, as the lion is of beasts. Once on his birth-day, Commodus calling the people of Rome together, having his lion's skin upon him, made sacrifice to Hercules and Jupiter, causing it to be cried through the city that Hercules was the patron and defender of the city. There was at the same time at Rome, Vincentius, Eusebius, Peregrinus, and Potentianus, learned men, and instructors of the people, who, following the steps of the apostles, went from place to place, where the gospel was not yet preached, converting the Gentiles to the faith of Christ. These, hearing the madness of the emperor and the people, began to reprove their idolatrous blindness; and while teaching in some villages and towns, they discovered and converted the senator Julius. Vide Vincentius, lib. 10. cap. 11. and Chron. Henr. de Erfordia.

About the time of Commodus, among other learned men and famous teachers whom God stirred up to confound the persecutors by learning and writing, as the martyrs to confirm the truth with their blood, was Seraphion, bishop of Antioch, and Egissippus a writer of Ecclesiastical History from Christ's passion to his time. About the same time Heraclitus, first began to write annotations upon the New Testament. Theophilus bishop of Cesarea, Dionysius bishop of Corinth, a man famously learned, also wrote divers epistles to churches. By the letters of Dionysius, we understand it to be the custom at that time, to read in the churches such written epistles as were sent by bishops and teachers to the congregations, as appears by these words to the church of the Romans and to Soter, "This day we celebrate the holy dominical day, in which we have read your epistle, which also we will read for our exhortation; like as we do read the epistle of Clement sent to us before." By him also mention is made of keeping of Sunday holy, of which we find no mention in

Julius, a Roman senator, becoming a convert to christianity, was ordered by the emperor to sacrifice to him as Hercules. This Julius absolutely refused, and publicly professed himself a Christian. On this account, after remaining in prison a considerable time, he was in the year 190, pursuant to his sentence, beat to death with a club.

#### ACCOUNT OF THE FIFTH GENERAL PERSECUTION

UNDER THE ROMAN EMPERORS.

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

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

Leonidas, the father of the celebrated Origen, was beheaded for being a Christian. Previous to the execution, his son, in order to encourage him, wrote to him in these remarkable words: "Beware, Sir, that your care for us does not make you change your resolution." Many of Origen's hearers likewise suffered martyrdom; particularly two brothers, named Plutarchus and Serenus: another Serenus, Heron, and Heraclides were beheaded. Rhais had boiling pitch poured upon her head, and was then burnt. Marcella her mother, and Potamienna her sister, were executed in the same manner as Rhais. Basilides, an officer belonging to the army, who was ordered to attend their execution, became a convert on witnessing their fortitude. When Basilides, as an officer, was required to take a certain oath, he refused, saying, that he could not

ancient authors before his time, except only in Justin the martyr, who in his description declares on two occasions especially used for Christians to congregate together:—first, when any convert was to be baptized, the second was upon the Sunday, which was wont for two causes then to be hallowed: first, because upon that day God began the creation; secondly, because Christ upon that day first shewed himself, after his resurrection, to his disciples.

swear by the Roman idols, as he was a Christian. The people could not at first believe what they heard; but he had no sooner confirmed his assertion, than he was dragged before the judge, committed to prison, and beheaded immediately.

Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, was born in Greece, and received a christian education. It is generally supposed, that the account of the persecution at Lyons was written by him. He succeeded the martyr Pothinus as bishop of Lyons, and ruled his diocese with great propriety; he was a zealous opposer of heresies in general, and wrote a celebrated tract against heresy, which had great influence at the time. Victor, the bishop of Rome, wanting to impose a particular mode of keeping Easter there, it occasioned some disorder amongst the Christians. In particular, Irenæus wrote him a synodical epistle in the name of the Gallic churches. This zeal, in favour of christianity, pointed him out as an object of resentment to the emperor; and he was accordingly beheaded in A. D. 202.

The persecutions about this time extended to Africa, and many were martyred in that part of the globe; the principal of whom was Perpetua, a married lady of about twenty-six years of age, with an infant child at her breast. She was seized for being a Christian. Her father, who tenderly loved her, went to console her during her confinement, and attempted to persuade her to renounce christianity. Perpetua, however, resisted every entreaty. This resolution so much incensed her father, that he beat her severely, and did not visit her for some days after; and, in the mean time, she and some others who were confined were baptised, as they were before only catechumens. On being carried before the pro-consul Minutius, she was commanded to sacrifice to the idols: refusing, she was ordered to a dark dungeon, and deprived of her child. Two deacons, however, Tertius and Pomponius, who had the care of persecuted Christians, allowed her some hours daily to inhale the fresh air, during which time she had the satisfaction of being allowed to nourish her infant. Foreseeing that she should not long be permitted to take care of it, she recommended it strongly to her mother's attention. Her father at length paid her a second visit, and again entreated her to renounce christianity. His behaviour was now all tenderness and humanity; but inflexible to all human influence, she knew she must leave every thing for Christ's sake; and she only said to him, "God's will must be done." He then, with an almost bursting heart, left her to her fate.

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



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

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

The crimes and false accusations laid against the Christians at this time, were sedition and rebellion against the emperor, sacrilege, murder of infants, incestuous pollution, eating raw flesh, libidinous converse, for which the people called *gnostici* were disgraced. It was objected against them that they worshipped the head of an ass, a report propagated by the Jews. They were charged also with worshipping the sun, because before the sun rose, they met together, singing their morning hymns to the Lord, and because they prayed together towards the east; but particularly because they would not with them worship the idolatrous gods of their adversaries.<sup>y</sup>

Seperatus, and twelve others, were likewise beheaded; as was Androclus in France. Asclepiades, bishop of Antioch, suffered many tortures, but was spared his life. Cecilia, a young lady of a good family in Rome, was married to a gentleman named Valerian. Being a Christian herself, she soon persuaded her husband to embrace the same faith; and his conversion was speedily followed by that of Tibertius his brother. This information drew upon them all the vengeance of the laws; the two brothers were beheaded; and the officer who led them to execution becoming their convert, suffered in a similar manner. When the lady was apprehended, she was doomed to death in the following manner: she was placed in a scalding bath, and having remained there a considerable time, her head was stuck off with a sword, A. D. 222.

<sup>y</sup> According to Tertullian, the captains and presidents of the persecution under the emperor Severus, were Hilerianus, Vigellius, Claudius, Hermianus, ruler of Cappadocia, Cecilius, Capella, Vespronius, also Demetrius, mentioned by Cyprian, and Aquila, judge of Alexandria, of whom Eusebius, in his 6th book, gives a particular account.

Calistus, bishop of Rome, was martyred A. D. 224; but the manner of his death is not recorded: and in A. D. 232, Urban, bishop of Rome, met the same fate. Agapetus, a boy of Præneste, in Italy, who was only fifteen years of age, refusing to sacrifice to the idols, was severely scourged and then hanged up by the feet, and boiling water poured over him. He was afterwards worried by wild beasts, and at last beheaded. The officer, named Antiochus, who superintended this execution, while it was performing, fell suddenly from his judicial seat, and cried out in extreme agony from sudden disease!

#### ACCOUNT OF THE SIXTH GENERAL PERSECUTION

UNDER THE ROMAN EMPERORS.

Maximus, who was emperor in A. D. 235, raised a persecution against the Christians; and in Cappadocia, the president Semiramus, made great efforts to exterminate the Christians from that kingdom. A Roman soldier, who refused to wear a laurel crown bestowed on him by the emperor, and confessed himself a Christian, was scourged, imprisoned, and put to death. Pontianus, bishop of Rome, for preaching against idolatry, was banished to Sardinia, and there destroyed. Anteros, a Grecian, who succeeded this bishop in the see of Rome, gave so much offence to the government by collecting the acts of the martyrs, that, he suffered martyrdom, after having held his dignity only forty days. Pammachius, a Roman senator, with his family and other Christians, to the number of forty-two, were, on account of their religion, all beheaded in one day, and their heads fixed on the city gates. Simplicius, another senator, suffered martyrdom in a similar way. Calepodius, a christian minister, after being inhumanly treated, and barbarously dragged about the streets, was thrown into the river Tiber with a mill-stone fastened about his neck. Quiritus, a Roman nobleman, with his family and domestics, were, on account of their christian principles, put to most excruciating torture, and then the most painful death. This nobleman suffered the confiscation of his effects, poverty, reviling, imprisonment, scourging, torture, and loss of life, for the sake of his Redeemer. Martina, a noble and beautiful virgin, suffered martyrdom for Christ, being variously tortured, and afterwards beheaded; and Hippolitus, a christian prelate, was tied to a wild horse, and dragged through fields, stony places, and brambles, till he died.

While this persecution continued, numerous Christians were slain without trial, and buried in indiscriminate heaps: sometimes fifty or sixty being cast into a pit together. Maximus, died in A. D. 238; he was succeeded by Gordian, during whose reign, and that of his successor Philip, the church was free from persecution for the space of more than ten years; but in the year 249, a violent persecution broke out in Alexandria. It is, however, worthy of remark, that this was done at the instigation of a pagan priest, without the emperor's knowledge. At this time the fury of the people being great against the Christians, they broke open their houses, stole the best of their property, destroyed the

rest, and murdered the owners; the universal cry was, "Burn them, burn them! kill them, kill them!" The names of the martyrs, three excepted, and the particulars of this affair, however, have not been recorded. The three martyrs known were, Metus, an aged and venerable Christian, who refusing to blaspheme his Saviour, was beaten with clubs, pierced with sharp reeds, and at length stoned to death. Quinta, a christian woman, being carried to the temple, and refusing to worship the idols there, was dragged by her feet over sharp stones, scourged with whips, and at last killed in the same manner as Metus. And Appollonia, an ancient maiden lady, confessing herself a Christian, the mob dashed out her teeth with their fists, and threatened to burn her alive. A fire was accordingly prepared for the purpose, and she was fastened to a stake: requesting to be unloosed, it was done, on a supposition that she meant to recant, when, to their astonishment, she immediately threw herself into the flames and was consumed.

### ACCOUNT OF THE SEVENTH GENERAL PERSECUTION

UNDER THE ROMAN EMPERORS.

In the year 249, Decius being emperor of Rome, a dreadful persecution was begun against the Christians. This was occasioned partly by the hatred he bore to his predecessor Philip, who was deemed a Christian, and partly by his jealousy concerning the amazing progress of Christianity; for the heathen temples were almost forsaken, and the Christian churches crowded with proselytes. Decius, provoked at this, attempted, as he said, to extirpate the name of Christian; and, unfortunately for the cause of the gospel, many errors had about this time crept into the church: the Christians were at variance with each other, and a variety of contentions ensued among them. The heathens in general were ambitious to enforce the imperial decrees upon this occasion, and looked upon the murder of a Christian as a merit to be coveted. The martyrs were, therefore, innumerable. Fabian, bishop of Rome, was the first person of eminence who felt the severity of this persecution. The deceased emperor, Philip, had, on account of his integrity, committed his treasure to the care of this good man; but Decius, not finding so much as his avarice led him to expect, determined to wreak his vengeance on the good prelate. He was accordingly seized, and on the 20th of January, A. D. 250, suffered martyrdom, by decapitation. Abdon and Semen, two Persians, were apprehended as strangers; but being found Christians, were put to death, on account of their faith. Moyses, a priest, was beheaded for the same reason. Julian, a native of Celicia, as we are informed by St. Chrysostom, was seized for being a Christian. He was frequently tortured, but still remained inflexible; and though often brought from prison for execution, was again remanded, to suffer greater cruelties. He, at length, was obliged to travel for twelve months together, from town to town, that he might be exposed to the insults of the populace.

When all endeavours to make him recant his religion were found ineffectual, he was brought before a judge, stripped, and whipped in a

dreadful manner. He was then put into a leathern bag, 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 apprehended for being a Christian, at Lampsacus, on the Hellespont, and carried before Optimus, pro-consul of Asia. On being commanded to sacrifice to Venus, he said, "I am astonished that you should wish me to sacrifice to an infamous woman, whose debaucheries even your own historians record, and whose life consisted of such actions as your laws would punish. No! I shall offer the true God the sacrifice of praise and prayer."

Optimus, on hearing this, ordered the prisoner to be stretched upon a wheel, by which his bones were broken in a shocking manner; but his torments only inspired him with fresh courage; he smiled on his persecutors, and seemed, by the serenity of his countenance, not to upbraid, but to applaud his tormentors. At length the pro-consul ordered him to be beheaded, and the command was immediately executed. Nichomachus, being brought before the pro-consul as a Christian, was ordered to sacrifice to the pagan idols. He answered, "I cannot pay that respect to devils which is due only to the Almighty." The speech so enraged the pro-consul, that Nichomachus was put to the rack. He bore the torture for some time with patience and great resolution; but, at length, when ready to expire with pain, he had the weakness to abjure his faith, and become an apostate. He had no sooner given this proof of his frailty than he fell into the greatest agonies, dropped down, and expired immediately.

Denisa, a young woman, only sixteen years of age, who beheld this signal judgment, suddenly exclaimed; "O, unhappy wretch, why would you buy a moment's ease, at the expense of a miserable eternity;" Optimus hearing this, called to her, and asked if she was a Christian? She replied in the affirmative; and being commanded to sacrifice to the idols, refused. Optimus enraged at her resolution, gave her over to two libertines, who took her to their own home, and would have ruined her, but for her astonishing courage. At midnight they were appalled by a frightful vision, when both of them fell at the feet of Denisa, and implored her prayers that they might not feel the effects of divine vengeance for their brutality. But this event did not diminish the cruelty of Optimus; for the lady was beheaded soon after by his command.

Andrew and Paul, two companions of Nichomachus the martyr, on confessing themselves Christians, were condemned to die, and delivered to the multitude to be stoned. Accordingly, A. D. 251, they suffered martyrdom by stoning, and expired, calling on the blessed Redeemer. Alexander and Empimachus, of Alexandria, were apprehended for being Christians, and on confessing the accusation, were beat with staves, torn with hooks, and at length burnt. We are informed by Eusebius, that four female martyrs suffered on the same day, and at the same place, but not in the same manner; for these were beheaded. Lucian and Marcian, two pagans and magicians, becoming converts to Christianity, to make amends for their former errors, adopted the life of hermits, and subsisted upon bread and water. After spending some time in this manner, they reflected that their life was inefficacious, and determined

to leave their solitude to make converts to Christianity. With this pious and laudable resolution they became zealous preachers. Persecution, however, raging at the time, they were seized upon, and carried before Sabinus, governor of Bithynia. On being asked by what authority they took upon themselves to preach, Lucian answered "That the law of charity and humanity obliged all men to endeavour to convert their neighbours, and to do every thing in their power to rescue them from the snares of the devil." Marcian said, "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." When the pro-consul found that he could not prevail on them to renounce their faith, he condemned them to be burnt alive, and the sentence was soon after executed.

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

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

Cyril, bishop of Gortyna, was seized by order of Lucius, the governor of that place, who first exhorted him to obey the imperial mandate, offer sacrifice to idols, and save his venerable person from destruction; for he was then eighty-four years of age. The good prelate replied, that he could not agree to any such requisitions; but as he had long taught others to save their souls, now he should only think of his own salvation. When the governor found all his persuasion in vain, he pronounced sentence against the venerable Christian in these words—

"I order that Cyril, who has lost his senses, and is a declared enemy of our gods, shall be burnt alive." The good and worthy prelate heard this sentence without emotion, walked cheerfully to the place of execution, and underwent his martyrdom with a resolution which astonished all, and converted some.

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

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

<sup>z</sup> With respect to Babylas, bishop of Antioch, Eusebius and Zonaras assert that he died in prison, at the time of Decius, as did Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem.

In the treatise of Chrysostom, entitled, "*Contra Gentiles*," there is an interesting history of one Babylas, a martyr, who was put to death about this time, for resisting an emperor, by not suffering him to enter into the temple of the Christians after a cruel murder; the story of which is, that there was a certain emperor, who, upon concluding peace with a certain nation, had received for hostage the son of the king, a youth of tender age, on the condition that neither he should be molested by them, nor they be vexed by him. Upon this the king's son was delivered to the emperor, who caused him in a short time to be slain. This fact being committed, the tyrant would enter into the temple of the Christians, where Babylas, being bishop or minister, resisted him. The emperor, in great rage, had him forthwith bound in prison, with as many irons as he could bear, and from thence shortly after brought to execution. Babylas went boldly to his martyrdom, and desired after his death to be buried in his irons and bands. The story adds, that in the reign of Constantinus, Gallus, then governor of the eastern parts, caused his body to be removed into the suburbs of Antioch, called Daphnes, where was a temple of Apollo, famous for oracles and answers given by that idol. In this temple, after the arrival of the body of Babylas, the idol ceased to give any more oracles, complaining that the place was wont to be consecrated unto him, but now it was full of dead men's bodies. Thus the oracles there ceased for that time till the age of Julianus; who on learning why they ceased, caused the bones of the holy martyr to be removed from thence by the Christians, whom he called Galileans. They coming in a great multitude, both men, maidens, and children, to the tomb of Babylas, transported his bones according to the command of the emperor, singing by the way, the verse of the psalm, "Confounded be all that worship images, and all that glory in idols," etc. This coming to the emperor's ears, he flew into a rage with the Christians, and excited persecution against them. Zonaras, however, declares the cause otherwise, saying, that as soon as the body of Babylas and other martyrs were removed, the

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

Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem, about this time was cast into prison on account of his religion, where he died through the severity of his confinement. When Serapian was apprehended at Alexandria, he had his bones broken, and was thrown from a high loft, and killed by the fall. Julianus, an old man, lame with the gout; and Cronion, another Christian, were bound on the backs of camels, severely scourged, and then thrown into a fire and consumed. A spectator who seemed to commiserate them was ordered to be beheaded, as a punishment for his sympathy and tenderness. Macar, a Lybian Christian, was burnt. Horonater and Isidorus, Egyptians, with Dioschorus, a boy of fifteen, after suffering many torments, met with a similar fate; and Nemesion, another Egyptian, was first tried as a thief; but being acquitted, was accused of Christianity, which confessing, he was scourged, tortured, and finally burnt. Ischyrian, the Christian servant of an Egyptian nobleman and magistrate, was run through with a pike by his own master, for refusing to sacrifice to idols. Venatius, a youth of fifteen, was martyred in Italy; and forty virgins, at Antioch, after being imprisoned and scourged, were destroyed by fire.

The emperor Decius having erected a pagan temple at Ephesus, in the year 251, he commanded all who were in that city to sacrifice to the idols. This order was nobly refused by seven of his own soldiers, viz. Maximianus, Martianus, Joannes, Malchus, Dyonisius, Constantinus, and Seraion. The emperor wishing to prevail on the soldiers to prevent their fate by his entreaties and lenity, gave them a respite till he returned

temple of the idol, with the image, was consumed by a fire in the night. Nicephorus, in his fifth book, makes mention of another Babylas, who suffered under Decius, and was bishop of Nicomedia.

from a journey. In the absence of the emperor they escaped, and hid themselves in a cavern; but he was informed of it on his return, the mouth of the cavern was closed up, and they all were starved or smothered to death.

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

Secundianus having been accused as a Christian, was conveyed to prison by some soldiers. On their way, Verianus and 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 their heads were cut off when they were dead.

Origen, the celebrated presbyter and catechist of Alexandria, at the age of sixty-four, was seized, thrown into a loathsome prison, loaded with chains, his feet placed in the stocks, and his legs extended to the utmost for several days. He was threatened with fire, and tormented by every means that the most infernal imagination could suggest. But his Christian fortitude sustained him. Such was the rigour of the judge, that his tortures were ordered to be as lingering as possible, that death might not too soon put a period to his miseries. During this cruel interval, the emperor Decius died, and Gallus, who succeeded him, engaging in a war with the Goths, the Christians met with a respite. Thus Origen obtained his enlargement, and retiring to Tyre, he remained there till his death, which happened when he was in the sixty-ninth year of his age.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> The learned who have written the life of Origen assert, that he was of wit quick and sharp, patient of labour, a man who knew many languages, of a spare diet, of a strict and abstemious life; he went barefoot; and was a strict observer of that saying of the Lord, "Provide but one coat, &c." He is said to have written as much as seven notaries. The number of his books, by the account of Jerome, amounted to seven thousand volumes, copies of which he used to sell for the value of threepence or a little more, for the support of his life. He kept seven maids in constant employ to copy for him. So zealous he was in the cause of Christ and his martyrs, that he would assist and exhort them going to their death, and kiss them, insomuch that he was near being stoned by the multitude; and sometimes by providing for Christian men, had his house guarded with soldiers, for the safety of those who daily resorted to hear his readings.

These historians also mention the following curious circumstance, which is confirmed by Eusebius. When Leonidas, the father of Origen, was martyred, his son, then seventeen years old, would have suffered by his own wish, had not his mother privily in the night conveyed away his clothes and his shirt. On which, more for shame to be seen than for fear to die, he was constrained to remain at home; and when he could do nothing else, he wrote to his father a letter with these words: "Take heed to yourself, that you turn not your thought and purpose for our sake." Such a fervency had young Origen



In the city of Antioch, Vincentius, lib. 11, speaks of forty virgins, martyrs, who suffered in the persecution of Decius. In the country of Phrygia, and in the town of Lampsar, Vincentius also speaks of one Peter, who was there apprehended, and suffered bitter torments for Christ's name, under Optimus, the pro-consul: and in Troada he also speaks of other martyrs that suffered, whose names were Andrew, Paul, Nichomachus, and Dionysia, a virgin. He adds, that in Babylon, many christian confessors were found who were led away into Spain to be executed.

In the country of Cappadocia, and the city of Cesarea, Germanus, Theophilus, Cesarius, and Vitalis, suffered martyrdom for Christ; and in the same book mention is also made of Polychronius, bishop of Babylon, and of Nestor, bishop of Cesarea, who died martyrs.

At Perside, in the town of Cardalia, Olympiades and Maximus. In Tyrus also, Anatolia, a virgin, and Audax, a senator, gave their lives for a testimony to the name of Christ.

Gallus having concluded his wars, a plague broke out in the empire; and sacrifices to the pagan deities were ordered by the emperor to appease their wrath. On the Christians refusing to comply with these rites, they were charged with being the authors of the calamity: thus the persecution spread from the interior to the extreme parts of the empire, and many fell martyrs to the impetuosity of the rabble, as well as the prejudice of the magistrates. Cornelius, the Christian bishop of Rome, was, among others, seized upon this occasion. He was first banished to Centum-Cellæ, now called Civitia Vecchia; and after having been cruelly scourged, was, on the 14th of September, A. D. 252, beheaded; having been bishop fifteen months and ten days. Lucius, who succeeded Cornelius as bishop of Rome, was the son of Porphyrius, and a Roman by birth. His vigilance as a pastor, occasioned him to be banished; but in a short time he was permitted to return from exile. Soon after, however, he was apprehended, and beheaded, March the 4th, A. D. 253. This bishop was succeeded by

to the doctrine of Christ's faith, partly by the diligent education of his father, who brought him up from his youth in good literature, but especially in reading the holy scripture, that many times he would put questions to his father of the meaning of certain parts of the sacred book. Insomuch that his father would frequently uncover his breast when asleep, and kiss it, giving thanks to God who had made him so happy a father of such a child. After the death of his father, all his goods being confiscated to the emperor, he, with his poor mother, and six brethren, were reduced to such extreme poverty, that he supported both himself and them by keeping a school.

The treatise of the venerable Bede, cited by Henricus de Orford, gives the following list of those who suffered in the reign of Decius, the particulars of whose martyrdoms have not been handed down. Hippolit and Concordia, Hiereneus and Abundus, Victoria, a virgin, being noble personages of Antioch; Bellias, bishop of the city of Apollonia, Lacus, Tirsus, and Gallictus. Nazanzo, Triphon, in the city of Egypt called Tamas, Phileas, a bishop, Philocomus, with many others in Persia, and Philcronius, bishop of Babylon; Thesiphon, bishop of Pamphilia; Neffor, bishop in Corduba; Parmenias, a priest, with many more. In the province called Colonia, Circensis, Marianus, and Jacobus. In Africa, Nemesianus, Felix, Rogatianus, a priest, and Felicissimus. At Rome, Jovinus and Basileus; Tertullianus, Valerianus, Nemesius, Sempronianus, and Olympius. In Spain, Teragon. At Verona, Zeno, a bishop; and Theodorus, surnamed Gregorius, bishop of Pontus. Vincentius in his eleventh book makes mention of certain children suffering martyrdom under the same persecution, in a city of Tuscia, called Aretium.

Stephanus, a man of fiery temper, who held the dignity few years, and might probably have fallen a martyr, had not the emperor been murdered by his general Æmilian, when a profound peace succeeded throughout the empire, and persecution was suffered to subside.

Many 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 some able divines, the opinions they had created vanished before the sublimity and power of christian truth.

#### ACCOUNT OF THE EIGHTH GENERAL PERSECUTION

UNDER THE ROMAN EMPERORS.

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

The martyrs that fell in this persecution were innumerable, and their tortures and deaths are various. The most eminent were the following—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; and Secunda, the younger, for Verinus, a person of rank and immense wealth. These suitors, at the time the persecution commenced, were both Christians; but when danger appeared, to save their fortunes they renounced their faith. They took great pains to persuade the ladies to do the same, but failed in their purpose; and as a method of safety, Rufina and Secunda left the kingdom. The lovers finding themselves disappointed informed against the ladies, who being apprehended as Christians, were brought before Junius Donatus, governor of Rome. After many remonstrances, and having undergone several tortures, they sealed their martyrdom with their blood, by being beheaded in the year 257.

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

This martyr was an orthodox and learned primitive Christian, and his doctrines are held in high estimation.

Stephen was succeeded by Sextus as bishop of Rome. He is supposed to be a Greek by birth, or extraction, and had for some time served in the capacity of a deacon under Stephen. His great fidelity, singular wisdom and courage, distinguished him on many occasions; and the fortunate conclusion of a controversy with some heretics is generally ascribed to his prudence. Marcianus, who had the management of the Roman government in the year 258, procured an order from the emperor Valerian to put to death all the Christian clergy in Rome.

The senate having testified their obedience to the imperial mandate, Sextus was one of the first who felt the severity of the edict. Cyprian tells us that he was beheaded August 6, A. D. 258, and that six of his deacons suffered with him.

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

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

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

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

"This side is broil'd sufficient to be food  
For all who wish it to be done and good."

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

Among the several converts to Christianity from this event, was a soldier called Romanus who attended the martyrdom. He had taken the opportunity of the martyr's imprisonment to make some inquiries concerning the Christian faith, and it was reported that he had received baptism at the hands of his captive. Be this as it may, he declared himself a christian immediately after the death of Laurentius, and soon followed him by a less lingering and torturing martyrdom to the world of blessed spirits in heaven. On his avowal of the christian faith, he was scourged and beheaded. He had a companion in both his faith and suffering, named Hypolitus, to whom he was much attached, and who evinced no desire to escape the fate of his courageous friend.

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

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

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

In the year 250, Cyprian was publicly proscribed by the emperor Decius, under the appellation of Cœcilius Cyprian, bishop of the Cyprians; and the universal cry of the Pagans was, "Cyprian to the lions, Cyprian to the beasts!" The bishop, however, withdrew from the rage of the populace, and his effects were immediately confiscated.

During his retirement he wrote thirty pious letters to his flock: but several schisms then crept into the church gave him great uneasiness. The rigour of the persecution abating, he returned to Carthage, and did every thing in his power to expel erroneous opinions and false doctrines. A terrible plague now breaking out at Carthage, it was as usual laid to the charge of the Christians; and the magistrates began to persecute them accordingly: this occasioned an epistle from them to Cyprian, in answer to which he vindicates the cause of Christianity.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>b</sup> Cyprian was of an uncommonly meek and amiable disposition, and though he neither wanted prudence nor circumspection, he was so modest that he never attempted any thing without first consulting his partisans. He used to declare that he had visions and revelations concerning the events that were to effect the Christian church. He never attempted to thwart or circumvent any man; and St. Augustine, in his third book "*De baptismo contra Donatistas*," declares that he was very diligent in reading, especially the works of Tertullian. He adds, that he saw an old man whose name was Paulus, who told him he saw the notary of blessed Cyprian, being then an old man, when he himself was but a sprigling in the city of Rome, and told him that it was Cyprian's custom, never to let one day pass without reading Tertullian, and that he was accustomed to say to him, "Give me my master," meaning thereby Tertullian.

Several learned authors among the ancients have written on the virtues and good actions of Cyprian, and it is much to be regretted that these accounts, as well as many others which tend to enforce belief in, and respect for the sacred scriptures, are now unknown, owing to the neglect into which the Latin and Greek languages have fallen, though every man, whatever may be his station, may have now an opportunity of giving his sons a liberal education. The principal divines and authors who wrote concerning Cyprian are, Nicephorus, Nazianzenus, Jacobus de Voragine, Henricus de Erfordia, Volateranus, Hieronymus, and Vincentius; and Laziardus Celestinus made an abridgment of his works, or rather what is now called *ANA*, in which, amongst many others, are the following pithy sentences, which we quote on account of their excellence.

Let nothing sleep in thy treasures, that may profit the poor.

Two things never wax old in man,—the heart ever imagining new cogitations, the tongue ever uttering the vain conceptions of the heart.

Discipline is an inordinate amendment of manners present, and a regular observation of evils past.

There can be no integrity, while they who should condemn the wicked, are ever wanting, and they only who are to be condemned, are ever present.

A covetous man only possesseth his goods for this reason, because another should not possess them.

Women that advance themselves in putting on silk and purple, cannot but lightly put on Christ.

They who love to paint themselves in this world otherwise than God hath created them, let them fear, lest when the day cometh of resurrection, the Creator will not know them.

He that giveth an alms to the poor, sacrificeth to God an odour of sweet smell.

All injury of evils present, is to be neglected, for the good hope of good things to come.

To set out virtue in words, and to destroy the same in facts, is nothing worth.

The more children and greater household thou hast at home, the more cause thou hast not to hoard up, but to disperse abroad, for that many sins are to be redeemed, many consciences are to be purged.

Eincetianus observes, that in another Book of Cyprian, not mentioned in the catalogue of his works, he describes twelve principal abuses or absurdities in the life of man, which are in the following order, and are unfortunately too frequently to be met with in every age of the world; but perhaps more at present than at any former period.

- |                                   |                                 |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. A wise man without good works. | 7. A Christian man contentious. |
| 2. An old man without religion.   | 8. A poor man proud.            |
| 3. A young man without obedience. | 9. A king unrighteous.          |
| 4. A rich man without alms.       | 10. A bishop negligent.         |
| 5. A woman shameless.             | 11. People without discipline.  |
| 6. A guide without virtue.        | 12. Subjects without law.       |

Cyprian was brought before the pro-consul Aspasius Paternus, A. D. 257, when being commanded to conform to the religion of the empire, he boldly made a confession of his faith. This did not occasion his death, but an order was made for his banishment and he was exiled to a little city on the Libyan sea. On the death of the pro-consul who banished him, he returned to Carthage, but was soon after seized, and carried before the new governor, who condemned him to be beheaded; and on the 14th of September, A. D. 258, this sentence was executed. This bishop was a pious Christian, an excellent philosopher, and an accurate and eloquent preacher.

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

Perhaps one of the most dreadful events in the history of martyrdom was that which took place at Utica, where 300 Christians were, by the orders of the pro-consul, placed around a burning 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 suffocated immediately.

Fructuosus, bishop of Tarragon, in Spain, and his two deacons, Augarius and Eulogius, for avowing themselves Christians, were consumed by fire. Malchus, Alexander, and Priscius, three Christians of Palestine, with a woman of the same place, voluntarily avowed themselves to be Christians: for which they were sentenced to be devoured by tigers, which sentence was accordingly executed. Donatilla, Maxima, and Secunda, three virgins of Tuburga, had gall and vinegar given them to drink, were then severely scourged, tormented on a gibbet, rubbed with lime, scorched on a gridiron, worried by wild beasts, and at last beheaded. Before the last act of barbarity took place they were however dead, and the headsman was said to admire the singular serenity of their countenances.

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

A singular and miserable fate befel the emperor Valerian,<sup>c</sup> who had

<sup>c</sup> A very extraordinary and interesting event occurred in the reign of Valerian, which is told, though in different ways, by Aquilinus, Antoninus, and Bergomensis.—Philippus, the governor of Alexandria, had a daughter named Eugenia, who was singularly beautiful in her person, and had received from her parents an elegant education; but having been much in the way of the Christians, was brought up to their faith, together with two eunuchs, her schoolfellows, named Protheus and Hyacinthus; with whom, to avoid the persecutions then going on, or else from refusing to marry a pagan, she eloped, and resorted to hear the readings of Helenus, then an aged bishop; and with this view she put on man's apparel, and named herself Eugenius, under which name she was at length admitted into a monastery in the suburbs of Alexandria, where for her learning and virtue, she was made head of the place.

It is said, that Eugenia, after the martyrdom of her father, returning to Rome with Protheus and Hyacinthus, on account of converting Basilla to the Christian faith, was assailed with sundry kinds of death: first, being tied to a great stone and cast into the Tiber, where she was prevented from drowning; then put into the hot baths, which were extinguished, and she preserved; afterwards by being prevented famishing in prison, where they say she was fed by a miraculous hand.

so long and so terribly persecuted the Christians. This tyrant, by a stratagem, was taken prisoner by Sophores, 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, saying, in a vaunting manner, "This posture is a greater proof which way the victory went, than all the pictures the Roman artists can draw." Having kept him, for the space of seven years, in this abject state of slavery, he at last caused his eyes to be put out, though he was then eighty-three years of age; and his desire of revenge not being satisfied, he soon after ordered his body to be flayed alive, and rubbed with salt, under which torments he expired; and thus fell one of the most tyrannical emperors of Rome, and one of the greatest persecutors of the Christian church.

Gallienus, the son of Valerian, succeeded him A. D. 260, and during his reigns the empire suffered many commotions, particularly earthquakes, pestilence,<sup>d</sup> inundations, intestine broils, and incursions of barbarians. This emperor reflecting, that when his father favoured the Christians, he prospered, and that when he persecuted them he was unsuccessful, determined to relax the persecution; so that (a few martyrs excepted) the church enjoyed peace for some years. The chief of those few martyrs, was Marinus, a centurion, who being apprehended as a christian, had but three hours allowed him to deliberate, whether he would sacrifice to the pagan deities, or become a martyr; and wavering during this interval a christian prelate placed the gospel and the sword before him, and demanded which he would choose. Marinus took the sword without hesitation. On meeting again with the governor, he made a noble confession of his faith, and was soon after beheaded, in the year 262.

#### ACCOUNT OF THE NINTH GENERAL PERSECUTION

##### UNDER THE ROMAN EMPERORS.

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

<sup>d</sup> This plague affected, more or less, the whole of the Roman provinces, and lasted nearly ten years. In Egypt, it was particularly violent: and Dionysius, who was bishop of Alexandria, writing to Hieros, a bishop in Egypt, declares, that at the former city it was so great that there was no house exempt. Although the greatness of the plague affected the Christians, yet it scourged the heathen idolaters much more: besides which, the behaviour in the one and the other was very different. The Christians, through brotherly love and piety, visited and comforted one another, notwithstanding the great danger that attended them by so doing.

was the latter by Carnius: this emperor being struck with death by lightning, his sons, Carnius and Numerian, succeeded him; and during these reigns the church enjoyed rest<sup>e</sup>.

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

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

The prefect, who succeeded this singular convert, had none of the disposition of his predecessor: he was morose and severe, and soon seized upon the whole of this Christian race, who were accordingly martyred by being tied to posts, and having their feet pierced with nails. After remaining in this situation for a day and night, their sufferings were put an end to by thrusting lances through their bodies. Zoe, the wife of the gaoler, who had the care of these martyrs, being greatly edified by their discourse, had a desire to become a Christian: this, as she was dumb with a palsy, she could only express by gestures. They gave her instruction in the faith, and told her to pray in her heart to God to relieve her from her disorder. She did so, and was at length relieved: for her paralytic disorder by degrees left her, her speech returned, and like Zacharias she glorified God.

This enforced her belief, and confirmed her a Christian: and her husband, finding her cured, became a convert himself. These conversions made a great noise, and the proselytes were apprehended. Zoe was commanded to sacrifice to Mars, which refusing, she was hanged on a tree, and a fire of straw lighted under her. When her

<sup>e</sup> This Carnius with his son Numerian, being slain in the East, Carinus, the other son, reigned alone in Italy; where he overcame Sabinus striving for the empire, and reigned there with much wickedness till the return of the army from Persia, who then set up Diocletian as emperor; by whom Carinus, being forsaken by his host, was overcome, and at length slain by the hand of the tribune. Thus Carnius, with his two sons, Numerian and Carinus, ended their lives, their reign continuing only three years.



body was taken down it was thrown into a river, a large stone being fastened round her neck.

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

A remarkable affair occurred in A. D. 286. A legion of soldiers, consisting of 6666 men, contained none but Christians. This was called the Theban legion, because the men had been raised in Thebais: they were quartered in the East till the emperor Maximian ordered them to march to Gaul, to assist him against the rebels of Burgundy; when passing the Alps into Gaul, under the command of Mauritius, Candidus, and Exuperius, their commanders, they at length joined the emperor. About this time, Maximian ordered a general sacrifice, at which the whole army were to assist; and he commanded that they should take oaths of allegiance, and swear, at the same time, to assist him in the extirpation of Christianity in Gaul. Terrified at these orders, each individual of the Theban legion absolutely refused either to sacrifice, or take the oaths prescribed. This so enraged Maximian, that he ordered the legion to be decimated, that is, every tenth man to be selected from the rest, and put to the sword. This cruel order having been put into execution, those who remained alive were still inflexible, when a second decimation took place, and every tenth man of those living were again put to the sword.

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

Such a declaration it might be presumed would have prevailed with the emperor, but it had a contrary effect: for, enraged at their perseverance and unanimity, he commanded that the whole legion should be put to death, which was accordingly executed by the other troops, who cut them to pieces with their swords. This barbarous transaction occurred on the 22d of September, A. D. 286; and such was the inveterate malice of Maximian, that he sent to destroy every man of a few detachments that had been drafted from the Theban legion, and despatched to Italy. A veteran soldier of another legion, whose name was Victor, met the executioners of this bloody business. As they appeared rather merry, he enquired into the cause of their jocularities, and being informed of the whole affair, he sharply reprov'd them for their barbarity. This excited their curiosity to ask him if he was of the same faith as those who had suffered. On answering in the affirmative, several of the soldiers fell upon him, and despatched him.

ALBAN, from whom St. Alban's received its name, was the first British martyr. This island had received the gospel of Christ from Lucius, the first Christian king, but did not suffer by the rage of persecution. This man was originally a pagan, but being of a very humane disposition, he sheltered a Christian ecclesiastic, named Amphibalus, whom some officers were in pursuit of on account of his religion. The pious example, and edifying discourses of the refugee, made a great impression on the mind of Alban; he longed to become a member of a religion which charmed him; the fugitive minister, happy in the opportunity, took great pains to instruct him; and before his discovery, perfected Alban's conversion.

Alban now took a firm resolution to preserve the sentiments of a Christian, or to die the death of a martyr. The enemies of Amphibalus having intelligence of the place where he was secreted, came to the house of Alban, in order to apprehend him. The noble host, desirous of protecting his guest and convert, changed clothes with him in order to facilitate his escape; and when the soldiers came, offered himself up as the person for whom they were seeking. Being accordingly carried before the governor, the deceit was immediately discovered; and Amphibalus being absent, that officer determined to wreak his vengeance upon Alban: with this view he commanded the prisoner to advance to the altar, and sacrifice to the pagan deities. The brave Alban, however declared that he would not comply with the idolatrous injunction, but boldly professed himself to be a Christian. The governor therefore ordered him to be scourged, but he bore the punishment with great fortitude, and seemed to acquire new resolution from his sufferings: he was then beheaded. The venerable Bede states, that upon this occasion, the executioner suddenly became a convert to christianity, and entreated permission either to die for Alban or with him. Obtaining the latter request, they were beheaded by a soldier, who voluntarily undertook the task. This happened on the 22d of June, A. D. 287, at Verulam, now St. Alban's, where a magnificent church was erected to his memory about the time of Constantine the Great. This edifice was destroyed in the Saxon wars, but was rebuilt by Offa, king of Mercia, and a monastery erected adjoining to it, some remains of which are still visible.

FAITH, a christian female, of Aquitain, in France, being informed

that there was a design to seize her, anticipated the intention, by surrendering herself a prisoner; and being inflexible in her faith, was ordered to be broiled upon a gridiron, and then beheaded, which sentence was executed A. D. 287. Capacius, a Christian, concealed himself from the persecutors, but being informed of the fortitude of Faith, he openly avowed his religion, and delivered himself up to the governor, who had him first tortured, and then beheaded. Quintin was a Christian, and a native of Rome, but he determined to attempt the propagation of the gospel in Gaul. He accordingly went to Picardy, attended by one Lucian, and they preached together at Amiens; after which Lucian went to Beauvais where he suffered martyrdom. Quintin, however, remained in Picardy, and was very zealous in his ministry. His continual prayers to the Almighty were to increase his faith, and strengthen his faculties to propagate the gospel. Being seized upon as a Christian, he was stretched with pullies till his joints were dislocated: his body was then torn with wire scourges, and boiling oil and pitch poured on his naked flesh: lighted torches were applied to his sides and arm-pits; and after he had been thus tortured, he was remanded back to prison. He died of his wounds and bruises at a village not far from Amiens, before the year was closed, and his body was thrown, by order of Varus the governor, into the river Somme.

#### ACCOUNT OF THE TENTH GENERAL PERSECUTION

UNDER THE ROMAN EMPERORS.

Notwithstanding the efforts of the heathen to exterminate the Christians and abolish their mode of faith, yet they increased so greatly as to render themselves formidable by their numbers. They, however, forgot the precepts of their Redeemer, and instead of adopting his humility, they gave themselves up to vain attire, living sumptuously, building stately edifices for churches, and thus provoking envy and hatred. Galerius, the adopted son of Diocletian, stimulated by his mother, a bigoted pagan, persuaded the emperor to commence the persecution. It began on the 23d of February A. D. 303, being the day on which the Terminalia were celebrated, and on which, as the pagans boasted, they hoped to put a termination to christianity.

The persecution opened in Nicomedia. The prefect of that city repaired on a certain morning to the Christians' church, which his officers were commanded to break open, and then commit the sacred books it contained to the flames. Diocletian and Galerius, who were present, ordered their attendants to level the church 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, the object of which was to render Christians of all denominations outlaws, and consequently, to make them incapable of holding any place of trust, profit, or dignity, or of receiving any protection from the legal institutions of the realm. An immediate martyrdom was the result of this edict; for a bold Christian not only tore it down from the place to which it was affixed, but

execrated the name of the emperor for his injustice and cruelty : he was in consequence seized, severely tortured, and then burnt alive. The Christian prelates were likewise apprehended and imprisoned ; and Galerius privately ordered the imperial palace to be set on fire, that the Christians might be charged as the incendiaries, and a plausible pretext given for carrying on the persecution with the greatest severity. A general sacrifice was then commanded, which occasioned various martyrdoms. Among others, a Christian named Peter was tortured, broiled, and then burnt ; several deacons and presbyters were seized and executed by various means ; and the bishop of Nicomedia himself was beheaded. So great was the persecution that there was no distinction made of age or sex, but all fell indiscriminate sacrifices to their opinions. Many houses were set on fire, and whole christian families perished in the flames ; others had stones fastened about their necks, and were driven into the sea. The persecution became general in all the Roman provinces, but more particularly in the East ; and as it lasted ten years, it is impossible to ascertain the numbers martyred, or to enumerate the various modes of martyrdom : some were beheaded in Arabia ; many devoured by wild beasts in Phœnicia ; great numbers were broiled on gridirons in Syria ; others had their bones broken, and in that manner were left to expire, in Cappadocia ; and in Mesopotamia several were hung with their heads downwards over slow fires, and suffocated. In Pontus, a variety of tortures were used ; pins were thrust under the nails of the prisoners, melted lead was poured upon them, and other exquisite tortures were inflicted, without however shaking their faith. In Egypt, some Christians were buried alive in the earth, others were drowned in the Nile, many were hung in the air till they perished, and great numbers were thrown into large fires, and suffocating kilns. Scourges, racks, daggers, swords, poison, crosses, and famine, were made use of in various parts to destroy the Christians ; and invention was exhausted to devise new tortures against them.

A town of Phrygia, consisting entirely of Christians, was surrounded by a number of pagan soldiers, who set it on fire, and all the inhabitants perished in the flames.

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

Among the most distinguished persons, who forfeited their lives during this bloody persecution, was Sebastian, a celebrated holy man, born at Narbonne in Gaul, instructed in the principles of christianity at Milan, and afterwards an officer of the imperial guard at Rome. He remained a true Christian in the midst of idolatry, unallured by the splendour of a court, and untainted by evil examples around him ; esteemed by the most eminent, beloved by his equals, and admired by his inferiors, he lived happily, and kept his faith and station, till the

rigour of persecution deprived him of the latter with his life. He was informed against, and betrayed to Fabian the Roman prætor, by Torquatus, a pretended Christian; but being of a rank too considerable to be put to death without the emperor's express orders, Diocletian was acquainted with the persecution.

On hearing the accusation, he sent for Sebastian, and charged him with ingratitude in betraying the confidence reposed in him, and being an enemy to the gods of the empire and to himself. To this he answered that his religion was not of a pernicious tendency but the opposite; that it did not stimulate him to any thing against the welfare of the empire or the emperor, and that the greatest proof he could give of his fidelity, was praying to the only true God for the health and prosperity of his person and government. Incensed at this reply, the emperor ordered him to be taken to a field near the city, termed the *Campus Martius*, and there to be shot to death with arrows; which sentence was speedily executed. A few Christians attending at the place of execution, in order to give his body burial, perceived signs of life in him, and removing him to a place of security, they in a short time effected his recovery, and prepared him for a second martyrdom. So soon as he was able to walk, he placed himself in the emperor's way as he was going to the temple. The unexpected appearance of a person supposed to be dead, greatly astonished the emperor, nor did the words of the martyr less surprise him; for he began with great severity to reprehend him for his various cruelties, and for his unreasonable prejudices against christianity. Having overcome his surprise, he ordered Sebastian to be seized, carried to a place near the palace, and beaten to death. That the Christians should not either bury or recover his body, he ordered that it should be thrown into a common sewer. Nevertheless, a christian lady, named *Lucina*, found means to remove it and bury it in the catacombs.

At this time the Christians, upon mature consideration, thought it unlawful to bear arms under a heathen emperor. Their reasons were:—That they thereby were under the necessity of profaning the Christian sabbath.—That they were obliged, with the rest of the army, frequently to be present at idolatrous sacrifices before the temples of idols—That they were compelled to follow the imperial standards, which were dedicated to heathen deities, and bore their representations. These reasons induced many to refuse to enter into the imperial army; the Roman constitution obliging all young men, of a certain stature, to make several campaigns.

**MAXIMILIAN**, the son of *Fabius Victor*, being pointed out as a proper person to bear arms, was ordered by *Dion*, the pro-consul, to be measured, that he might be enlisted in the service. He, however, boldly declared himself a Christian, and refused to do military duty. Being found of the proper height, *Dion* gave directions that he should be marked as a soldier, according to the usual custom. He strenuously opposed this order, and told *Dion* that he could not possibly engage in the service. The pro-consul instantly replied, that he should either serve as a soldier, or die for disobedience. "Do as you please with me (replied Maximilian); behead me if you think proper; I am already a soldier of Christ, and cannot serve any other power."

Dion, wishing notwithstanding to save the young man, commanded his father to use his authority over him, to persuade him to comply; but Victor coolly replied, "My son knows best what he has to do." Dion again demanded of Maximilian, with some acrimony, if he was yet disposed to receive the mark. To which the young man replied, he had already received the mark of Christ. "Have you! (exclaimed the pro-consul in a rage) then I shall quickly send you to Christ." "As soon as you please (answered Maximilian), that is all I wish or desire." The pro-consul then pronounced this sentence upon him, "that for disobedience in refusing to bear arms, and for professing the christian faith, he should lose his head." This sentence he heard with great intrepidity, and exclaimed with apparent rapture, "God be praised!"

At the place of execution, he exhorted those who were Christians to remain so; and such as were not, to embrace a faith which led to eternal salvation. Then addressing his father with a cheerful countenance, he desired that the military habit intended for him might be given to the executioner; and after taking leave of him, said, he hoped they should meet again in the other world, and be happy to all eternity. He then received the fatal stroke. The father beheld the execution with amazing fortitude, and saw the head of his son severed from his body without any emotion, but such as seemed to proceed from a conscious pleasure in being the parent of one whose piety and courage rendered him so great an example for the christian world.

VITUS, a Sicilian of a considerable family, was trained a Christian from his infancy. His virtues increased with his years, his constancy supported him under all afflictions, and his faith was superior to the utmost perils and trials. Hylas, his father, who was a pagan, finding that he had been instructed in the principles of christianity by his nurse, used all his endeavours to bring him back to paganism; but finding all efforts in vain, he forgot the feelings of a parent, and informed against him to Valerian, governor of Sicily, who was very active in persecuting the Christians at this period. When apprehended upon the information of his father, Vitus was little more than twelve years of age; the governor therefore thought to frighten him out of his faith, and accordingly threatened and ordered him to be severely scourged. After this, the governor sent him back to his father, thinking that what he had suffered would make him change his principles; but in this he was mistaken; and Hylas, finding his son inflexible, basely allowed nature to sink under superstition, and determined to sacrifice his son to the idols. On being apprised of his design, Vitus escaped to Lucania, where being seized, he was, by order of Valerian, put to death, June 14, A. D 303. His nurse, Crescentia, who brought him up as a Christian, and Modestus, a person who escaped with him, were martyred at the same time.

VICTOR, a Christian of good family at Marseilles, who spent great part of the night in visiting the afflicted, and confirming the weak; and his fortune in relieving the distresses of poor Christians. His beneficence becoming known, he was seized by the emperor's orders, and carried before two prefects, who advised him to embrace paganism, and not forfeit the favour of his prince, on account of a dead man, as they styled Christ. In answer he replied, "That he preferred the service of that man, who was in reality the Son of God, and had risen from the grave,

to all the advantages he could receive from the emperor's favour: that he was a soldier of Christ, and would therefore take care that the post he held under an earthly prince, should never interfere with his duty to the King of heaven." For this reply, Victor was loaded with reproaches, but being a man of rank, he was sent to the emperor to receive his final sentence. When brought before him, the emperor, under the severest penalties, commanded him to sacrifice to the Roman idols; and on his refusal, Maximilian ordered him to be bound, and dragged through the streets. During the execution of this order, he was treated by the enraged populace with all manner of indignities. Remaining inflexible, his courage was deemed obstinacy: to which he replied, "That the ready disposition of the disciples of Christ to undergo any sufferings for his sake, and the joy with which they met the most ignominious and painful death, were sufficient proofs of their assurance of the object of that hope." He added, "That he was ready to give an example of what he had said in his own person." When stretched on the rack, he turned his eyes towards heaven, and prayed to God to give him patience; after which he underwent the tortures with admirable fortitude. The executioners being tired with multiplying his tortures, he was taken from the rack to a dungeon. During his confinement, he convinced his gaolers, named Alexander, Felician, and Longinus. This affair coming to the knowledge of the emperor, he ordered them to be put to death, and the gaolers were immediately beheaded. Victor was afterwards again put to the rack, beaten with clubs, and then sent to his dungeon. Being a third time examined, he persevered in his principles: a small altar was then brought, and he was commanded to offer incense upon it immediately; but instead of complying he boldly stepped forward, and with his foot overthrew both altar and idol!

The emperor, who was present, was so enraged at this, that he ordered the foot which had kicked the altar, to be immediately cut off; and Victor was afterwards sentenced to be thrown into a mill, and crushed to pieces with the stones. This horrid sentence was carried into execution: Victor was thrown into the mill, but part of the apparatus breaking, he was drawn from it terribly bruised; and the emperor, not having patience to stay till the machinery was repaired, ordered his head to be struck off without delay.

While Maximus, governor of Cilicia, was at Tarsus, three Christians were brought before him by Demetrius, a military officer. Tarachus the eldest and first in rank, was addressed by Maximus, who asked him what he was. The prisoner replied, "a Christian." This reply offending the governor, he again made the demand, and was answered in a similar manner. The governor then told him, that he ought to sacrifice to the gods, as the only way to promotion, riches, and honours; and that the emperors themselves did what he recommended him to perform. Tarachus answered, that avarice was a sin, and gold itself an idol as abominable as any other; since it promoted frauds, treacheries, robberies, and murders; it induced men to deceive each other, by which in time they deceived themselves, and bribed the weak to their own eternal destruction. As for promotion, he desired it not, as he could not in conscience accept of any place which would subject him to pay

adoration to idols; and with regard to honours, he desired none greater than the honourable title of Christian. As to the emperors themselves being pagans, he added, with the same undaunted spirit, that they were deceived in adoring senseless idols, and evidently misled by the machinations of the devil himself. For the boldness of this speech, his jaws were ordered to be broken. He was then stripped, scourged, loaded with chains, and thrown into a dismal dungeon, to remain there till the trials of the other two prisoners. Probus was then brought before Maximus, who, as usual, asked his name. Undauntedly the prisoner answered, the most valuable name he could boast of was that of a Christian. To this Maximus replied in the following words, "Your name of Christian will be of little service to you, be therefore guided by me; sacrifice to the gods, engage my friendship, and the favour of the emperor." Probus nobly answered, "that as he had relinquished a considerable fortune to become a soldier of Christ, it might appear evident, that he neither cared for his friendship, nor the favour of the emperor." Probus was then scourged; and Demetrius, the officer, observing to him how his blood flowed, advised him to comply; but his only answer was, that those severities were agreeable to him. "What!" cried Maximus, "does he still persist in his madness?" To which Probus rejoined, "that character is wrongly bestowed on one who refuses to worship idols, or what is worse, devils." After being scourged on every part of his body, suffering with as much intrepidity as before, and still repeating, "the more my body suffers and loses blood, the more my soul will grow vigorous, and be a gainer," he was committed to gaol, loaded with irons, and his hands and feet were stretched on the stocks.

Andronicus was next brought up, when being asked the usual questions, he said, "I am a Christian, a native of Ephesus, and descended from one of the first families in that city." He was ordered to undergo punishments similar to those of Tarachus and Probus, and then was remanded to prison. Having been confined some days, the three prisoners were again brought before Maximus, who began to reason with Tarachus, saying, that as age was honoured from the supposition of its being accompanied by wisdom, he was in hopes that what had already past must, upon deliberation, have caused a change in his sentiments. Finding himself mistaken, he ordered him to be tortured by various means; fire was placed in the palms of his hands; he was hung up by his feet, and smothered with wet straw; a mixture of salt and vinegar was poured into his nostrils; and in this state he was remanded to his dungeon. Probus being called, and asked if he would sacrifice, replied, "I come better prepared to die than before; for what I have already suffered, has only confirmed and strengthened me in my resolution. Employ your whole power upon me, and you will find, that neither you, nor your masters the emperors, nor the gods whom you serve, nor the devil who is your father, shall oblige me to adore idols whom I know not." The governor however attempted to reason with him, paid extravagant praises to the pagan deities, and pressed him to sacrifice to Jupiter; but Probus turned his causuistry into ridicule, and said, "Shall I pay divine honours to Jupiter, to one who married his



own sister to an infamous debauchee, as he is even acknowledged to have done by your own priests and poets." Provoked at this speech, the governor ordered him to be struck upon the mouth, for uttering what he called blasphemy: his body was then seared with hot irons, he was put to the rack, and afterwards scourged; his head was then shaved, and red hot coals placed upon the crown; and after all these tortures, he was remanded to prison.

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

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

ROMANUS, a native of Palestine, was deacon of the church of Cæsarea, at the commencement of Diocletian's persecution. He was at Antioch when the imperial order arrived for sacrificing to idols, and was greatly afflicted to see many Christians, through fear, submit to the idolatrous mandate, and deny their faith to preserve their existence. While censuring some for their conduct, he was informed against to the emperor,

and soon after apprehended. Being brought to the tribunal, he confessed himself a Christian, and said he was willing to suffer any thing which he was pleased to inflict upon him for his confession. When condemned for his faith, he was scourged, put to the rack, his body torn with hooks, his flesh cut with knives, his face scarified, his teeth beat from their sockets, and his hair plucked up by the roots. Thus cruelly mangled, he turned to the governor, and calmly thanked him for what he had done, and for having opened so many mouths to preach the doctrines of christianity; "for," said he, "every wound is a mouth, to sing the praises of the Lord."

The following circumstance, which happened upon this occasion, is related by Prudentius and other writers. Romanus offered to stand to the decision of a young child, whose age must be free from malice, and to put the truth of the Christian religion upon that test. Ascepiades is said to have accepted of the proposal. A child about seven years of age was called out of the crowd, and being asked whether he thought it to be true, that men ought to worship but one God in Christ, or to worship many gods, he answered, that he thought, whatsoever men affirm to be God, must be but one, and as this one is Christ, he must of necessity be God; "for that there are many gods," continued the boy, "we children cannot believe." The governor amazed at this, was highly enraged with the child, and calling him a little villain and a young traitor, asked him who taught him that lesson. To which the child replied, "My mother, with whose milk I sucked in this lesson, that I must believe in Christ." This so incensed the governor, that he ordered the infant to be severely whipped; insomuch that the beholders could not refrain from tears, the mother of the child only excepted, who reproved him for asking for a draught of water, charging him to thirst for that cup which the infants of Bethlehem had drank of, and bidding him remember Isaac, who willingly offered himself to death by his father's hand. While the woman was giving her son this lesson, the executioner plucked the skin and hair from the crown of his head; his mother at the same time saying to him, "though you suffer here, my child, you shall shortly be with him, who shall adorn thy naked head with a crown of eternal glory." Upon which the child smiled upon her and his executioners, and bore their stripes with silent fortitude. Romanus soon after was ordered to be strangled, and the child to be beheaded; which sentence was executed on the 17th of November, A. D. 303.

Marcellinus was an ecclesiastic at Rome; being apprehended on account of his religion, he was ordered to be privately executed in the forest, and was accordingly beheaded there. Peter, a Christian, apprehended for the same cause, was executed at the same time and place. Also about this period, Smagardus, Largus, and Cyracus, a deacon of the christian church, were martyred; but the mode of their death is not specified.

Susanna, the niece of Caius, bishop of Rome, was enjoined by the emperor Diocletian to marry a noble pagan, who was nearly related to him: but she refused the honour, on account of being a Christian, which so enraged the emperor, that she was immediately afterwards beheaded

by his order. Dorotheus, chamberlain of the household to Diocletian, was a Christian, and took great pains to make converts. He was assisted by Gorgonius, another Christian belonging to the palace: they were both high in the emperor's favour, but they soon proved that worldly honours and temporary pleasures were nothing when set in competition with the joys of immortality; for being informed against, they were first tortured and then strangled. Peter, an eunuch belonging to the emperor, was a Christian of singular humility, insomuch that he did any servile office to serve the afflicted, and gave whatever he possessed to those who needed assistance. Having been informed against, and confessing the charge, he was scourged till his flesh was torn in a terrible manner; then salt and vinegar were thrown upon the wounds, and after suffering these tortures with the utmost tranquillity, he was laid on a gridiron, and broiled over a slow fire till he expired in the greatest agony.

Cyprian, known by the title of magician, to distinguish him from Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, was a native of Antioch. He received a liberal education in his youth, and applied himself to astrology; after which he travelled through India, Egypt, and Greece. He afterwards settled near Babylon, and being skilled in Chaldean mysteries, he employed his talents in endeavouring to draw women from chastity and conjugal faith, and in persecuting the Christians and ridiculing christianity. He became acquainted with Justina, a young lady of Antioch, of high birth, beauty, and accomplishments, who had been educated in idolatry; but being converted to christianity, she induced her father and mother to embrace the same faith. Her modesty was remarkable. A pagan gentleman strongly attached to her, not being able to obtain a favourable return to his addresses, applied for assistance to Cyprian, who undertook the design, but with a treacherous intent: for under the pretence of acting for his friend, he determined if possible, to possess the lady himself. To effect this, he employed all his skill; but his endeavours proving ineffectual, he was convinced that a superior power protected her from his evil intentions. Consequent reflection, caused him to search into the truths of christianity, and his enquiry became so beneficial, that he renounced paganism. His repentance was sincere; he determined to reform his conduct, and to make every amends in his power for the crimes he had committed. He burnt his books of astrology and magic, received baptism, and became animated with a powerful spirit of piety. The conversion of Cyprian had a great effect on the pagan gentleman who paid his addresses to Justina, and he also in a short time embraced christianity. During the persecution of Diocletian, Cyprian and Justina were seized upon as Christians, when the former was torn with pincers, and the latter chastised; and after suffering other torments, both were beheaded.

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

same rank with Sergius, being apprehended at the same time, underwent similar sufferings, and was beheaded on the same day, A. D. 303.

A Spanish lady of a Christian family, named Eulalia, who was remarkable in her youth for sweetness of temper and solidity of understanding, was apprehended as a Christian. The magistrate attempted, by the mildest means, to bring her over to paganism, but she answered him in so ironical a manner, and ridiculed the pagan deities with such wit, that, incensed at her behaviour, he ordered her to be tortured. Accordingly her sides were torn by hooks, and her breasts burnt in the most shocking manner, till the fire catching her head and face, she expired. This happened in December A. D. 303.

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

Vincent, a Spanish Christian, brought up by Valerius, bishop of Saragossa, who, on account of his great merits, ordained him a deacon. When the persecution reached Spain, Dacian, the governor of Tarragona, ordered Valerius the bishop, and Vincent the deacon, to be seized, loaded with irons, and imprisoned. Some time after Dacian examined them with great asperity, and threatened them with death, unless they renounced their principles. Vincent undertaking to speak for both, avowed their full determination to persist in the faith. Hereupon, Dacian, in a rage at his freedom of speech, declared that unless he immediately offered incense to the gods, he should fall a sacrifice. But the prisoners being firm in their resolution, Valerius was banished, and the whole of Dacian's rage directed against Vincent, who was racked, had his limbs dislocated, his flesh torn with hooks, and was laid on a gridiron, which had not only a fire placed under it, but spikes at the top, which run into his flesh. These torments neither destroying him nor changing his resolution, he was remanded to prison, and confined in a dark dungeon. Orders were also given not to allow him any provisions whatever, and that the news of his death should be carried to Dacian as soon as known. When the keepers thought him starved they entered the dungeon, but instead of seeing a corpse as they expected, they beheld Vincent at prayers, his wounds in a great measure healed, and his body in tolerable health.

This speedy recovery and preservation had such an effect upon the keepers, that it became the means of their conversion. Dacian however, instead of being softened, was enraged at the triumph of Vincent over his cruelties, and gave orders for new tortures to be prepared, so severe as to compel him to sink under them. But his malice was again disappointed, for before the instruments could be prepared, God took him to himself, and he died with all the serenity of a good conscience, and with as much calmness as if he had only fallen into a gentle sleep. Dacian then ordered that his body should be exposed in the fields to the birds of prey; but they not offering to touch it, he commanded that it should be thrown into the river, which was done accordingly. His death happened on the 22nd of January, 304.

It was in this year the persecution of Diocletian began again to prevail,

and many Christians were put to cruel tortures, and the most painful deaths; the most eminent and particular of these were, Saturninus, a priest of Albilina in Africa. He used to preach and administer the sacrament to a society of Christians, who privately assembled at the house of Octavius Felix; for the severity of the times was such, that they could not publicly observe their religious duties. Having been informed against, Saturninus, with four of his children, and several other persons, were apprehended; and that their punishment might be the more exemplary and public, they were sent to Carthage, the capital of Africa, where they were examined before Anulinus, the pro-consul of that quarter.

Saturninus, on the examination, gave such spirited answers, and vindicated the christian religion with eloquence that shewed he was worthy to preside over an assembly possessing a faith of purity and truth. Anulinus, enraged at his arguments, ordered him to be silenced by being put to a variety of tortures, such as scourging, tearing his flesh with hooks, and burning with hot irons. Having been thus inhumanly treated, he was remanded to prison and there starved to death. His four children, notwithstanding they were variously tormented, remained steady in their faith; on which they were sent to the dungeon in which their father was confined, where they calmly and even cheerfully shared his fate.

There were eight other Christians tortured on the same day as Saturninus, and much in the same manner. Two expired on the spot through the severity of their sufferings, and the other six being remanded to prison, were suffocated for want of a pure air. Thelico, a pious Christian; Dativus, a noble Roman senator; Victoria, a young lady of considerable family and fortune, with some others of less consideration, who had been all auditors of Saturninus, were seized at the time, tortured in a similar manner, and perished by the same means. About the same time three sisters, Chionia, Agape, and Irene, were seized at Thessalonica. They had been educated in the christian faith, but had taken great precautions to remain unknown. They therefore retired to a solitary place, and spent their hours in performing religious duties. Being, however, discovered and seized, they renounced their former timidity, blamed themselves for being fearful, and begged of God to strengthen them against the great trial they had to undergo.

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

Irene was then brought before the governor, who fancied that the death of her sisters would have an effect upon her fears, and that the dread of similar suffering would engage her to comply with his proposals. He therefore exhorted her to acknowledge the heathen deities, to sacrifice

to them, to partake of the victims, and to deliver up her books relative to christianity. But she firmly refused to comply with any of them. The governor then asked her, who persuaded her and her sisters to keep those books and writings. She answered, It was that God who commanded them to love him to the last; for which reason she was resolved to submit to be burned alive rather than give them up into the hands of his professed enemies. When the governor found that he could make no impression on her, he ordered her to be exposed naked in the streets; which shameful order having been executed, she was burnt, April 1, A. D. 304, on the same spot where her sisters had suffered before her.

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

Theodotus, a Dalmatian, kept an inn at Ancyra. Being a Christian, and of a very humane disposition, he devoted a great part of his time to visit the afflicted, and a great part of his property to relieve the poor. Theotecnus, governor of these parts, whose cruelty was equalled by nothing but his bigotry, received the mandate for persecuting the Christians with great satisfaction, and wrote the emperor word that he would do his utmost endeavours to root out christianity from every place under his jurisdiction. Thus encouraged by the governor, the pagans began to inform against and persecute the Christians. Great numbers were seized and imprisoned; their goods were destroyed, and their estates confiscated. Many fled to the woods, or retired to caves, where some supported themselves by feeding upon roots, and others perished by famine. Many were starved in the city, by means of the following singular stratagem: the governor gave orders that no provisions whatever should be exposed to sale in the markets, without having been first consecrated to the idols; hence the Christians were compelled to eat idolatrous food, or to starve and perish. The latter dreadful alternative was chosen by most of them, who, to preserve the purity of their faith, heroically gave up their lives. It was in these dreadful times, Theodotus did all that he could to comfort the imprisoned, and buried the bodies of several who had been martyred, though it was forbidden on pain of death. He likewise privately assisted many with food; for having laid in a great stock of corn and wine, he sold it at a low price, and often gave it away.

Polychronicus, a Christian, being seized, forfeited his faith, in order to preserve his life, and informed against his friend Theodotus, who hearing of this treachery, surrendered himself to the governor of his own accord. On his arrival in the court, he surveyed the instruments of torture with a smile, and seemed totally regardless of their operation. When placed at the bar, the governor informed him, that it was still in his power to save himself, by sacrificing to the gods of the empire. "And, (he continued,) if you renounce your faith in Christ, I promise

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

Victor, a native of Ancyra, was accused by the priests of Diana for having abused their goddess. For this imputed crime he was seized and committed to prison, his house plundered, his family turned out of doors, and his estate forfeited. When put to the rack, his resolution failed through the variety and severity of his torments. Being carried back to prison, that he might make a full recantation he suffered for his apostasy ; his wounds mortified, and put an end to his life.

A Christian, of the name of Timothy, being carried before Urban, governor of Palestine, was sentenced to be burnt to death by a slow fire ; which sentence was executed at Gaza, on the 19th day of August, A. D. 104.

Philip, bishop of Heraclea, had, in every act of his life, appeared a devoted Christian ; the chief of his disciples were Severus a priest, and Hermes a deacon ; who did much to promote the cause of christianity. This worthy bishop was advised to conceal himself, in order to avoid the storm of the persecution ; but he reprov'd those who counselled him to do so, telling them that their courage would be enhanced by their sufferings, and that death had no terror for the virtuous. He therefore publicly performed his duty.

An officer named Aristomachus, being employed to shut up the christian church in Heraclea, Philip took great pains to convince him, that shutting up buildings made by hands could not destroy christianity, while the living temples of the Lord remained ; for the true faith consisted not in the places where God is adored, but in the hearts of those who adore God. Being denied entrance into the church where he used to preach, Philip took up his station at the door, and there exhorted people to patience, perseverance, and godliness. For this he was seized and carried before the governor, who severely reprimanded him, and then continued to speak sternly in these words—" Bring all the vessels used in your worship, and the scriptures which you read and teach the people, and surrender them to me, before you are forced to do it by tortures." " If," replied the bishop, " you take any pleasure in seeing us suffer, we are prepared for the worst you can do. This infirm body is in your power ; use it as you please. The vessels you demand shall

be delivered up, for God is not honoured by gold and silver, but by fear and love; but as to our sacred books, it is neither proper for me to part with them, nor for you to receive them." This answer so much incensed the governor, that he ordered him to torture. Hermes, expressing himself freely against such barbarities, was ordered to be scourged at the same time.

The pagans having proceeded to the place where the scriptures and the church plate were kept, immediately seized them; they likewise unroofed the church, walled up the doors, melted down the plate, and burnt the scriptures. When Philip was taken to the market-place, he was ordered to sacrifice to the Roman deities in general, and to a very handsome image of Hercules in particular; to which command, he made an animated address on the real nature of the deity; and concluded, that from what he had already said, it appeared that the heathens worshipped what might lawfully be trodden on, and made gods of such things as Providence had designed for common use. The governor then tried the constancy of Hermes, but finding him as inflexible as the bishop, he committed them both to prison. Soon after this, the governor's time of ruling those parts being expired, a new governor named Justin arrived; but he was equally cruel as his predecessor. Philip was then dragged by the feet through the streets, severely scourged, and brought again to the governor, who charged him with obstinate rashness in continuing disobedient to the imperial decrees; but he boldly replied that he was obliged to prefer heaven to earth, and to obey God rather than man. On this the governor immediately passed sentence on him to be burnt, which was executed accordingly, and he expired, singing praises to God in the midst of the fire. Hermes, for behaving in a similar manner, and Severus, who had surrendered himself resolutely to suffer with his friends, endured the same fate. Such were the effects of a diabolical zeal for the adoration of idols.

St. Ambrose asserts that Agricola was a Christian of so amiable a disposition, that he even gained the esteem and admiration of the pagans. Being apprehended as a Christian, he was crucified in imitation of the death of our Saviour; and his body, together with the cross, were buried at Bologna in Italy, in one grave. Vitalis, the servant and convert of Agricola, was seized on the same charge as his master, and being put to the severity of the torture, died under the hands of his tormentors. Carphorus, Victorious, Severus, and Severanus, were brothers, and all employed in places of great trust and honour in the city of Rome. Having exclaimed against worshipping idols, they were apprehended, and scourged with a whip, to the ends of which were fastened leaden balls. This punishment was exercised with such rigour, that the pious brothers fell martyrs to its severity.

A Christian of Aquileia, named Chrysogonus, was beheaded by order of Diocletian, for having instructed Anastasia, a young lady of that city, in the christian faith. This lady was descended from an illustrious Roman family. Her mother, named Flavia, was a Christian, and dying while her daughter was an infant, she bequeathed her to the care of Chrysogonus, with a strict injunction to instruct her in the principles of christianity. This Chrysogonus punctually performed; but the father



of the lady, who was a pagan, gave her in marriage to a person of his own persuasion, named Publius, who was of a good family, but bad morals, and having spent his wife's and his own patrimony, he had the baseness to inform against her as a Christian. Publius soon after dying, she was released; but continuing to perform many charitable actions to Christians, she was again apprehended, and delivered up to Florus, governor of Illyricum. Florus commanded that she should be put to the torture; when finding her constant in the faith, he ordered her to be burnt, which was executed on December 25, A. D. 304; the event taking place about a month after the martyrdom of Chrysogonus, her instructor.

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

Timothy, a deacon of Mauritania, and Maura his wife, had not been married above three weeks, when they were separated from each other by the persecution. Timothy was carried before Arrianus, the governor of Thebais, who did all in his power to induce him to embrace the pagan superstition. Perceiving his endeavours vain, and knowing that Timothy had the keeping of the holy scriptures, the governor commanded him to deliver them up, that they might be burnt: to which Timothy answered, "Had I children I would sooner deliver them up to be sacrificed, than part from the word of God." The governor, incensed at this reply, ordered his eyes to be put out with hot irons, saying, "The books shall at least be useless to you, for you shall not see to read them." He endured the punishment with such patience that the governor was the more exasperated, and ordered him to be hung up by the feet, with a weight tied about his neck, and a gag in his mouth. This treatment he bore with the greatest courage, when some person acquainted the governor that he had been but newly married to a wife of whom he was extremely fond. Arrianus accordingly ordered Maura to be sent for, and promised a handsome reward, with the life of her husband, if she could prevail upon him to sacrifice to the idols. Maura, wavering in her faith, tempted by a bribe, and impelled by an unbounded affection for her husband, undertook the impious affair.

When conducted to him, she assailed his constancy with all the persuasive language of affection. When the gag was taken out of his mouth in order to give him an opportunity of replying, instead of consenting to his wife's entreaties, as they expected, he blamed her mistaken love, and declared his resolution of dying for the faith. Maura repeated her importunities, till her husband reproved her so strongly for her weakness, that she returned to his way of thinking, and resolved to imitate his courage and fidelity, and either to accompany or follow him to glory. Timothy advised her to repair her fault by declaring that resolution to the governor, by whose order she had undertaken the sinful commission. On which being strengthened by his exhortations, and the grace of God, she went to Arrianus and told him, that she was united to her husband in opinion as well as love, and was ready to suffer any thing to atone for her late crime, in wishing to make

him an apostate. The governor immediately ordered her to be tortured, which was executed with great severity; and after this Timothy and Maura were crucified near each other, A. D. 304.

A bishop of Assisium, named Sabinus, refusing to sacrifice to Jupiter, and pushing the idol from him, had his hands cut off by the order of the governor of Tuscany. After patiently suffering this barbarity, he was committed to prison, where he remained a considerable time without any assistance or relief but what he received from a christian widow, whose blind grandson had been restored by him to sight. The governor, who was himself afflicted in his sight, on hearing this intelligence, began to consider the behaviour of the Christians, and the tenets of christianity in a more favourable light, and sending for Sabinus, he informed him that he now entertained very different sentiments to what he had hitherto done, both with respect to him and his faith; then throwing himself at the feet of Sabinus, he entreated him to afford him assistance and to undertake the cure of his body and soul. The undissembled fervour with which he spoke convinced Sabinus of his sincerity; he was accordingly baptized, and the disorder in his eyes immediately left them: this conversion of the governor was followed by that of his whole family, and some of his friends. When the tyrant Maximian was informed of these circumstances, he immediately ordered the governor and all his family to be beheaded. Immediately after their execution, Sabinus was scourged to death; and two ecclesiastics, named Marcellus and Experantius, who officiated under Sabinus, were scourged in a most dreadful manner; but remaining constant in their faith, their flesh was torn with hooks till they expired. This took place in December, A. D. 304.

It now happened that, weary of the farce of state, and public business, the emperors Diocletian and Maximian resigned the imperial diadem, and were succeeded by Constantius and Galerius; the former, a prince of the most mild and humane disposition, and the latter remarkable for his tyranny and cruelty. These divided the empire into two equal governments; Galerius ruling in the East, and Constantius in the West; and the people in the two governments felt the effects of the different dispositions of the 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 cruelty and oppression.<sup>f</sup>

<sup>f</sup> Sulpicius, in the second book of his Sacred History, observes, that the primitive Christians were more desirous of martyrdom than its professors in the after ages were of bishoprics! The number of martyrs increased under the persecutions of the contemporary emperors, Maximian and Diocletian, so much, that there were never less than ten executed daily, and from that to twenty, thirty, sixty, and even a hundred, who suffered various kinds of deaths till at last it was found necessary to destroy all in one general sacrifice *per day*, as the prisons became so crowded that there were no means of keeping the Christians alive. Eusebius, in his eighth book, cap. 9. as well as Damasus, Bede, Orosius, Honorius, and others witness, that there were slain in this persecution by the name of Martyrs, within the space of thirty days, seventeen thousand persons!

Bede in his history writes, that this persecution began under Diocletian, and endured till the seventh year of Constantinus. And Eusebius says that it lasted till the tenth year of Constantinus. It was not yet one year from the day in which Diocletian and Maximian, joining themselves together, began their persecution, before they saw the number of the

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

Christians rather increase than diminish, notwithstanding all the cruelty that ever they could shew, and therefore they despaired of rooting them out.

Some important events which happened to Diocletian, seem so immediately the effect of divine judgment upon that tyrant, that we think it proper to call the attention of the reader to the brief recital of them. When Diocletian and Maximian had reigned together as emperors one and twenty years, (Nicephorus says, two and twenty years), Diocletian abandoned his imperial dignity at Nicomedia, and lived at Salona; Maximian did the same at Milan; and thus both of them led a private life, in the three hundred and ninth year after Christ. This strange alteration made it happen, that, within a short space after, there were in the Roman commonwealth many emperors at one time.

We have stated in the text in what manner the empire was divided between Galerius and Constantius; but the latter deserves some farther mention on account of his virtues. Constantius, as a modest prince, contented with the imperial title, refused Italy and Africa, satisfying himself only with France, Spain, and Britain. On which Galerius chose to him his two sons, Maximinius and Severus; and on this Constantius took Constantine his son as Cæsar under him. In the mean time, while Galerius with his two Cæsars were in Asia, the Roman soldiers set up for their emperor Maxentius, the son of Maximian, who had before deposed himself. Against him Galerius, the emperor of the East, sent his son Severus, who in the same voyage was slain of Maxentius, in whose place then Galerius took Licinus. And these were the emperors and Cæsars who succeeded after Diocletian and Maximian, and continued that persecution which Diocletian and Maximian began, during the space of seven or eight years. Constantius had no desire of dominion; but was a prince, as Eutropius describes him, very excellent, meek, gentle, liberal, and desirous to do good to all who had any authority under him: and as Cyrus once said, that he got treasure enough, when he made his friends rich; and Constantius would often say, that it were better that his subjects had treasure, than he to have it in his treasury. He was disgusted with finery, so that he used to eat and drink out of earthen vessels, a part of his conduct which has been much praised by Agathocles, the Sicilian. To these virtues he added devotion and affection towards the word of God, so that he neither levied any wars contrary to piety and the christian religion, nor aided any other prince that did the same; neither did he destroy the churches, but commanded that Christians should be preserved and defended from all injury. Constantius knowing that he had many hypocrites in his service, and wishing at a certain time to try what sincere Christians he had in his court, called together all his officers and servants, pretending to choose out such as would do sacrifice to devils, and that those only should keep their offices, while those who would refuse should be banished the court. At this appointment, all the courtiers divided themselves into companies. The emperor marked which were the godliest; and when some said they would willingly do sacrifice, others boldly denied to do so. Then the emperor sharply rebuked those who were ready to do sacrifice, and called them traitors to God, accounting them unworthy to be in his court, and commanded that they should be banished. But he greatly commended those who refused to do sacrifice, affirming, that they only were worthy to be about a prince; and commanded that henceforth they should be the trusty counsellors and defenders both of his person and kingdom.

As before said, with Constantius was joined Galerius, a man, as Eutropius affirms, who was very civil and a good soldier, as well as a favourer of wise and learned men. But Eusebius far otherwise describes him. He says, he was of a tyrannical disposition, excessively timid and curious in all superstition, insomuch that without the divinations and answers of magicians, he durst do nothing at all; and therefore he gave great offices and dignities to enchanters. He was an exacter and extortioner of the citizens, liberal to those that were flatterers, given to surfeiting and riot, a great drinker of wine, and in his furious drunkenness like a mad-man. To conclude, he was so great an idolater, that he built up temples in every city, and repaired those that were falling in great decay: but to the Christian religion, he was most incensive, and in the East churches exercised cruel persecutions.

He at length revoked his cruelty by the just judgment and punishment of God. For he was seized with a fatal and desperate disease. The physicians, not able to abide the

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

Of the Christians martyred by the order of Galerius, the most eminent are these:—Amphianus was a gentleman of distinction in Lycia, and a scholar of Eusebius; pressing through the crowd while the proclamation for sacrificing to idols was read, he caught the governor Urbianus by the hand, and severely reprov'd him for his wickedness. On which the governor, incensed at the freedom, ordered him to be put to the torture, and then thrown into the sea. Ædesius, brother of the last mentioned

intolerable offence of the disorder, some of them were commanded to be slain, and others, because they could not heal him, were cruelly put to death. At length, being reminded that this disease was sent by God, he began to think of the wickedness that he had done against the saints, and so confessed his offences: then calling those who were about him, he commanded all men to cease from persecuting the Christians; requiring, moreover, that they should set up his imperial proclamations, for restoring their temples, and that they would require of the Christians, that they would devoutly pray to God for their emperor. Then was the persecution discontinued.

Maximian, the other persecutor of the Christians, and the contemporary sovereign with Diocletian, also met with a dreadful end. Maxentius, the son of Maximian, was set up at Rome by the prætorian soldiers to be emperor. To this the senate, though they did not consent, yet for fear did not resist. Maximian, his father, who had before deprived himself with Diocletian, hearing of this, was inclined to resume his dignity, and laboured to persuade Diocletian to do the same: but not succeeding, he repaired to Rome, thinking to wrest the empire out of his son's hands. But as the soldiers would not suffer that, he fled to Constantinus in France, under pretence of complaining of Maxentius his son, but in fact to kill Constantinus; but the conspiracy being detected by Fausta, the daughter of Maximian, whom Constantinus had married, Constantinus through the grace of God was preserved, and Maximian returned. In his flight he was apprehended and put to death.

Maxentius all this while reigned at Rome with tyranny and wickedness like another Pharaoh or Nero. He slew most of his noblemen, and took their estates. Sometimes in his rage he would destroy great multitudes of the people of Rome by his soldiers, as Eusebius declares. He is said to have left no mischievous nor lascivious act unattempted. Letus declares, that being in love with a noble and chaste gentlewoman of Rome, he sent to her such of his courtiers as he held in great estimation. These first fell upon her husband and murdered him in his own house: and when they could by no means get her away from him, she desired leave to go into her chamber, and after prayer she would accomplish what they requested. When she had reached her chamber under this plea, she killed herself.

The end of Maxentius was as follows. Constantinus had a vision that commanded him to bear the sign of a cross before his army and go against the pagans. The day following this night's vision, Constantinus caused a cross after the same figure to be made of gold and precious stones, and to be borne before him instead of his standard; and with as much hope of victory and confidence as one armed from Heaven, advanced towards his enemy. Maxentius being constrained to issue out of the city against him, sent all his power to join him in the field beyond the river Tiber, where Maxentius craftily breaking down the bridge called Pons Milvius, caused an artificial bridge to be made of boats, thinking to take Constantinus as in a trap. But here it came to pass, as is written, in the seventh Psalm, "He digged a pit and fell therein himself." After the hosts met, he being unable to sustain the force of Constantinus fighting under the cross against him, was put to such a flight, that in returning back, thinking to get into the city upon the same bridge which he laid for Constantinus, was overturned by the fall of his horse, and, with a great part of his men, was drowned.

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

Pantaleon, a native of Nicomedia, received an elegant education from his father, who was a pagan, and was taught the precepts of the gospel by his mother, who was a Christian. Applying to the study of medicine, he became eminent in the knowledge of physic, and in process of time was appointed physician to the emperor Galerius. The name of this man in Greek signifies *humane*, and the appellation well suited his nature, for he was one of the most benevolent men of his time; but his extraordinary reputation roused the jealousy of the pagan physicians, who accused him to the emperor. Galerius on finding him a Christian, ordered him to be tortured, and then beheaded, which sentence was executed on July 27, A. D. 305. Hermolaus, a venerable and pious Christian, of great age, and an intimate acquaintance of Pantaleon, suffered martyrdom for his faith on the same day, and in the same manner.

Julitta, of Cappadocia, was a lady of distinguished capacity, great virtue, and uncommon courage: she was martyred on account of a lawsuit, of which Basil, bishop of Cæsarea, gives an account as follows:— "She had a troublesome suit with one of the principal men in Cæsarea, who was unjustly possessed of a considerable part of her estate, and had seized both her servants and cattle. This oppressive usurper had found means to bribe the judges in his favour, and hired persons to swear, that the land and goods in dispute were his property. Julitta, supported by the justness of her cause, thought that she had nothing more to do but to give the magistrates an ingenuous account of her title. When the cause came to be tried, the defendant, instead of supporting his claim, urged that the law would not suffer him to engage at that bar with one of a different religion; so that he could not proceed in his defence, unless the lady, who was the plaintiff, renounced christianity. The

judge was too well instructed not to second the motion, and gave it as his opinion, that what he insisted upon was according to the laws of the empire. He then ordered an altar to be brought in, and some fire to be put on it, and incense to be prepared, and then told the parties, that if they expected, either of them, to enjoy any benefit from the laws, they must both of them offer incense to the gods. The usurper who was a heathen, immediately complied; but Julitta made it appear that her faith was much dearer to her than her goods, or even than life itself. 'No, (said she), my affection to what is undoubtedly my own, shall never hinder me from sacrificing my all, and even my life, if required, rather than violate my fidelity to my God and Saviour.' For this declaration she was condemned to be burnt."

Eustratius, secretary to the governor of Armenia, was thrown into a furnace, for exhorting some Christians, who had been apprehended, to persevere in their faith.<sup>§</sup> Auxentius and Eugenius, two of Eustratius's adherents, were burnt at Nicopolis; Mardarius, another friend of his, expired under torment; and Orestes, a military officer, was broiled to death on a gridiron for wearing a golden cross at his breast. Theodore, a Syrian by birth, a soldier and a Christian, set fire to the temple of Cybele, in Amasia, through indignation at the idolatrous worship practised in it, for which he was scourged, and on February 18, A. D. 306, burnt to death. Dorothea, a Christian of Cappadocia, was, by the governor's order, placed under the care of two women, who had become apostates to the faith, in order that she might be induced to follow their example. But her discourses had such an effect upon them, that they became re-converted, and were put to death for not succeeding: soon after which, Dorothea was tortured, and then beheaded. Pancratius was a native of Phrygia, but being made a Christian and brought to Rome, by his uncle, he there suffered martyrdom, by being beheaded after the decease of his uncle, who died a natural death a little time before. Cyrinus, Nazarius, Nabor, and Basilides, four worthy christian officers at Rome, were thrown into prison for their faith, scourged with rods of wire, and then beheaded.

Two Roman military officers, Nicander and Marcian, were apprehended on account of their faith. As they were both men of great abilities, the utmost endeavours were made to induce them to renounce christianity; but being without effect, they were ordered to be beheaded. The execution was attended by vast crowds of the populace, among whom were the wives of the two sufferers. The consort of Nicander was a Christian, and encouraged her husband to meet his fate with fortitude; but the wife of Marcian being a pagan, entreated her husband

<sup>§</sup> Nicephorus tells us that Eustratius was much skilled in the Greek language, and was a scribe of great estimation. It appears that this man, beholding the marvellous constancy of the martyrs, thirsted with the desire of martyrdom, and privily learned the Christian religion. Therefore he detected himself, and professed that he was a Christian, only execrating the madness and vanity of the wicked Ethnics. Being in consequence carried away, he was tied up and cruelly beaten. After that he was scorched and mangled with shells, so that his whole body seemed to be one continual wound; yet by God's great goodness, it was speedily healed. After this he was carried to Sebastia, where with his companion Orestes he was burnt to death.

to save himself, for the sake of her and her child. Marcian, however, reproved her for her idolatry and folly, but before the stroke was given he embraced her and the infant. Nicander likewise took leave of his wife in the most affectionate manner; and then both, with great resolution, received the crown of martyrdom. Besides these there were several others, whose names and sufferings are not recorded by the ancient historians.

In the kingdom of Naples several martyrdoms took place: in particular, Januarius, bishop of Beneventum; Sosius, deacon of Misene; Proculus, another deacon; Eutyches and Acutius, two laymen; Festus, a deacon; and Desiderius, a curate, were all condemned, by the governor of Campania, to be devoured by wild beasts for professing christianity. The animals, however, not touching them, they were beheaded. Marcellus, a centurion, of the Trajan legion, was posted at Tangier, and being a Christian, suffered martyrdom, under the following circumstances:—While he was there, the emperor's birth-day was kept, and the sacrifices to the pagan idols made a considerable part of that solemnity. All the subjects of the empire were expected on that occasion to conform to the blind religion of their prince; but Marcellus, who had been well instructed in the duties of his profession, expressed his detestation of those profane practices, by throwing away his belt, the badge of his military character, declaring aloud that he was a soldier of Christ, the eternal king. He then quitted his arms, and added, that from that moment he ceased to serve the emperor; and that he thus expressed his contempt of the gods of the empire, which were no better than deaf and dumb idols. "If," continued he, "their imperial majesties impose the obligation of sacrificing to them and their gods, as a necessary condition of their service, I here throw up my commission and quit the army." Marcellus's behaviour and speeches occasioned an order for his being beheaded. Cassian, secretary to the court which tried Marcellus, expressing his disapprobation of such proceedings, was ordered into custody; when avowing himself a Christian, he met with the same fate.

Quirinus, bishop of Siscia, being carried before Matenius, the governor, was ordered to sacrifice to the pagan deities, agreeable to the edicts of various Roman emperors, but refusing, was ordered to be severely scourged. When under the hand of the executioner, the governor was urgent with him to sacrifice, and offered to make him a priest of Jupiter: to which Quirinus replied, that he was already engaged in the priestly office, while he thus offered a sacrifice to the true God. "I," continued he, "scarce feel my torments, and am ready to suffer still greater, that my example may show those whom God has committed to my care, the way to the glory we wish for." The governor then sent him to prison, and ordered him to be heavily ironed: after which he was sent to Amantius, the governor of Parmonia, now Hungary, who loaded him with chains, and carried him through the principal towns of the Danube, exposing him to general ridicule. At length arriving at Sabaria, and finding that Quirinus would not renounce his faith, he ordered him to be cast into a river, with a stone fastened to his neck. The sentence was accordingly put into execution, and Quirinus, floating about for some time, exhorted the people in the most pious terms, concluding his

admonitions with this prayer:—"It is no new thing, O all-powerful Jesus! for thee to stop the course of rivers, or to cause a man to walk upon the water, as thou didst thy servant Peter: the people have already seen the proof of thy power in me; grant me now to lay down my life for thy sake, O my God!" After uttering these words, he immediately sunk. This happened June 4, A. D. 308: his body was afterwards taken up, and buried by some Christian brethren.

Five Egyptian Christians being on a visit to their afflicted brethren in Cæsarea, were apprehended and carried before Firmilian, the governor of Palestine, who, on questioning them, was answered by one in the name of the rest, that they were Christians, and belonged to the *New Jerusalem*, and had their names recorded in the book of life. The governor was surprised at the answer, as he knew *Vespasian* and his son *Titus* had destroyed the ancient Jerusalem; and that the inconsiderable town erected by *Adrian* upon the spot, was called *Ælia Capitolina*: he therefore enquired more particularly concerning it. The Christian who had spoken before, again replied, and pursuing the allegory, described, with great force of imagination, the beauty, riches, and strength of the place. Firmilian still mistaking the Christian's meaning, by understanding his words in a literal sense, became much alarmed; for not dreaming that a heavenly city was alluded to, he fancied that the Christians were strengthening and fortifying some place, in order to revolt from their allegiance to the emperor. Prejudiced by this mistake, and enraged at the supposed disloyalty, he condemned the five prisoners to be cruelly tormented and then beheaded; which sentence was executed on the 16th of February, A. D. 309.

*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 among the clergy at Cæsarea, where he spent his time in the practice of every christian virtue. He copied the greatest parts of the works of *Origen* with his own hand, and, assisted by *Eusebius*, gave a correct copy of the *Old Testament*, which had suffered greatly by the ignorance or negligence of former transcribers. He likewise gave public lectures on religious and literary subjects, in an academy which he had erected for that purpose, till the year 307, when he was apprehended and carried before *Urban*, the governor of Palestine, who exerted himself to induce him to embrace paganism. Finding his endeavours vain, he began to threaten him; but *Pamphilus* maintained his resolution, upon which he was ordered to be severely tortured, and then sent to prison.

Soon after, *Urban*, having displeased the emperor, was displaced and beheaded; but another was appointed in his room, who was equally prejudiced against the Christians. *Pamphilus* suffered martyrdom under the new governor, by being beheaded; together with *Valens*, a deacon of the church of Jerusalem; and *Paul*, a layman, of *Jamnia*, in Palestine. *Porphyrius*, the servant of *Pamphilus*, was burnt by a straw fire, for only requesting leave to bury the body of his master and other martyrs. *Theodolus*, a venerable and faithful servant to Firmilian, the governor, being accused of the Christian faith, confessed the charge, and was, by order of his master, crucified on February 17, A. D. 309:



on the same day, Julian, a Cappadocian, was burnt. Marcellus, bishop of Rome, being banished on account of his faith, fell a martyr to the miseries he suffered in exile, A. D. 310, on the 16th of January. Peter, the sixteenth bishop of Alexandria, by order of Maximinus Cæsar, who reigned in the East, was martyred November 25, A. D. 311. Lucian, a learned Syrian, was a man of so benevolent a temper, that he disposed of the greatest part of his fortune in charitable donations. He was apprehended as a Christian, imprisoned for the space of nine years, put to the rack, rolled upon sharp flints, and being tortured to death, his body was thrown into the sea; but it was afterwards cast on shore, and received Christian interment.

Valentine, a priest, suffered the same fate at Rome; and Erasmus, a bishop, was martyred in Campania. Cosmus and Damian, Arabians and brothers, were martyred in Cilicia; Adrian, an imperial officer, was beheaded in Rome; Barbara, a young lady, was martyred at Nicomedia; Lucia, a Christian virgin, was put to death at Syracuse; and Serena, the empress of Diocletian, did not escape martyrdom when she declared herself a Christian.

Gordius, a native of Cæsarea, and a centurion in the Roman army, was first tortured, and then burnt; Menas, an Egyptian soldier, was beheaded; and Barlaam, a noble martyr, having endured the utmost torments even to the point of death, his tormentors laid him on a pagan altar, and put frankincense into his hand, which they lighted, that the heat and force of the fire might oblige him to scatter the burning incense on the altar, to enable them to say that he had sacrificed; but they were disappointed, for the flame went round his hand, which appeared covered with red hot embers, while he uttered this exclamation of the psalmist: "Blessed be the Lord my God, who teacheth my hands to war, and my fingers to fight." After which he surrendered his soul to the Redeemer. The pagans about this time shut up the doors of a church in which a Christian congregation were assembled, and having set fire to the building, every person perished.

Constantine the Great at length determined to redress the grievances of the Christians, for which purpose he raised an army of 30,000 foot and 8000 horse, with which he marched towards Rome, against Maxentius, the emperor. But he reflected on the fatal miscarriages of his predecessors, who had maintained a multiplicity of gods, and reposed an entire confidence in their assistance. On the other hand, he considered that while his father adored only one God, he continually prospered. He therefore rejected the adoration of idols, and implored the assistance of the Almighty; who heard his prayers, and answered them in a manner so surprising and miraculous, that Eusebius acknowledges it could not have been credible, had he not received it from the emperor's own mouth, who publicly and solemnly ratified the truth with a solemn oath. The extraordinary narrative is as follows:—"The army arriving near Rome, the emperor was employed in devout ejaculations on the 27th of October, about three o'clock in the afternoon. when, the sun declining, there suddenly appeared to him a pillar of light in the heavens, in the form of a cross, with this plain inscription, *In hoc signo vinces*, "In this sign thou shalt conquer." Constantine was greatly surprised at the

astonishing sight, which was also visible to the whole army, who equally wondered at it with himself. The officers and commanders, prompted by the augurs and soothsayers, looked upon it as an inauspicious omen, portending an unfortunate expedition. The emperor himself did not understand it, till at length CHRIST appeared to him in a vision, with the cross in his hand, commanding him to make it a royal standard, and cause it to be continually carried before his army, as an ensign both of victory and safety. Early the next morning, Constantine informed his friends and officers of what he had seen in the night, and sending for proper workmen, sat down by them, and described to them the form of the standard, which he then ordered them to make with the greatest art and magnificence. They made it thus: a long spear, plated with gold, with a traverse piece at the top, in the form of a cross, to which was fastened a four square purple banner, embroidered with gold, and beset with precious stones, which reflected the brightest lustre: towards the top was depicted the emperor between his two sons: above the cross, stood a crown, overlaid with gold and jewels, within which was placed the sacred symbol, namely the two first letters of Christ in Greek, X and P, one intersecting the other. This device he afterwards bore, not only upon his shields, but also upon his coins, many of which are still extant.<sup>h</sup>

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

Licinius was not a Christian in his heart, but affected to appear as such, through the dread of Constantine's power; for even after publishing several edicts in favour of the Christians, he put to death Blase, Bishop of Sebaste, several bishops and priests of Egypt and Lybia, who were cut to pieces, and thrown into the sea; and forty soldiers of the garrison of Sebaste, who suffered martyrdom by fire. These things offended Constantine the Great; and he marched against Licinius, who was defeated by him, and afterwards slain by his own soldiers.

St. George, the tutelar saint and the patron of England, was born in Cappadocia, of Christian parents, who brought him up according to the tenets of the gospel. His father dying when he was young, he travelled with his mother into Palestine, which was her native country. Here

<sup>h</sup> In the writings of Marsilius Patavinus, entitled "*Defensor Pacis*," which were published in the year 1324, it is observed of Constantine, that he was a singular spectacle for all Christian princes to imitate; that his fervent zeal in favour of the servants of Christ was notable; but especially the affection and reverence of his heart towards those, who had suffered for the confession of Christ in previous persecutions: these he held in peculiar veneration, so much that he embraced and kissed their wounds and stripes. And if any such bishop or other ministers brought to him any complaints one against another, (as many times they did) he would take their bills of complaint and burn them before their faces; so studious and zealous was his mind to have them agree.

she claimed a patrimonial estate, which afterwards descended to her son. St. George being active, and of great spirit, became a soldier, and was made a tribune or colonel. In this post he exhibited great proofs of his courage, and was promoted in the army of 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. This so greatly provoked the senate, that St. George was ordered to be tortured, which he underwent with much constancy. He was afterwards, by the emperor's command, dragged through the streets and beheaded. The calendar commemorates his martyrdom on the 23rd of April.<sup>i</sup>

In the catalogue of holy martyrs, who suffered in the tenth persecution, many more are mentioned, particularly Philoromus, a man of noble birth, and great possessions in Alexandria, who, being persuaded by his friends to favour himself, to respect his wife, to consider his children and family, not only rejected the counsel, but also neglected the threats and torments of the judge, to keep the confession of Christ inviolate to death. Of like estate and dignity was Procopius in Palestina, who after conversion brake his images of silver and gold, and distributed the value of them to the poor, and after all kind of torments, racking, tearing his flesh, at length had his head struck off. Georgius, a young man of Cappadocia, boldly inveighing against the impious idolatry of the emperors, was apprehended and cast into prison, then torn with irons, burnt with lime, stretched with cords; after that, his hands and feet being cut off, his tortures were closed, and his crown of martyrdom was completed by beheading.

We cannot close our account of the ten persecutions under the Roman emperors, without calling the attention of the Christian reader to the evident indignation which the Almighty manifested towards the persecutors. History shews that no nation or individual can prosper where Christ Jesus, the Son of God, is contemned. After these events, the Romans were not only plagued and destroyed by their own emperors, but also by civil wars, three of which happened in two years at Rome, after the death of Nero. In the days of Tiberius, five thousand Romans were maimed or slain at one time by the fall of a theatre. By the destruction of the Jews, about this time, there were destroyed by Titus and Vespasian his father, eleven thousand, besides those whom

<sup>i</sup> The order of the Garter, instituted by Edward the third, on an occasion well known to every child acquainted with English history, is placed under the tutelary protection of St. George; but with a most ridiculous substitution of fable for fact. The saint is pictured in the badge of the order—a badge worn even by the bishop of Winchester, as prelate of the order, in every pulpit in which he preaches—in the traditionary attitude of tilting at a dragon as a sort of knight errantry defence of some hopeful virgin; thus commemorating by the highest order in the realm, a pagan fable, rather than any one of the christian enterprises by which the saint is said to have been distinguished! The apology for this absurd preference is as ridiculous as the preference itself. The dragon is considered an emblem of the devil, and the saint's encounter with it an allegory of his assailing the powers of darkness by the life and death of a Christian hero! Subsequent ruling powers, however, not satisfied with this apology, have associated with St. George in the protection of the order, the Blessed Virgin, St. Edward the confessor, and even the Holy Trinity!

Vespasian slew in subduing Galilee, and those who were sent into Egypt, and other provinces to slavery, to the number of seventeen thousand. Two thousand were brought with Titus in his triumph; many of whom he gave to be devoured by the wild beasts, and the rest were most cruelly slain. By this case all nations may take example, what it is to reject the visitation of God's truth, and much more to persecute those who are sent by God for their salvation.

And though the vengeance of God thus was shewn upon both Jews and Romans, for their contempt of Christ, whom God so punished by their own emperors; yet neither the emperors themselves, for persecuting Christ in his members, escaped without their just reward. For during the space of these first three hundred years, few or none of them escaped some miserable end. First we record the poisoning of Tiberius, and the slaughter of the three Neros after him. Then Domitius Galba within seven months was slain by Otho. And Otho afterwards killed himself, being overcome by Vitellius. Vitellius shortly after was drawn through the city of Rome, and after being tormented was thrown into the Tiber. Titus was thought to be poisoned by Domitian his brother; and Domitian was slain in his chamber by the consent of his wife. Commodus was murdered by Narcissus. Pertinax and Julianus met a similar fate. Severus was slain in England; his son Bassianus killed his brother Geta, and he was murdered by Martialis. Macrinus with his son Diadumenus were both slain by their own soldiers. Heliogabulus was killed by his people, drawn through the city, and cast into the Tiber. Alexander Severus, although in life and virtues he was much superior to other emperors, yet met with the like end, being slain at Mentz with his godly mother Mammea, by Maximinus, whom the emperor from a mule-driver had advanced to great dignities. Maximinus also, three years after, was slain by his soldiers. Maximus and Balbinus, in like manner, were both massacred in Rome. Gordon was slain by Philip. Decius was drowned, and his son slain at the same time in battle. Gallus and Volusianus his sons, were both slain by a conspiracy of Emilianus, who rose against them in war, and within three months was slain himself. Next to Emilianus succeeded Valerian and Galienus his son. Valerian was taken prisoner by the Persians, and there contemned by Sapores their king, who used him for a stool to leap upon his horse; while his son Galienus, sleeping at Rome, either would not or could not revenge his father's ignominy. After the taking of Valerian, as many emperors rose up as there were provinces in the Roman monarchy. At length Galienus was killed by Aureolus, who warred against him. Aurelian was slain by his secretary. Tacitus and Florinus his brother: the first reigned six months, and was slain at Pontus; the other reigned two months, and was murdered at Tarsus. Probus, although a good civil emperor, was destroyed by his soldiers. After him Carus, the next emperor, was slain by lightning. Next to Carus followed the impious Diocletian, with Maximian, Valerius, Maximinus, Maxentius, and Licinius, under whom (during the time of Diocletian) the greatest persecution was excited against Christians for ten years. Diocletian and Maximian deposed themselves from the empire. The miserable end of Galerius has been already described.

Maximinius, in his war, being tormented with pain, died in misery. Maxentius was vanquished by Constantine, and drowned in the Tiber. Licinius, being overcome by Constantine the Great, was deposed from his empire, and afterwards slain by his soldiers. On the other hand, after the time of Constantine, when the faith of Christ was received into the imperial seat, we read of scarcely an emperor destroyed or molested.

Thus it may be seen that the punishment of God, though deferred, is certain to alight on the wicked; and if he has hitherto withheld his hand from visiting our sins in this realm, let us not on that account be high minded, but humbly thank him for his tender mercies; and while we bow before him in faith, let us endeavour to preserve his worship free from that ungodliness and superstition of which it is now purged. So shall we be happy in this fleeting world, and obtain everlasting life in the world to come, through the intercession of our blessed Redeemer, who offered up his life on the cross for our salvation.

## BOOK II.

Containing an account of the persecutions in Persia under Sapores; the persecutions under the Arian ascendancy; those under Julian the Apostate, the Goths and Vandals; and in various parts of the world; with many other particulars.

### SECTION I.

#### THE PERSECUTION OF THE CHRISTIANS IN PERSIA.

THE gospel having spread itself into Persia, the pagan priests became greatly alarmed, and dreaded the loss of their influence over the public mind. They therefore complained to the emperor, that Christians were enemies to the state, and held a treasonable correspondence with the Romans, the great enemies of Persia. The emperor, being averse to Christianity, readily believed what was said against its disciples, and gave orders to persecute them throughout his empire. On account of this mandate many fell martyrs, the sufferings of the most eminent of whom we shall here relate.

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

On this the emperor told him, that if he did not kneel, he and all the Christians in his dominions should be put to death; but Simeon rejected with disdain the proposal to kneel. The emperor then ordered him to be sent to prison. A short time after, Simeon and his fellow-prisoners were examined, and commanded to worship the sun, agreeable to the Persian custom; but this they resolutely and unanimously refused. The emperor then sentenced them to be beheaded, and the sentence was executed without delay, exception, or remorse.

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

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

The emperor, offended at this explanation, ordered Usthazares to be beheaded. While going to execution, he desired that a messenger might be sent to the emperor, to request that it might be proclaimed, "That Usthazares did not die for any crime against the king or state; but only that being a Christian, he would not deny his God." This petition was granted, and was a great satisfaction to Usthazares, whose chief reason for desiring it was, because his apostasy from Christ had caused many others to follow his example; but now, hearing that he died for no crime but his religion, they might return to Christ. Usthazares then cheerfully yielded his neck to the executioner.

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

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

When Constantine the Great was informed of the persecutions in Persia, he was much concerned, and began to reflect in what manner he should redress the grievances of the victims, when an ambassador arrived from the Persian emperor upon some political business. Constantine received him civilly, granted his demands, and wrote a letter to the Persian monarch in favour of the Christians, in which he alluded to the vengeance that had fallen on persecutors, and the success that had attended those who had refrained from the persecution: and then referring to the tyrants and persecuting emperors of his own time, he said, "I subdued those solely by faith in Christ; in which God was my helper, who gave me victory in battle, and made me triumph over my enemies; and hath so enlarged to me the bounds of the Romish empire, that it extends from the Western Ocean, almost to the uttermost parts of the East. For this purpose I neither offered sacrifice to the ancient deities, nor made use of charm or divination, but only prayer to Almighty God, and followed the cross of Christ: and how glad should I be to hear that the throne of Persia flourished by embracing the Christians; that so you with me, and they with you, may enjoy all the felicity your souls could desire; and no doubt but you would, as God, the Almighty Creator of all things, would become your protector and defender. These men, therefore, I commend to your mercy; I commit them unto you, desiring you to embrace them with humanity; for in so doing, you will procure to yourself grace through faith, and bestow on me a benefit worthy of my thanks."

In consequence of this appeal, the persecution ended during the life of Sapore; but it was renewed under his successors, when the following were the principal sufferers:—Hormisdas, a Persian nobleman, being convicted of Christianity, was ordered to attend the emperor's elephants naked. This disgusting task he performed for some time, when the emperor one day looking out of a window which commanded the yard where the elephants were kept, saw Hormisdas performing his office. Determining to try him once more, he gave orders that a shirt should be put on him, and that he should be brought into his presence. The emperor asked him if he would now deny Christ. On which Hormisdas tore off his shirt, and said, "If you think I will deny my faith for the sake of a shirt, take your gift again." The emperor then banished him from Persia, and he died in exile.

Theodoret, a deacon, was imprisoned for two years, and on being released, was ordered not to preach the doctrine of Christ. He however did his utmost to propagate the gospel, for which he was miserably tormented, by having sharp reeds thrust under his nails; and then a knotty branch of a tree was forced into his body, and he expired in the most excruciating agony. Bademus, a Christian of Mesopotamia, gave away his fortune to the poor, and devoted his life to religious retirement. This Christian, with seven others, was seized and cruelly tortured. The Christians, who were apprehended with Bademus, received martyrdom, though the manner is not recorded; and Bademus, after having been four months in prison, was beheaded by Narses, an apostate Christian, who acted as the executioner, in order to convince the emperor that he was sincere in his renunciation of the Christian faith.

## SECTION II.

## PERSECUTIONS UNDER THE ARIAN ASCENDANCY.

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

In Egypt and Lybia, thirty bishops were martyred and many other Christians cruelly tormented. George, the first Arian bishop of Alexandria, under the authority of the emperor, began a persecution in that city, and its environs, which was continued some time with the utmost severity. He was assisted by Catophonius, governor of Egypt; Sebastian, general of the Egyptian forces; Faustinus, the treasurer; and a Roman officer, named Heraclius. So great was this persecution, that the clergy were driven from Alexandria, their churches were shut, and the severities practised by the Arian heretics became as great as those that had been exercised by the pagan idolaters. If a man accused of being an orthodox Christian made his escape, his whole family were massacred, and his effects forfeited. By this means, being deprived of all places of public worship in the city of Alexandria, the persecuted used to perform their devotion in a desert at some distance from it. On a Trinity Sunday, when they had met, George, the Arian bishop, engaged Sebastian, the general, to fall upon them with his soldiers, while they were at prayers; and several fell a sacrifice to the fury of the troops. The modes of cruelty were various; and the degrees equally diversified; for they were beaten on their faces till their features were disfigured; or were lashed with twigs of palm-trees with such violence, that they expired under the blows, or by the mortification of the wounds. Several whose lives had been spared, were banished to the deserts of Africa, where amidst their sufferings, they passed their time in prayer, and general acts of piety and devotion.

Secundus, an orthodox priest, differing in point of doctrine from a prelate of the same name, the bishop, who had imbibed the peculiarities of Arianism, determined to put Secundus to death, for rejecting opinions which he himself had thought proper to embrace. He went with one Stephen, as much an Arian as himself, sought out Secundus privately, fell upon and murdered him: the holy martyr, just before he expired, called upon Christ to receive his soul, and to forgive his enemies. At this time, being dissatisfied 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





SLAUGHTER OF CHRISTIANS AT ALEXANDRIA.—PAGE 88.



Sebastian, the commander in chief of the Roman forces in those provinces: the general signified the emperor's pleasure to all the sub-governors and officers. Thus 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 signed for their banishment into uncultivated and mostly uninhabited regions. While the orthodox clergy were thus used, many of the laity were condemned to the mines, or compelled to work in the quarries. Some few indeed escaped to other countries, and several were weak enough to renounce their faith, in order to avoid the severity of the persecution. Paul, the bishop of Constantinople, was a Macedonian, and was designed from his birth for the clerical office. When Alexander, the predecessor of Paul, was on his death-bed, he was consulted by some of the clergy on the choice of a successor: he told them, "That if they were disposed to choose a person of an exemplary life, and thoroughly capable of instructing the people, Paul was the man; 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." The latter was a deacon in the church of Constantinople, in which office he had spent many years, and gained great experience; and the dying prelate did both him and Paul justice in the different characters he gave them. Nevertheless, the Arians gave out, that Alexander had bestowed great commendations on Macedonius for sanctity, and had only given Paul the reputation of eloquence, and a capacity for business; after some struggle, the orthodox party carried their point, and Paul was consecrated. Macedonius, being offended at this preference, did his utmost to calumniate the new bishop: but not gaining belief, he dropped the charge, and reconciled himself to Paul. This was not the case with Eusebius of Nicomedia, who resumed the accusations under two heads, as follow:—

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 metropolitans, who ought to have been consulted upon that occasion."

Eusebius, to support these accusations, procured the emperor's authority, by representing that Paul, having been chosen during the absence of Constantius, the imperial dignity had been insulted. This artifice succeeded, and Paul being deposed Eusebius was placed in his stead. Thus Paul having 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. At Rome he visited Athanasius, and assisted at a council held there by Julius, the bishop of that see. Letters being written by this council to the eastern prelates, Paul returned to Constantinople, but was not restored to his bishopric till the death of Eusebius. The Arians, however, constituting Macedonius their diocesan, by the title of bishop of Constantinople, a civil war ensued, in which many were put to death.

Constantius the emperor, who was then at Antioch, hearing of the schism, laid the whole blame upon Paul, and ordered that he should be driven from Constantinople. But Hermogenes, the officer who had

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

The Arian party now made Gregory of Cappadocia, an obscure person, bishop of Alexandria, after having deposed Athanasius for his strict adherence to the orthodox faith. In the accomplishment of this affair, they were assisted by Philagerius, governor of Egypt, who was an apostate, and who authorised them to commit all manner of outrage. Arming themselves with swords and clubs, they broke into one of the principal churches of Alexandria, where numbers of orthodox Christians were assembled at their devotions; and falling upon them in a barbarous manner, without the least respect to sex or age, most of them were destroyed. Potamo, a venerable bishop of Heraclea, who had formerly lost one of his eyes in Diocletian's persecution, fell a martyr upon this occasion; being so cruelly scourged and beaten that he died of his wounds. The Arians also broke into many places, public and private, under pretence of searching for Athanasius, and committed innumerable barbarities; robbing orphans, plundering the houses of widows, imprisoning the clergy, burning churches and dwelling-houses belonging to the orthodox Christians, besides other enormous cruelties, which were perpetuated by a mob of fanatics, under a name which every part of their temper and conduct disgraced.

## SECTION III.

## THE PERSECUTION UNDER JULIAN THE APOSTATE.

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

Constantius died in the year 361, when Julian succeeded him; but he had no sooner attained the imperial dignity, than he renounced Christianity and embraced paganism. He restored idolatrous worship, by opening the several temples that had been shut up, rebuilding such as were destroyed, and ordering the magistrates and people to follow his example; but he issued no public edicts against Christianity. He recalled all banished pagans, allowed the free exercise of religion to every sect; but deprived all Christians of office at court, in the magistracy, or in the army. He was chaste, temperate, vigilant, laborious, and apparently pious; so that by his hypocrisy and pretended virtues, he for a time did more mischief to Christianity than the most profligate of his predecessors; especially as he deprived the christian clergy of the privileges which had been granted them by Constantine the Great.

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

Julian ordered that Christians might be treated coldly upon all occasions and in all parts of the empire, and employed witty persons to turn them and their principles into ridicule. Many were likewise martyred in his reign: for though he did not publicly persecute them himself, he connived at their being murdered by his governors and officers; and though he affected never to patronize these murderers, he never offered to punish them for their delinquency. We shall recount the names, sufferings, and martyrdoms of such as have been transmitted to posterity.

By his opposition to Arianism, Basil made himself famous, which, brought upon him the vengeance of the Arian bishop of Constantinople, who issued an order to prevent him from preaching. He continued, however, to perform his duty at Ancyra, the capital of Galatia, till his enemies accused him of being an incendiary, and a disturber of the public peace. The monarch, however, was too intent on an expedition to Persia, to take notice of the accusation, and their malice at that time was wholly frustrated. Basil therefore continued to preach against the

idolatry of paganism on the one hand, and the errors of Arianism on the other; and earnestly exhorted the people to serve Christ in the purity of faith and fervency of truth. By this conduct both heathens and Arians were exasperated against him, and the consequence might be conjectured.

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

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

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

and be martyred. Resolutely choosing the latter alternative, they were both beheaded.

Artemius, commander in chief of the Roman forces in Egypt, being a Christian, had two charges exhibited against him by the pagans— That he had demolished several idols in the reign of Constantine; and that he had assisted the bishop of Alexandria in plundering the temples. Julian, who was then at Antioch, on hearing these charges, ordered the general to repair thither to answer them. On his arrival he boldly confessed the charges, when he was first deprived of his commission, then of his estate, and finally of his head.

Cassian, a school-master of Imola, in the province of Romagno, for refusing to sacrifice to the idols, was taken before a judge; who being apprised of his profession, and informed that many of the boys had an aversion to him on account of the strictness with which he kept them to their studies, determined they should have permission to murder him. He was accordingly delivered to the boys, with his hands tied behind him, who fell upon him with rods, whips, and steel pencils, which were then used in writing, and at length murdered him. This singular martyrdom happened on the 13th of August, A. D. 362.

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

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

About the end of the year 363, the persecution raged with more than usual violence. In Palestine many were burnt alive, others were dragged by their feet through the streets till they expired; some were scalded to death, many stoned, and great numbers had their brains beaten out with clubs. In Alexandria innumerable martyrs suffered by the sword, burning, crucifixion, and stoning.

In Thrace, Emilianus was burnt at the stake; and Domitius was murdered in a cave, whither he had fled for concealment. Sozomenus ascribes the rage of the Arethusians against Christian virgins to the efforts of Constantine, who had prevented their being exposed in the temple of Venus at Heliopolis.

Theodorus, for singing the praises of God, was apprehended and put to the rack, though not to death. After being taken down, he was asked how he could so patiently endure such exquisite tortures; to which he returned this remarkable reply: "At first I felt some pain, but afterwards there appeared to stand by me a young man, who wiped the sweat from my face, and frequently refreshed me with cold water, which so delighted me, that I regretted being let down."<sup>k</sup>

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

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

When Julian formed an expedition against the Persians, he imposed a large fine upon every one who refused to sacrifice to the idols, and by that means gained a great sum from the Christians towards defraying the expence. Many of the officers in collecting these fines, exacted more than was due, and some of them tortured the Christians to make them pay what they demanded, telling them in derision, "that when they were injured they ought to take it patiently, for so their God commanded them." The inhabitants of Cæsarea were fined three hundred weight of gold, and several of the clergy obliged to serve in the wars, as a punishment for having overthrown the temples of Jupiter, Fortune, and Apollo. The governor at Meris, in Phrygia, having cleansed and opened a pagan temple, the Christians in the night broke in and demolished the idols. Next day the governor ordered all Christians that accidentally came in the way to be seized, that he might make examples of them, and by this means he would have executed several innocent persons; but those who really perpetrated the act, being too just to suffer such retaliation, voluntarily delivered themselves up; when they were scourged severely, and then put to a cruel and lingering death.

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

<sup>k</sup> For many interesting particulars of this martyr, those acquainted with classical literature are referred to Ruff. 5, cap. 26; Theod. lib. 3, cap. 11; and Sozom. lib. 5, cap. 10, 20.



The latter was a great favourer of Arianism, and so incensed against the Christians, that on a certain day he ordered all in Edessa to be slain while they were at their devotion in the churches. The officers, however, being more compassionate than the emperor, privately gave notice to the Christians not to assemble on the day appointed, so that they might escape death.

The Christians thanked the officers for their advice, but disregarded both that and the emperor's menaces rather than neglect their duty. They repaired to the church, and the troops were put in motion to destroy them. As they marched along, a woman, with a child in her arms, broke through the ranks, when the officer ordered her to be brought before him, and asked her where she was going. She replied to church, whither others were making all the haste they could. "Have you not heard," said the officer, "of the emperor's order, to put to death all who are found there?" "I have," said she, "and for that reason I make the more haste." "And whither," said the officer, "do you lead that child?" "I take him," replied she, "with me, that he also may be numbered among the martyrs." Upon this the humane officer returned to the emperor, and told him that all the Christians were prepared to die in defence of their faith, represented to him the rashness of murdering so great a multitude, and entreated him to drop the design, at least for the present: reluctantly he complied with the humane advice.

Urbanus, Menidemus, and Theodorus, with several other orthodox clergymen, to the number of fourscore, at Constantinople, petitioned the emperor to relieve them from the oppressions and cruelties of the Arians. But the tyrant, instead of redressing their grievances, ordered them all to be embarked in a ship, and the vessel to be set on fire. This infernal order being executed, they all perished in the flames.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Although the truth of these cruel martyrdoms cannot be doubted, yet many persons will wonder why the Almighty Director of all things would suffer his servants, who believed in his word, to be so horribly treated; but as St. Jerome has justly observed, "We ought not to be moved with this iniquity of things, to see the wicked prevail against the body:" for even in the beginning of the world, we see Abel the just was killed by the wicked Cain; and afterwards Jacob thrust out for Esau to reign in his father's house. The Egyptians, also, afflicted the sons of Israel; and the Lord himself was crucified by the Jews. The godly in this world therefore suffer for examples, and the wicked flourish and prevail; yet we may be sure that these afflictions of God's people in the world have not come by chance or fortune, but by the provident appointment of God. For as by the affliction of the children of Israel, he hath prefigured the persecution of the Christians, so, by the words of Christ in the gospel did he forewarn his church of the troubles to come. Neither did he suffer these great afflictions to fall upon his servants before he had warned them by special revelation in the Apocalypse of John; in which he declared not only what troubles were coming upon them, and where and by whom they should come, but also assigned the true time, how long the said persecutions should continue, and when they should cease. The feelings of the Editor, and he is sure those of his readers, on perusing the accounts of such horrid cruelties, resemble those of Titus Livius, who, when writing of the wars of Carthage, was so astonished and afflicted, that he cried out, "*Ac si in parte aequa labores, ac periculi ipse pariter fuisset.*"

## SECTION IV.

## THE PERSECUTIONS OF THE CHRISTIANS BY THE GOTHs, &amp;c.

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

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

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

Sabas was soon after apprehended on account of his faith, and carried before a magistrate, who enquired into his fortune and circumstances; when finding that he was a person of obscure station, he was dismissed with contempt. He then went to spend the Easter with Sansala, a christian priest of great piety; but on the third night after his arrival they were both seized by a party of soldiers. The priest was allowed to dress himself and to ride, but Sabas was obliged to leave his clothes behind him and to walk; and, during the journey, they drove him through thorns and briars, beating him almost continually. This cruelty he bore without a single murmur. In the evening they extended him between two beams, fastening his legs to the one and his arms to the other; and in that posture left him for the night. The woman of the house, however, went and released him; but though he was now at liberty, he did not avail himself of the opportunity to make his escape. The next morning the persecutors began to tamper with Sabas and the priest to renounce their religion, and eat the meat consecrated to the idols. They, however, positively declared that they were ready to suffer the most cruel death rather than comply. Sansala was at length discharged, and Sabas was ordered to be drowned.

Nicetas was of Gothic extraction; his parents lived near the banks

of the Danube, and though he had long been a Christian he never met with injury on that account, till the persecution was begun by Athanaric. That monarch ordered an idol to be drawn on a chariot through all places where the Christians lived; and that it should be stopped at the door of every one who professed the gospel, and the christian inhabitants ordered to pay it adoration. On a refusal being given, the house was immediately set on fire, and all within consumed. This happened to Nicetas, who, on account of his religion, refusing to pay the respect demanded to the idol, had his house burnt, and himself was consumed in it.

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

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

Thus accommodated he took a boat, and proceeded to Zeugma, about seventy miles down the river.

The people next day missing Eusebius, and hearing which way he was gone, followed in a great number of boats, and overtaking would have rescued him, entreating him, with tears in their eyes, not to abandon them. Their cordiality deeply affected him; but he said he must go according to the emperor's order, putting them in mind of the authority of St. Paul for paying due reverence to the civil power. On finding they could not prevail, they provided him with things that would comfort him in his journey, and then left him.

It happened that Thrace was now a scene of confusion, by means of the war carried on between the Goths and the emperor's forces; and in these contests, the life of Eusebius was in great danger. At length the emperor, in order to terminate the war with the greatest expedition, resolved to march against the Goths in person; but first, to engage the prayers of the Christians, he gave peace to the church, and allowed the prelates to return to their several stations. Thus was Eusebius restored to his see, which, however, he did not long enjoy, for an Arian woman threw a tile at him from the top of a house, fracturing his skull and terminating his life. This happened in the year 380.

The bishop of Apamea, a prelate of great merit, was very active in endeavouring to suppress idolatry in his own diocese, on which account his life was in continual danger, till Cynegius, the prefect, arrived with a considerable body of troops, which kept the pagans in awe. This officer's design was to abolish idolatry, to effect which he determined to destroy the temple of Jupiter. He, however, found this a difficult attempt; for the building was so strong, the stones so unwieldy, and the cement so durable, that he despaired of being able to accomplish the work; when a poor labouring Christian, recommended by Marcellus, undertook to accomplish what the prefect had abandoned, and the business was executed in the following manner:—The man examined the edifice, and finding it surrounded by a gallery, supported by stately pillars ten yards in circumference, he knew it would be more to his purpose to weaken the foundation than to attack the body of the building; with this view he dug at the bottom of the pillars, and shored them with timber beams. When he had thus undermined three of the strongest pillars, he set fire to the wood, when the pillars fell, drew twelve more with them, and brought down one whole side of the building; upon which the Christians flocked from all parts of the town, and praised God for the demolition of the temple.

The bishop and prefect continued destroying a great number of idol temples, when being at a town called Aulo upon this business, while the troops were busy in demolishing the buildings, some pagans privately seized upon the venerable prelate, and burnt him, A. D. 393.

## SECTION V.

## THE PERSECUTIONS OF THE CHRISTIANS

## UNDER THE ARIAN VANDALS.

The Arian Vandals proceeding from Spain to Africa in the fifth century, under their leader Genseric, committed many cruelties. They persecuted the Christians wherever they went, and laid waste the country as they passed, in order that those left behind, who had escaped, might not be able to live. They plundered the churches, and murdered the bishops and ministers by a variety of cruel devices. They also wreaked their vengeance on several of the nobility, whom they loaded with heavy burdens, and obliged them to carry their baggage; and if they did not travel fast enough, they goaded them with sharp weapons, so that several died under their burdens. Old men found no mercy, and even innocent and feeble infants felt the rage of their barbarity. Stately buildings were burned or destroyed; and the chief churches in Carthage were perverted to heretical worship, or put to profane uses; and where any castles held out against them, they brought great numbers of Christians and slew them, leaving their bodies under the walls, that the besieged might be forced to surrender by means of the offensive stench which arose from them. When they had seized and plundered the city of Carthage, they put the bishop and all the clergy into a leaky ship, and committed it to the mercy of the waves, thinking that they must all perish; but the vessel, through Divine Providence, arrived safe at Naples.

Several Christians were beaten, scourged, and banished to Capsur, where it pleased God to make them the means of converting many of the Moors to Christianity; but this coming to the knowledge of Genseric, he sent orders, that they and their converts should be tied by the feet to chariots, and dragged till their life was extinct. Pempinian, bishop of Mansuetes, was burnt to death with plates of hot iron. The bishop of Urice was also burnt. The bishop of Habensa was banished, for refusing to deliver up the sacred books which were in his possession; and a whole congregation, assembled in a church at their devotions, together with the clergyman who was conducting the service, were murdered by the barbarians who broke in upon them.

The Vandal tyrant, having made an expedition into Italy, and plundered the city of Rome, returned to Africa, flushed with the success of his arms; and the Arians took this occasion to persuade him to persecute the Christians, who differed from them.

Armogastus felt the rage of this persecution; Victor, the learned bishop of Vita, who was acquainted with Armogastus, and who wrote the history of this persecution, informs us, that "his legs were tied, and his forehead bound with cords severely; which, though tightened, made not the least impression on his flesh, nor left any mark on his skin. After this, he was hung up by the feet; but in that posture seemed to be as much at his ease as if he reposed on a bed. Theodoric, one of the

king's sons, finding all attempts on his life had hitherto proved unsuccessful, ordered his head to be struck off; but Jocundus, a priest, dissuaded him, by telling him it would be much better to destroy him gradually, as a violent death would procure him the reputation of a martyr. The prince therefore sent him to the mines, and some time after removed him to a place near Carthage, where he was employed in tending cattle. While Armogastus was thus engaged, he became exceedingly ill, and imagining that the end of his labours was near, he communicated his thoughts to Felix, a virtuous Christian, employed in that prince's service, from whom he received consolation. His disorder soon deprived him of life, and he was buried by Felix according to his own desire.

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

Eugenius, bishop of Carthage, was eminent for his learning and piety, which brought upon him the hatred of the Arians, who took great pains to set the king Huneric against him and his orthodox brethren, several thousand of whom were banished to a desert, where many perished. Huneric also sent an edict to Eugenius, which he commanded him to read in the cathedral on Ascension-day, A. D. 483. By this it was ordered that the orthodox bishops should meet at Carthage on the first of February, for the purpose of disputing with the Arian prelates. The king's stratagem was discovered by Eugenius, and several other bishops, particularly Victor bishop of Vita, the learned author of the account of this persecution; and they determined after deliberation, to send a petition to the king: it was written by Eugenius, and presented by a person who had great interest at court. It stated, that the African prelates did not decline the proposed conference from the weakness of their cause, or a distrust of their own abilities to maintain their mode of faith; but as the whole church was concerned in the dispute, they were of opinion that they could not engage in it without the bishops of Europe and Asia. Huneric answered, that what they desired was impossible, unless the whole world was in his hands. Upon this Eugenius desired his majesty would be pleased to write to Odoacer, king of Italy, and other princes in his interest; and allow him to send to the bishops, that the common faith might be thus authoritatively advocated. Disregarding this remonstrance, the king insisted upon being obeyed; and then, previous to the time appointed, banished several of the most learned of the orthodox prelates on various pretences, that the Arians might have the advantage.

At the time appointed for the conference, the orthodox clergy chose ten of their number to speak in the name of the rest. Cyrilla, an Arian, took the title of patriarch upon the occasion, and was seated on a magnificent throne. The Arian prelates were allowed to sit near him, but the orthodox bishops were obliged to stand. They complained of this partial treatment as an infringement of their liberty; and Eugenius, perceiving that they did not intend coming to any candid decision, proposed to adjourn; but instead of complying with this, each orthodox prelate was threatened by the king's order with a hundred blows. Eugenius protested against such violence, but in vain; the prelates were turned out of the place unheard, their churches were shut up, and the revenues of their bishoprics confiscated. They were then compelled to quit Carthage, and lay without the walls of that city, exposed to all the inclemency of the weather. The king passing out at one of the gates, the orthodox clergy presented themselves before him, and modestly complained of the treatment they had received: but instead of redressing their grievances, Huneric ordered his guards to chastise them. The soldiers, in consequence, treated them unmercifully; and the king ordered them to appear on a future day at a certain place, where, at the time appointed, they assembled; when one of his officers showed them a paper, and informed them that the king was inclined to forget what was past, and to restore them to their livings, if they would swear to the truth of what that paper contained. The prelates, surprised at this proposal declared that they could not in conscience swear to the truth of that to which they were total strangers; but if they were suffered to read the writing, and approved of the contents, they would take the oath. The officer answered, that he would tell them the contents, which were of a political nature, and only required them to swear that they were willing prince Hilderic should succeed his father on the throne. Several of the prelates innocently thinking there could be no harm in taking such an oath, complied; but the rest, with greater caution, refused the oath, as they judged some artifice was in contemplation.

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

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

A widow lady of fortune, named Dionysia, being apprehended as an orthodox Christian, was stripped, exposed in a most indecent manner, and severely scourged. Her son, a mere youth, was seized at the same time, but seemed afraid of the torture, and looked piteously at his mother, who ordered him not to fear torment, but to be constant to the faith in which she had brought him up. When he was upon the rack, she again comforted him with her pious speeches. On this the youth patiently persevered, and resigned his soul to his Creator. The mother saw the death of her son, and soon after herself received the crown of martyrdom.

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

The king heard of the indulgence they received, and was exceedingly angry, sending orders that they should be closely confined, and loaded with still heavier fetters. He then began to consider by what means he should put them to death, and at length determined to imitate the barbarity of the emperor Valens, who caused fourscore clergymen to be burnt in a ship. Resolving upon this infernal precedent, he ordered these Christians to be put on board a vessel filled with combustible materials, and set on fire. The names of those who suffered by this cruel expedient were, Rusticus, Severus, Liberatus, Rogatus, Servus, Septimus and Boniface.



## BOOK III.

## SECTION I.

THE PERSECUTIONS FROM THE MIDDLE OF THE FIFTH, TO THE  
CONCLUSION OF THE SEVENTH CENTURY.

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

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

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

When the Vandals sacked Carthage, a lady named Julia, was taken prisoner, and after being sold and resold as a slave, she became the property of a Syrian pagan, named Eusebius. Her master frequently took her with him upon his voyages: in one of these they touched upon the island of Corsica, where Eusebius joined in an idolatrous festival; but Julia kept from it. The heathens complained of this conduct, as disrespectful to their gods, and informed the governor Felix of it, who sent for Eusebius, and demanded what young woman it was who had refused to join in worship to the gods. Eusebius replied, that the young woman was a Christian, and that all his authority over her could not induce her to renounce her religion; but she was a very diligent and faithful servant.

Felix pressed him to exert himself, either to oblige her to assist at the pagan worship, or to part with her; and offered to give him his own price, or four of his best female slaves in exchange for her, which the pagan refused. When Felix found him inflexible, he determined to get her into his power by artifice, and invited Eusebius to an entertainment, when having intoxicated him, he sent for Julia in the name of her master. The slave, not suspecting the design, immediately went; when the governor told her that he would procure her liberty, if she would sacrifice to the heathen gods; but not being able to prevail, he ordered her to be severely beaten, and finding her still resolute, he commanded that the hair of her head should be plucked by the roots. This barbarity having no greater effect, he sentenced her to be hanged. Scarcely was Julia dead when Eusebius recovered from his intoxication, and understanding what had past, he in the first transports of his resentment thought of complaining to the emperor, who being a Christian, would have punished the perfidy of the governor; but reflecting that Felix had only acted with zeal for the deities he himself adored, he determined to put up with the loss, and retire from the place.

Hermengildus, a Gothic prince, was the eldest son of Leovigildus, king of the Goths, in Spain. This prince, who was originally an Arian, became a convert to the orthodox faith, by means of his wife, whose name was Ingonda. The king, on hearing that his son had changed his religious sentiments, stripped him of the command at Seville, where he was governor, and threatened to put him to death, unless he renounced the new faith. On this the prince, in order to prevent the execution of his father's menaces, began to prepare for defence; and many of the orthodox persuasion in Spain declared on his side. Exasperated at this act of rebellion, the king began to punish all the orthodox Christians who could be seized and thus originated a very severe persecution. He marched against his son at the head of a powerful army; and knowing that he could not oppose the formidable force that his father was bringing against him, the prince implored the assistance of the Roman troops left to garrison those parts of Spain which the emperor still possessed.

The Roman commander undertook to assist Hermengildus, but being bribed by the king he broke his promise. Leovigildus then made it his business, as much as possible, to detach the orthodox Christians from the interest of his son; and in this he was too successful, for it was effected in 581, by convening the Arian prelates at Toledo, who abolished the practice of re-baptising such as came over to their sect; and he drew up a captious profession of faith which deceived many, and prevailed upon them to quit the interest of Hermengildus. Finding himself forsaken by numbers in whom he most confided, the prince was obliged to retreat towards Seville, where he soon after shut himself up, and sent to Constantinople for assistance from the emperor. The death of that monarch, however, prevented him from receiving relief; for Maurice, who succeeded him, had no opportunity to afford any succour to Hermengildus. The king, who knew of the conduct of his son, proceeded to Seville and laid siege to it: the prince defended the place with great bravery, and held out for twelve months; but finding that it must soon be taken, he privately made his escape, and fled to the Roman troops to beg protection. Being informed that they intended to give him up, he hastily fled to Corduba, and from thence went to Asseto, which he fortified and prepared for his defence. On the escape of the prince from Seville that city surrendered, and the king having placed a garrison in it, pursued his son, laid siege to Asseto, and soon obliged it to surrender. The prince being driven to this distress, flew to a church, when the king respecting the sanctity of the place, sent an officer, named Reccaredus, to assure him of pardon, upon his submitting to ask it. The prince believing his father to be sincere, immediately went and threw himself at his feet: the king, however, instead of forgiving him, loaded him with chains, and carried him to Seville, where he endeavoured by promises and menaces to make him renounce the christian faith. Nevertheless, the prince remained true, and at Easter, when the king sent an Arian bishop to him to administer the eucharist, Hermengildus refused to receive it; which so enraged the king, that he ordered some of his guards to go and cut him to pieces.

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

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

On going to Cæsarea, which was in the hands of the Persians, he was taken as a spy, and brought before Marzabanes, the governor, to whom he owned that he was a Christian, and was sent to prison. Many attempts were made to convert him, and at length Justin being apprised of his sufferings, recommended him to the prayers of the whole community, and sent two of his people to encourage him to perseverance. At last the governor wrote to the king concerning Anastasius, and the sovereign did all in his power to engage him to renounce his religion, but finding his endeavours vain, he ordered him to be executed in a singular and severe manner: he was hung up by one hand, with a weight fastened to his foot; and after being strangled, his head was cut off, and sent to the king.

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

The first vexation he received in his episcopal capacity, was from a set of heretics called Monothelites; who not daring, after the express decisions of the council of Chalcedon, to maintain the unity of nature in Christ, artfully asserted that he had but one will, one operation of mind. This sect was patronized by the emperor Heraclius; and the first who attempted to stop the progress of these errors was Sophronius, bishop of Jerusalem. Martin, who on this occasion coincided with the bishop of Jerusalem, called a council consisting of 105 bishops, and they unanimously condemned the errors in question. But the emperor provoked at these proceedings, ordered Olympius, his lieutenant in Italy, to repair to Rome and seize the bishop. The lieutenant performed the journey; but on his arrival at Rome he found the prelate too much beloved to induce him to attempt any open violence: he therefore suborned a ruffian to assassinate the bishop at the altar; but the fellow, after promising compliance, was seized with such horror of conscience, that he had not the power to execute the bloody deed. Olympius finding it would be difficult to destroy Martin, put himself at the head of his troops, and marched against the Saracens, who had made inroads into Italy; but during this expedition he died. His successor was Calliopas, who received express orders to seize Martin, which, with the assistance of a considerable body of soldiers, he effected; shewing the clergy the imperial mandate, which commanded him to dispossess Martin of his bishopric, and convey him prisoner to Constantinople. Having endured various hardships, during a tedious voyage, he reached Constantinople, and was thrown into prison. While in confinement, he wrote two epistles to the emperor to refute the calumnies forged against him

concerning his faith and loyalty: for a proof of the soundness of the former, he appealed to the testimony of the whole clergy, and his own solemn protestation to defend the truth as long as he lived; and in answer to objections against the latter, he declared he never sent either money, letters, or advice to the Saracens; but only remitted a sum for the relief of poor Christians among those people. He concluded with saying, that nothing could be more false than what the heretics had alleged against him concerning the blessed Virgin, whom he firmly believed to be the mother of God, and worthy of all honour after her divine Son. In his second letter he gave a particular account of his being seized at Rome, and his indisposition and ill usage after he was dragged from that city; and ended with wishing and hoping his persecutors would repent of their conduct, when the object of their hatred should be removed from this world.

The fatigues that Martin had undergone, and his infirmities were so great, that on the day appointed for his trial, he was brought out of prison in a chair, unable to walk. When he sat a moment before the court, the judge commanded him to stand, which not being able to do, two men were ordered to hold him up. Twenty witnesses were produced against him, who swore as they were directed, and charged him with assumed and imaginary crimes. Martin began his defence, but as soon as he entered upon an investigation of the errors which he had combated, one of the senators stopped him, and said, that he was only examined respecting civil affairs, and consequently ecclesiastical matters must not be introduced. Martin was then ordered to be exposed in the most public places of the town, and to be divested of all marks of distinction; rigours which he bore with Christian patience and submission, and without a murmuring word. After laying some months in prison, he was sent to an island at some distance, and there barbarously put to death.

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

Kilien was born in Ireland, and received from his parents a pious and Christian education. His favourite study was theology, and hence he was very assiduous in bringing many to the light of the gospel. In the course of time he crossed the sea, with eleven other persons, in order to make converts on the continent. On landing, they directed their route to the circle of Franconia, in Germany. On arriving at the city of Wurtzburg, they found the people\*in general with their governor

Gozbert to be pagans; but conceived great hopes of converting them to the gospel faith. Previous to making this attempt, however, he deemed it necessary to go to Rome, in order to obtain his mission from the pontiff. He accordingly went thither, attended by one Coloman a priest, and Totman a deacon, two of those who had accompanied him from Ireland, and found Conon in Peter's chair. He gave them a favourable reception, and being informed of Kilien's business at Rome, after some questions about his faith and doctrine, consecrated him bishop, with full permission to preach to the infidels wherever he found them. Thus authorized, Kilien returned to Wurtzburg, where he opened his mission; but he had not long been employed in this labour when Gozbert sent for him, and desired to know the nature and tendency of the new religion, which he so boldly recommended. The new bishop had several conferences with the governor on the subject, and God gave such a blessing to his endeavours, that Gozbert not only received the faith and was baptised, but gave him leave to preach wherever he pleased in his dominions. Gozbert also commanded the attention of his pagan subjects to what our prelate had to offer; and the greater part of them became Christians in less than two years.

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

condition. Geilana was so agonized in her conscience, that she soon after expired in despair; while Gozbert's criminal condescension was punished by a violent death, and in a few years his whole race was exterminated.

## SECTION II.

THE SEVERAL 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,<sup>m</sup> and is looked upon in ecclesiastical history, as one

<sup>m</sup> As we are speaking of a celebrated English martyr, and have already mentioned the first person who was martyred in England for the christian faith, it will be interesting to the reader to learn, that before the coming of St. Augustine into England, there were four persecutions in Britain.

The first was under Diocletian, about the year 210; and that not only in England, but generally throughout all the Roman monarchy, as is already specified. In this persecution, Albanus, Julius, Aaron, with a great number of other christian Britons were martyred for the cause of Christ.

The second persecution was by the invasions of Gnavius and Melga: the first was captain of the Huns, the other of the Picts. These tyrants, after the cruel slaughter of Ursula and 11,000 noble virgins, entered Britain, hearing it to be destitute of a sufficient military force. They spoiled and wasted churches, without having mercy either on women or children.

The third persecution was by Hengist and the Saxons; who likewise destroyed the christian congregations within the land, like raging wolves flying upon sheep, and shedding the blood of Christians, till the time of Aurelius Ambrosius, who restored the churches of the land.

The fourth destruction of the christian faith and religion was by Gurmundus, a king of the Africans; who joining in league with the Saxons, did much injury to the holy cause. Theonus, bishop of London, and Thadioceus, bishop of York, and the rest of the people, having no place to remain in with safety, fled some to Cornwall and some to the mountains of Wales, about the year of our Lord 550. This persecution continued till the time of Ethelbert, king of Kent, in the year 589.

In the reign of Ethelbert, who was the fifth king of Kent, the faith of Christ was first received by the Saxons or English, by the means of Gregory, bishop of Rome, in the following manner. It should be observed, that the christian faith first received of king Lucius, endured in Britain till this time, about 400 years, when, by Gurmundus Africanus, fighting with the Saxons against the Britons, it was nearly extinct in all the land, for the space of about forty-four years. So that the first springing of Christ's gospel in this land, was in the year of our Lord 180. The coming of the Saxons was in the year 449. The coming of Augustine, who was sent by Gregory, was in the year 596. The occasion on which Gregory sent him hither was this:—

In the days of Pelagius, bishop of Rome, Gregory chanced to see certain children in the market-place of Rome, brought thither from England for sale, being fair and beautiful, demanded out of what country they were; and understanding they were heathens from England, lamented the case of a land so beautiful in its people, and yet in pagar darkness. Inquiring out of what province they were, he was answered out of Deira, a part of Northumberland. Then alluding to the name of Deira, "These people," said he, "are to be delivered *de Dei ira*," which is, *from God's wrath*. Also understanding the king of that province to be named Alle, alluding to it, he said, "There ought Allelujah to be sung to the living God." Some time afterwards becoming bishop himself after Pelagius, he sent thither Augustine, with about forty other priests; but as the company were travelling, a sudden fear entered into their hearts, that, as Antonius says, they all returned. Others write, that Augustine went back to Gregory again, to solicit that they might not be sent on

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

We are informed by the ancient Saxon historians, that those who studied under him had no need to remove to any other place to finish what they had begun, for he gave them lessons in grammar, poetry, rhetoric, and philosophy, and explained the holy scriptures in the literal, moral, and mystical senses. His example was as instructive as his lectures, and while he formed his scholars to learning by his dictates, he encouraged them to the practice of virtue by his own prudent conduct. The abbot, finding him qualified for the priesthood, obliged him to receive that holy order, when he was about thirty years old. From this he began to labour for the salvation of his fellow-creatures; in the progress of which he gave the first proofs of that apostolical zeal, which afterwards made such glorious conquests in this once savage and barbarous part of the world.

There arose an important occasion to assemble a synod of bishops in the kingdom of the West-Saxons, and it was judged expedient to depute one of their body to the archbishop of Canterbury to inform him of the exigency of affairs; and Boniface being proposed, was unanimously chosen by the synod. He discharged this trust with great prudence, and obtained the applause of every member of the synod; but far from being vain of the reputation he had acquired, he proposed to forsake his country, relations, and friends, in order to be of service to the faith, and extend Christianity on the continent. At first, the abbot and monks of Nutselle would have dissuaded him from his purpose; but finding him resolute, two of their number were ordered to assist him. Boniface accordingly left Nutselle, and arrived in Friesland about the year 716; when he found that country in the utmost disorder and confusion. It had belonged to the crown of France, but was at this time in the possession of prince Radbord, who had established paganism in it, persecuted the Christians, and was at war with Charles Martel, mayor of the palace of Austrasia.

a voyage so dangerous and uncertain, among a barbarous people, whose language they neither knew, nor were able to resist their rudeness. Gregory however sent him again with letters to the bishop of Arelatensis, and his companions, exhorting him to go boldly forward on the work of Christ.



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

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

On being qualified for forming new churches, he left Rome having with him six letters from the pope ; one to Charles Martel ; a second to all bishops, priests, dukes, and counts ; a third to the clergy and people under his more immediate direction ; a fourth to the five princes

of Thuringia and their christian subjects; a fifth to the pagans in every dominion; and a sixth to the whole body of Saxons. The purport of these was, to recommend him to the protection of the christian powers, and exhort the pagans to hear him, and exchange their errors and superstitions for the pure religion of Christ. Having made converts in different parts, he returned to his mission in Germany, and was very successful, though he met with many that would willingly have been Christians only in a partial degree. They were ready enough to acknowledge Christ, but did not care to adhere strictly to his precepts: and some were so far deluded, as to be exceeding fond of worshipping a large oak-tree, which was dedicated to Jupiter. This tree Boniface ordered to be cut down; and when the pagans, finding that Jupiter did not take any notice of those who had destroyed it, owned the weakness of their cause, and desired to receive Christian baptism.

Being naturally diffident of his own abilities, Boniface had frequent recourse to such persons as he thought might be of service to him in his present difficult station. Pope Gregory and Daniel, his old diocesan, were his most able and frequent counsellors; but by the care of the bishops of Winchester, he received from this island large supplies of missionaries who rendered him valuable aid, and greatly advanced the gospel in Europe.

In the year 731, Gregory the Third succeeded to the pontifical chair, on whose accession Boniface sent proper persons to Rome, to acquaint him with the success of his labours, testifying his allegiance, and desiring assistance in some difficulties which occurred in his mission. The pope not only answered the message by assuring him of the communion and friendship of the see of Rome, but as a mark of respect sent him the mantle of office newly consecrated, granted him the title of archbishop, or metropolitan of all Germany, and empowered him to erect new bishoprics wherever he should have opportunity. Boniface not only did this, but also built several monasteries. He then made a third journey to Rome in 738, when Gregory the Third, who had as great an esteem as his predecessors for him, detained him the larger portion of the year.

At length having left Rome, he went to Bavaria, upon the invitation of Odillo, duke of that country, to reform some abuses introduced by persons who had never received holy orders. At this time Bavaria had only one bishop; he therefore, pursuant to his commission from Rome, erected three new bishoprics, one at Saltzburg, a second at Freisingen, and a third at Ratisbon, and thus the country was divided into four dioceses; a regulation which was soon after confirmed by the pope. Boniface next established four other bishoprics in Germany: at Erford, for Thuringia; at Barabourg, for Hesse; at Wurtzburg, for Franconia; at Achstat, for Bavaria. The bishopric of Barabourg is at present translated to Paderborn, in Westphalia. Willebald, the original author of the life of Boniface, was by him made bishop of Achstat.

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

lose his simplicity, or forget his character in his ecclesiastical dignity and ministerial popularity.

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

Forty-two persons of Armorian, in Upper Phrygia, were martyred in the year 845, by the Saracens, the circumstances of which are thus related:—In the reign of Theophilus, the Saracens ravaged many parts of the eastern empire, gained considerable advantage over the Christians, and at length laid siege to the city of Armorian. The garrison bravely defended the place for a considerable time, and would have obliged their enemies to raise the siege, but the place was betrayed by a renegado. Many were put to the sword; and two general officers, with some persons of distinction, were carried prisoners to Bagdad, where

<sup>n</sup> Having given the fair side of the character of Boniface, the archbishop, it behoves us to say, that he was a great abettor of all the superstitions of popery: though for this he is not so much to be blamed, because in his time the lamp of the true gospel was not lighted. When he was appointed by pope Gregory archbishop of Mentz, he brought many countries under the pope's influence, held many great councils, ordained bishops, built monasteries, canonized saints, commanded relics to be worshipped, and permitted religious fathers to be attended by nuns in their ministerial excursions. Among other works he founded the great monastery of Fulda, in Germany, of English monks, into which no women were allowed to enter but only Lieba and Tecla, two English nuns. By authority, which he received from pope Zachary, Childeric, king of France, was deposed from the right of his crown, and Pepin, the betrayer of his master, was confirmed in the sovereignty. From Boniface proceeded the doctrine which now stands registered in the pope's decrees, that in case the pope were of unholy living, and forgetful or negligent of himself, and of christianity, in such a degree, that he led innumerable souls with him to hell; yet ought no man to rebuke him for so doing, "for he hath power to judge all men, and ought of no man to be judged again."

they were loaded with chains and thrown into a dungeon. They continued in prison for some time without seeing any persons but their gaolers, or having scarcely food enough for their subsistence. At length they were informed that nothing could preserve their lives but renouncing their religion and embracing Mahometanism. To induce them to comply, the caliph pretended great zeal for their welfare, and declared that he looked upon converts in a more glorious light than conquests. Agreeably with these maxims he sent some of the most artful Mahometans, with money and clothes, and the promise of other advantages which they might secure to themselves by an abjuration of christianity; but the martyrs rejected the proposal with horror and contempt.

After this they were attacked with that fallacious and delusive argument which the Mahometans still use in favour of themselves, and were desired to judge of the merits of the cause by the success of those who were engaged in it, and choose that religion which they saw flourished most, and was best rewarded with the good things of this life, which they called the blessings of heaven. Yet the noble prisoners were proof against all temptation, and argued strenuously in opposition to the authority of the false prophet. This incensed the Mahometans, and drew greater hardships upon the Christians during their confinement, which lasted seven years. Boldizius, the renegado who had betrayed Armorian, then brought them the welcome news that their sufferings would end in martyrdom the next day: when taken from their dungeon, they were again solicited to embrace the tenets of Mahomet; but neither threats nor promises could induce them to adopt what they declared to be the doctrines of an impostor. Perceiving that their faith could not be shaken, the caliph ordered them to be executed. Theodore, one of the number, had formerly received priest's orders, and officiated as a clergyman; but afterwards quitting the church, he had followed a military life, and raised himself by the sword to considerable posts of honour, which he enjoyed at the time when he was taken prisoner. The officer who attended the execution, being apprized of these circumstances, said to Theodore, "You might, indeed, pretend to be ranked amongst the Christians, while you served in their church as a priest; but the profession you have taken up, which engages you in bloodshed, is so contrary to your former employment, that you should not now think of passing upon us for one of that religion. When you quitted the altar for the camp you renounced Jesus Christ. Why then will you dissemble any longer? Would you not act more conformably to your own principles, and make your conduct consistent, if you came to a resolution of saving your life by owning our great prophet?"

Theodore, covered with religious confusion at this speech but still unshaken in his faith, made the following answer:—"It is true I did in some measure abandon my God when I engaged in the army, and scarce deserve the name of a Christian; but the Almighty has given me the grace to see myself in a true light, and made me sensible of my fault; and I hope he will be pleased to accept my life as the only sacrifice I can now offer to expiate my guilt." °

° This, if accurate, shews a distressing defect in evangelical views and spiritual perceptions on the part of this individual. To think of expiating one crime by the voluntary

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

Mary, who was martyred at the same time, was the daughter of a Christian tradesman at Estremadura, who afterwards removed to a town near Corduba. When the persecution began under Abderrama, king of the Saracens, in Spain, Mary's brother was one who fell a

sacrifice of life, sounds too harsh in modern christian ears for any thing like cordial approval of the religion of such a man. His military habits might strengthen him to face death with courage; but his self-righteousness ill prepared him to *have boldness in the day of judgment.*

victim to the rage of the infidels. Hearing of his martyrdom, she was filled with confusion at being left behind by one younger than herself, and went to Corduba, where, going into a church, she found Flora, who had left her retreat on the same motive. Conversing together, and finding they acted upon the same heroic principles, and proposed the same glorious end of their labours, they agreed to go together, and declare their faith before the judge. Accordingly they proceeded to the magistrate, where Flora boldly told him, she looked on Mahomet as no better than a false prophet, an adulterer, and a magician. Mary also told the magistrate, that she professed the same faith, and entertained the same sentiments as Flora, and that she was sister to Walabonzus, who had already suffered for being a Christian. This behaviour so enraged the magistrate, that he ordered them to be committed to prison for some time, and then to be beheaded. The horrid sentence was executed on the 4th of November, A. D. 850.

Perfectus was born at Corduba, and brought up in the christian faith. He made himself master of all the useful and polite literature of that age; and at length took priest's orders, and performed the duties of his office with great assiduity and punctuality. One day walking in the streets of Corduba, some Arabians entered into conversation with him, and among other questions, asked him his opinion of Jesus Christ and of Mahomet. Perfectus gave them an exact account of the christian faith, respecting the divinity of Christ, and the redemption of mankind: but would not deliver his sentiments concerning Mahomet. The Arabians pressed him to speak freely; but he said that what he should utter would not be agreeable to their ideas, and therefore he would be silent, as he did not wish to offend any one: they however still entreated him to utter his thoughts, declaring at the same time, that they would not be offended at any thing he should say. Believing them sincere, and hoping this might be the favourable time allotted by God for their conversion, Perfectus told them that the Christians looked on Mahomet as one of the false prophets foretold in the gospel, who were to seduce and deceive great numbers to their eternal ruin. To illustrate this assertion, he descanted on some of the actions of the impostor; endeavoured to show the impious doctrines, and abominable absurdities of the Alcoran; and exhorted them, in very strong terms, to quit the miserable state in which they then were, and which would certainly be followed by eternal perdition.

The infidels could not hear such a discourse without conceiving indignation against the speaker. They thought proper, however, to disguise their resentment; but were resolved not to let him escape. At first, indeed, they were unwilling to use any violence, because they had given him a solemn assurance he should come to no harm: but they were soon eased of that scruple; and, watching a favourable opportunity, seized on him, hurried him away to one of their chief magistrates, and accused him of blaspheming their great prophet. On this the judge ordered him to be put in chains and confined in prison, till the feast of their Ramadan, or Lent, when he should be made a victim to Mahomet. He heard the determination with joy, and prepared for his martyrdom with great fervency. At the time appointed he was led to the place of exe-

cution, where he again made a confession of his faith, declared Mahomet an impostor, and insisted that the Alcoran was filled with absurdities and blasphemies. In consequence of this he was sentenced to be beheaded, and was executed A. D. 850. His body was interred by the Christians.

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

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

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

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

The young duke severely felt the loss of his grandmother, yet he did not punish the offenders, knowing that they had been instigated to what they did by his mother. He therefore addressed himself to God only, entreated the throne of grace for his mother's pardon and conversion, and patiently submitted to the dispensations of Providence. As many factions were erected in his dominions by means of his mother and brother, and as Wincellaus himself seemed of an unwarlike disposition, a neighbouring prince, Radislaus of Gurima, determined to invade that part of Bohemia which belonged to him. He accordingly entered Bohemia at the head of a considerable army, and immediately commenced hostilities. Wincellaus, on hearing of these proceedings, sent a message to the invader, to know what offence he had given him, and what terms he required to quit his dominions. Radislaus, mistaking the temper of Wincellaus, looked upon this message as arising from timidity; he therefore answered in a haughty manner, made frivolous excuses for having commenced the quarrel, and concluded by insisting that Wincellaus should surrender to him his dominions. This insolent demand obliged Wincellaus to put himself at the head of an army in defence of himself and his people. He accordingly raised a considerable body of forces, and marched against the enemy. When the two armies were ready to engage, Wincellaus obtained a conference with Radislaus, and observed, that as it would be unjust to hazard the lives of so many innocent men, the most eligible method of putting an end to the dispute would be by single combat. Radislaus accepted the proposal with joy, thinking that he was much more expert in the use of arms than his antagonist. They accordingly engaged in sight of the two armies, and the



victory seemed doubtful for some time, till, at length, it declared in favour of Wincelau; when his antagonist was obliged to relinquish his pretended claim, and retire into his own country.

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

Bolislav having been some time married, his princess at length brought him forth a son. This circumstance, which should have diffused joy throughout the family, furnished Drahomira and Bolislav with an idea of the most horrid nature, and the innocent infant was made the occasion of perpetrating a deed of unexampled cruelty. The scheme concerted between the bigoted Bolislav and his wicked mother was to get Wincelau into their power. The birth of the child furnished them with a pretence, and a polite message was dispatched to the unsuspecting duke to partake of an entertainment given upon the occasion. Wincelau not having the least suspicion of their purpose repaired to the court of Bolislav, where he was received with the greatest appearance of cordiality. He partook of the entertainment, and was festive till it grew rather late, when he retired before the rest of the company, as he was not fond of late hours, and never neglected his devotions to the Almighty before he lay down to rest. When he had withdrawn, Drahomira urged Bolislav to follow his brother instantly, and murder him. The prince took his mother's sanguinary advice, and repairing to his brother's chamber, he found him kneeling, and in fervent prayer, when he rushed upon him, and plunged a dagger to his heart. Thus fell Wincelau, the third duke of Bohemia, by a most infernal act of treachery and fratricide.

Adalbert, bishop of Prague, was a Bohemian by birth. His parents were persons of rank, but more distinguished for virtue and piety than for opulence and lineage. They had the highest expectations of their son, and gave him a complete education; but their joy was in some

measure damped by his falling into a dropsy, from which he was with difficulty recovered. When cured they sent him to Magdeburg, and committed him to the care of the archbishop of that city, who completed his education. The rapid progress which Adalbert made in human and divine learning made him dear to the prelate, who, to the authority of a teacher, joined all the tenderness of a parent. Having spent nine years at Magdeburg, he retired to his own country upon the death of the archbishop, and entered himself among the clergy at Prague. Dithmar, bishop of Prague, died soon after the return of Adalbert to that city; and, in his last moments, expressed great contrition for having been ambitious and solicitous of worldly honours and riches. Adalbert, who was present, was so sensibly affected at the bishop's dying sentiments, that he received them as an admonition to the strict practice of virtue, which he afterwards exercised with the greatest attention, spending his time in prayer, and relieving the poor with his fortune.

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

On their way they arrived at Mount Cassino, where the chiefs of the monastery received them in a very friendly manner, and being apprised of the cause of their journey, when they were about to depart, the superior of the monastery addressed himself to Adalbert, observing, that

the journey he had undertaken would give him more trouble and uneasiness than he was aware of; that the frequent desire of travelling often proceeded more from a restless disposition than real religion. "Therefore," said he, "if you will listen to my advice, leave the world at once with sincerity, and settle in some religious community, without desiring to see more than you have already seen." Adalbert adopted the sentiments of the superior, and took up his residence in that monastery, where he then thought he might live entirely recluse: but he was mistaken; for the priests by accident came to a knowledge of the rank and dignity of their colleague, and began to treat him with great deference and respect, which occasioned him to leave the place. Nilus, a Grecian, being then at the head of a community not far from Mount Cassino, Adalbert went to him and begged to be received into his monastery. He assured him he would comply with his request, if the practice of his religious family would be agreeable to him: he told him that the house in which he and his people lived was given to them by those of Mount Cassino; and therefore it might not be safe for him to receive one that had left that community; but he advised him to return to Rome, and apply to Leo, an abbot of his acquaintance there, to whom he gave him a letter of recommendation. Adalbert went to Rome, where he found Leo, who, after putting his virtue and courage to a proper test, conducted him to the pope, and, with the consent of that pontiff and the whole college of cardinals, gave him the habit on Holy Thursday, in the year 990. Of the three persons by whom he had been attended since he had had the pope's advice for resigning his bishopric, two of them had now left him; but the third, his brother Gaudentius, followed his example, and engaged in the same community. Adalbert, full of humility, took a particular pleasure in the lowest employments of the house, and lived an excellent pattern of christian simplicity and obedience.

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

The Bohemians, however, did not look upon him as before, but deemed him the censor of their faults, and the enemy of their pleasures, and threatened him with death upon his arrival; but not having him

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

<sup>p</sup> In concluding the second book of this history, the reader's attention is recalled to the state of religion in this kingdom. It is true that no persecutions had taken place for the sake of Christ, though many crimes were committed during the Saxon heptarchy, from the time of Lucius to that of Egbert; and these kings, not aware what danger would ensue to their own souls from their mistaken zeal, though acting as they thought in support of the church of Christ, conceived that the greatest exertions they could make for the Christian religion would be to build monasteries and nunneries, and fill them with monks and virgins. Accordingly, during the Saxon heptarchy, which lasted about 200 years, they founded no less than twenty-seven monasteries and nunneries in England; and not satisfied with sending their children, and in some cases their wives, to inhabit them, many of them became monks themselves. The following are examples:—

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|-----------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. Kinigilsus, king of the West-Saxons. | 6. Kenred, king of Mercia.            |
| 2. Ina, king of the West-Saxons.        | 7. Offa, king of the East-Saxons.     |
| 3. Ceolulf, king of Northumberland.     | 8. Sebbi, king of the East-Saxons.    |
| 4. Edbert, king of Northumberland.      | 9. Sigebert, king of the East-Angles. |
| 5. Ethelred, king of Mercia.            |                                       |

Among ladies of rank who entered nunneries were, Hilda, daughter of the nephew of Edwin, king of Northumberland, abbess of Ely; Ercongota, with her sister Ermenilda, daughters of Ercombert, king of Kent; Ethelberga, queen of Edwin, king of Northumberland, and daughter of Ethelbert, king of Kent; Etheldreda, called St. Eldred, wife to Egfrid, king of Northumberland, who being married to two husbands, could not give her consent to either of them, during the space of twelve years, but lived a virgin, and was a nun at Ely; Werburga, the daughter of Wolfer, king of the Mercians, a nun at Ely; Kinedreda, sister of Wolfer, and Kineswida, her sister, both professed nuns; Sexburga, daughter of Anna, king of Mercia, and wife of Ercombert, king of Kent; was abbess at Ely; Elfrida, daughter of Oswy, king of Northumberland, was abbess of Whitby; Mildreda, Milburga, and Milguida, three daughters of Merwald, king of the West-Mercians, took the profession and vow of virginity; Kineburga, wife of Alfrid, king of Northumberland, and sister to Osric, king of the Mercians, and daughter of king Penda, was professed abbess of the monastery of Gloucester; Elfreda, daughter of king Oswy, and wife of Peda, son of king Penda, likewise committed herself to the profession and vow of Romish chastity; as did Alfrida, wife to king Edgar, and Editha, daughter to the said Edgar, with Wolfride, her mother, etc. All these holy nuns, with many more, the Roman catholics have canonized for saints, and put the greater part of them in their calendar, only because of the vow of their chastity. Concerning this chastity, it is not that which makes saints before God, but only the merit of Christ Jesus, and a true faith in him.

While we are upon the subject of nuns and nunneries, we shall forcibly call the attention of our readers to the increase of popery in our own country at the present day. In the 25th volume of the Anti-Jacobin Review, it is stated, that a body of nuns have purchased the extensive domain of New-Hall, the property of the late Lord Waltham. *The ladies are natives of this kingdom*, and they are charged with attempting to make proselytes, by allowing English ladies to take the veil.

## SECTION III.

A GENERAL ACCOUNT OF THE PERSECUTIONS IN THE  
ELEVENTH CENTURY.

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

The see of Winchester being vacant by the death of Ethelwold, a dispute arose respecting a successor to that bishopric. The clergy had been driven out of the cathedral for their scandalous lives, but were admitted again by king Ethelred, upon certain terms of reformation. The monks who had been introduced upon their expulsion, looked upon themselves as the chapter of that church; and hence arose a violent contest between them and the clergy who had been re-admitted, about the election of a bishop; while both parties were vigorously determined upon promoting their own favourite. This dispute at last ran so high,

We have no wish to censure the conduct of those who devote themselves to a religious life, merely because they are Catholics; but it is evident by historical authorities of the most indubitable nature, that in the earliest ages the greatest disorders prevailed in houses of nuns, whose professed vows have never yet been good to the church, nor profitable to the common-wealth, and least of all to themselves. Of such young and wanton women, St. Paul in his time complains, (1 Tim. v.) because they would take upon them the profession of single life, which they were not able to perform, but falling into shameless luxury, deserved to be reprehended. How much better had it been for these lascivious nuns not to refuse the safe yoke of christian matrimony, rather than to entangle themselves in a superstitious vow of perpetual virginity, which neither was required of them, nor were they able to keep.

that Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, was obliged to interpose, and he consecrated Alphege to the vacant bishopric, to the general satisfaction of all concerned in the election.

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

When Alphege had governed the see of Canterbury about four years with great reputation, the Danes made an incursion into England. Ethelred, who then reigned, was a prince of very weak mind and pusillanimous disposition. Being afraid to face the enemy himself, and too irresolute to furnish others with the means of acting, he suffered his country to be ravaged with impunity, and the greatest depredations to be committed by the enemy. Upon this occasion, archbishop Alphege acted with great resolution and humanity: he went boldly to the Danes, purchased the freedom of several whom they had made captives, found means to send food to others whom he had not money enough to redeem, and even made converts of some of the Danes: but the latter circumstance made the Danes, who still continued pagans, greater enemies to him than they would otherwise have been, and they were determined upon revenge. Edric, an English malcontent and traitor, gave the Danes every encouragement, and assisted them in laying siege to Canterbury. When the design of attacking the city was known, many of the principal people made a precipitate flight, and would have persuaded Alphege to follow their example; but he refused to listen to such a proposal, assured them he could not think of abandoning his flock when his presence was more necessary than ever, and was resolved to hazard his life in their defence. While he was employed in assisting his people, Canterbury was taken by storm, the enemy poured into the town, and destroyed all that came in their way. The monks endeavoured to detain the archbishop in the church, where they hoped he might be safe: but concern for his flock made him break from them and run into the midst of danger. On this occasion he addressed the enemy, and begged the people might be saved, and that they would discharge their whole fury upon him. They accordingly seized him, bound, insulted, and abused him, and obliged him to remain on the spot till his church was burnt, and the monks were massacred. They then decimated all the inhabitants; after which they confined the archbishop in a dungeon, where they kept him for several months. During his confinement they proposed to him to redeem his liberty with the sum of 3,000*l.* and

to persuade the king to purchase their departure out of the kingdom with a farther sum of 10,000*l*. His circumstances not allowing him to satisfy their exorbitant demand, they bound him, and put him to severe torments, to oblige him to discover the treasures of his church; upon which they assured him of his life and liberty. They then remanded him to prison, confined him six days longer, and taking him with them to Greenwich, brought him to trial. He still remained inflexible with respect to the church treasures; but exhorted them to forsake their idolatry and embrace christianity. This so greatly incensed the Danes, that the soldiers dragged him out of the camp, and beat him unmercifully. Alphage bore this treatment patiently, and even prayed for his persecutors. One of the soldiers who had been converted and baptised by him, was greatly afflicted that his pains should be so lingering, as he knew his death was determined on: he, therefore, in a kind of barbarous compassion, cut off his head, and thus completed his martyrdom. This happened on April 19, A. D. 1012, on the very spot where the church at Greenwich, which is dedicated to him, now stands. After 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; whence it was in the year 1023, removed to Canterbury by Ethelwoth, the archbishop of that province.

Gerard, a Venetian, having devoted himself to the service of God from youth, entered into a religious house for some time, and then determined to visit the Holy Land. On arriving in Hungary, he became acquainted with Stephen, the king of that country, who acted the parts of prince and preacher, and not only regulated his subjects by wholesome laws, but taught them religious duties. Finding Gerard qualified to instruct his people, he tried to detain him in his kingdom; and, at length, founding several churches, he made Gerard bishop of that of Chonad. Here the new prelate had a very difficult task to perform, the people of his diocese being accustomed to idolatry. Gerard however, assiduous in his zeal for the salvation of his flock, laboured to bring them to a sense of their duty, and soon had the pleasure to find that his endeavours were successful, his sweetness of disposition winning greatly upon the people. His success was not confined to his own diocese, but extended to the adjacent country, where his doctrines successfully spread, and many became converts to the pure faith of Christ. Wherever the Gospel made its way by his ministry, he took care to establish ecclesiastical discipline for the preservation of religion, and made several useful regulations in the public service of the church. His exemplary conduct was as instructive as his exhortations, and did much to convince his converts of the truth and dignity of their new profession. He was remarkable for an uncommon tenderness for the poor, especially those who suffered sickness, or were incapable of following their accustomed employments. During the life of Stephen, Gerard received every assistance which that excellent monarch could afford him; but on his demise, his nephew Peter, who succeeded him, was of so different a temper, that Gerard was greatly perplexed. At length, the tyranny of Peter exasperated his subjects so much, that they deposed him, and placed Ouvo on the throne. They, however, soon found that they had changed from

bad to worse; for Ouvo proved a greater monster of cruelty than his predecessor. At Easter, he repaired to Chonad, in order to receive the crown from the hands of Gerard. When he arrived, the other prelates of the kingdom, who were assembled, assured the prince of their affection for his person, and promised to concur in his coronation; but Gerard refused to pay that compliment to a public and malicious enemy; and told him, that he could not look on Peter's exclusion as regular, and consequently should not proceed to do any thing to the prejudice of his title: he then said that if he persisted in his usurpation, Providence would soon put an end to his life and reign. Ouvo, growing more insupportable than his predecessor, was brought to the scaffold in the year 1044; upon which Peter was recalled, and placed on the throne a second time; but his deposition and retirement had made no alteration in his temper, so that he was again deprived of the royal dignity in less than two years.

An offer was then made of the crown to Andrew, son of Ladislaws, cousin-german of Stephen, on condition that he would employ his authority in extirpating the Christian religion from Hungary. The ambitious prince consented to the proposal, and promised to do his utmost to re-establish the idolatrous worship of his deluded ancestors. Gerard, informed of this impious bargain, remonstrated against the enormity of Andrew's crime, and persuaded him to withdraw his promise. He undertook to go to that prince, attended by three other prelates, full of zeal for religion. The king was at Alba Regalis; but as the four bishops were about to cross the Danube, they were stopped by a party of soldiers posted there by order of a man of quality in the neighbourhood, remarkable for his aversion to the christian religion, and to Stephen's memory. They were attacked with a shower of stones, and the soldiers beat them unmercifully, and at length dispatched them with lances. Their martyrdom happened in the year 1045.

Stanislaus, bishop of Cracow, was of an illustrious popish family. The piety of his parents was equal to their opulence, and they rendered their wealth subservient to every purpose of benevolence. Stanislaus was their only child, and when he was of proper age, they employed masters in several branches of learning to instruct him. He possessed a penetrating genius, retentive memory, and solid understanding; hence study became his amusement. His disposition was not inferior to his abilities; and he voluntarily gave himself, in the dawn of youth, to such austerities as might have acquired reputation for a hermit. In process of time he was sent to a seminary of learning in Poland, and afterwards to the university of Paris. Continuing several years in France, he returned to his own country, and on the demise of his parents became possessed of a great fortune; but he devoted most of his property to charitable uses, retaining only a small portion for his own expenses. His views were now solely directed to the ministry; but he remained for some time undetermined whether he should embrace a monastic life, or engage among the active clergy. He was at length persuaded to the latter by Lambert Zula, bishop of Cracow, who gave him holy orders, and made him a canon of his cathedral. In this capacity he lived in a most exemplary manner, and performed his duties with unremitting



assiduity. Lambert was charmed with the many virtues which so particularly distinguished Stanislaus, and would fain have resigned his bishopric to him, alleging as a reason his great age; but Stanislaus absolutely refused to accept of the see, for the contrary reason, his own want of years: being then only 36 years old, he deemed that too early an age for a man to undertake the important care of a diocese. Lambert, however, made him a substitute upon various occasions, by which he became thoroughly acquainted with all that related to the bishopric: and the former dying on November 25, 1071, all concerned in the choice of a successor declared for Stanislaus: but he declined the acceptance for the same reason as before. At length the king, clergy, and nobility unanimously joined in writing to pope Alexander the Second who, at their entreaty, sent an express order that Stanislaus should accept the bishopric. He then obeyed, and exerted himself to the utmost in improving his flock. He was equally careful with respect both to clergy and laity, kept a list of all the poor in his diocese, and by feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, and administering remedies to the sick, he proved himself not only the godly pastor, but the physician and benefactor of the people.

Bolislaus, the second king of Poland, had many good qualities, but giving way too much to his passions, he committed several enormities, till from being deemed a good king, he at length had the appellation of CRUEL. The nobility were shocked at his conduct, and the clergy saw his proceedings with grief; but Stanislaus alone had the courage to tell him of his faults. The king was greatly exasperated at this freedom; but awed by the virtues of the bishop, he dissembled his resentment, and appearing to be convinced of his errors, promised to reform his conduct. However, so far from designing to perform his promise, he complained to some of his sycophants of the freedom that Stanislaus had taken with him, and they condemned the boldness of the bishop. The king soon after attempted the chastity of a married lady, who rejected his offers with disdain, which piqued his pride so much that he seized her by force and ruined her. This greatly alarmed all the nobility: none knew how long his own wife, daughter, or sister, might be safe; they therefore assembled, and calling the clergy to their assistance, entreated Peter, archbishop of Gresne, to remonstrate to the king on the impropriety of his conduct. Nevertheless, the archbishop declined the task; for though a man of virtue, he was of an uncommonly timid disposition. Several other prelates imitated his example, and Stanislaus was, as before, the only one who had courage and zeal sufficient to perform what he looked upon as an indispensable duty. He, therefore, put himself at the head of a select number of ecclesiastics, noblemen, and gentlemen; and proceeding to court, addressed the king in a solemn manner on the heinousness of his crime. The king, as soon as he had done speaking, flew into a violent passion, complained of the want of respect to his royal dignity, and vowed revenge for what he called an insult to his person. Stanislaus, however, not in the least intimidated by his menaces, visited him twice more, and remonstrated with him in a similar manner, which only increased his anger.

The nobility and clergy finding that the admonitions of the bishop

had not the desired effect upon the king, thought proper to interpose. The nobility entreated the bishop to refrain from exasperating a monarch of so ferocious a temper; and the clergy endeavoured to persuade the king not to be offended with Stanislaus for his charitable remonstrances. But the haughty sovereign determined at any rate to get rid of a prelate, who, in his opinion, was so censorious; and hearing that the bishop was by himself in the chapel of St. Michael, at a small distance from the town, he dispatched some soldiers to murder him. The men readily undertook the task; but when they came into the presence of Stanislaus, the venerable aspect of the prelate struck them with such awe, that they could not effect what they had promised. On their return, the king finding they had not obeyed his orders, flew into a rage, snatched a dagger from one of them, and ran furiously to the chapel, where, finding Stanislaus at the altar, he plunged the weapon into his heart. This occurred on the 8th of May, A. D. 1079.

#### SECTION IV.

##### THE PERSECUTIONS OF THE WALDENSES IN FRANCE.

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

In the year 1140, the number of the reformed was so great, that the probability of their increasing alarmed the pope, who wrote to several princes to banish them from their dominions, and employed many learned men to write against them. In 1147, Henry, of Toulouse, being deemed their most eminent preacher, they were called Henricians; and as they would not admit of any proofs relative to religion but what could be deduced from the scriptures, the popish party gave them the name of Apostolics. Peter Waldo, a native of Lyons, at this time became a strenuous opposer of popery; and from him the reformed received the appellation of Waldos, or Waldenses. Waldo was a man eminent for learning and benevolence; his doctrines were very generally admired, and he was followed by multitudes of all classes. The bishop of Lyons taking umbrage at the freedom with which he treated the pope and the Romish clergy, sent to admonish him to refrain in future from such discourses; but Waldo answered, "That he could not be silent in a

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

The following were the tenets maintained by the Waldenses:—

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

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

erasing some walled towns, burning many of the reformed, and driving others into Normandy and Germany.

Notwithstanding these persecutions the reformed religion continued to flourish, and the Waldenses, in various parts, became more numerous than ever. At length the pope accused them of heresy, and the monks of immorality; the former asserting that they had fallen into many errors, and the latter that they committed many evils. These slanders however they refuted; but the pope, incensed at their increase, used all manner of arts for their extirpation; such as excommunications, anathemas, canons, constitutions, decrees, &c. by which they were rendered incapable of holding places of trust, honour, or profit; their lands were seized, their goods confiscated, and they were not permitted to be buried in consecrated ground. Some of the Waldenses having taken refuge in Spain, Aldephonsus, king of Arragon, at the instigation of the pope, published an edict, strictly ordering all Roman catholics to persecute them wherever they could be found; and decreeing that all who gave them the least assistance should be deemed traitors. The year after this edict Aldephonsus was severely punished by the hand of Providence; for his son was defeated in a great battle, and 50,000 of his men slain, by which a considerable portion of his kingdom fell into the hands of the Moors.

The reformed ministers continued to preach boldly against the Romish church; and Peter Waldo, in particular, wherever he went, asserted, that the pope was antichrist, that mass was an abomination, that the host was an idol, and that purgatory was a fable. These proceedings of Waldo and his reformed companions, occasioned the origin of the inquisition; for pope Innocent III. elected certain monks inquisitors, to find and deliver over the reformed to the secular power. The monks upon the least surmise or information delivered over the reformed to the magistrate, and the magistrate delivered them to the executioner; for the process was short, as an accusation was deemed adequate to guilt, and a fair trial was never granted to the accused.

When the pope found that these cruel means had not the desired effect, he determined to try others of a more mild nature; he therefore sent several learned monks to preach among the Waldenses, and induce them to change their opinions. Among these was one Dominic, who was extremely zealous in the cause of popery. He instituted an order, which from him was called the order of Dominican friars; and the members of this order have ever since been principal agents in the various inquisitions of the world. The power of the inquisitors was unlimited; they proceeded against whom they pleased without consideration of age, sex, or rank. If the accusers were 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 it, or of being favourers of heretics. The dearest friends and kindred could not, without danger, serve any one who was imprisoned on account of religion: to convey to those who were confined a little straw, or give them a cup of water, was called favouring the heretics: no lawyer dared to plead even for his own brother, or to note or register any thing in

favour of the reformed. The malice of the papists, indeed, went beyond the grave, and the bones of many Waldenses, who had been long dead, were dug up and burnt. If a man on his death-bed were accused of being a follower of Waldo, his estates were confiscated, and the heir defrauded of his inheritance; and some were even obliged to make pilgrimages to the Holy Land, while the Dominicans took possession of their houses and properties, and when the owners returned would often pretend not to know them.

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

In the year 1380, a monk inquisitor, named Francis Boralli, had a commission granted him by pope Clement VII. to search for and punish the Waldenses in Aix, Ambrone, Geneva, Savoy, Orange, Arles, Vienna, Venice, and Avignon. He went to Ambrone, and summoned all the inhabitants to appear before him; when those who were found to be of the reformed religion, were delivered over to the secular power, and burnt; and those who did not appear were excommunicated for contumacy, and had their effects confiscated. In the distribution of these effects, the clergy had the lion's share, more than two thirds of every man's property who was condemned, and the secular power less than one third, and sometimes next to nothing. All the reformed inhabitants of the other places named in the commission of this ecclesiastic were equal sufferers.

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

Pope Innocent VIII. in 1488, determined to persecute the Waldenses

To this end he sent Albert de Capitaneis, archdeacon of Cremona, to France; who, on arriving in Dauphiny, craved the assistance of the king's lieutenant to exterminate them from the valley of Loyse. The lieutenant readily granted his assistance, and marched a body of troops to the place; but when they arrived in the valley, they found that it had been deserted by the inhabitants, who had retired to the mountains, and hid themselves in dens and caves of the earth. The archdeacon and lieutenant immediately followed them with their troops, and catching many cast them headlong from precipices, by which they were dashed to pieces. Several, however, retired to the innermost parts of the caverns, and knowing the intricacies, were able to conceal themselves. The archdeacon and lieutenant not being capable of finding them ordered the mouths of the caves to be filled with faggots, which being lighted, those within were suffocated. On searching the caves, numerous children were found smothered, either in their cradles or in their mothers' arms; and upon the whole, about 3000 men, women, and children, were destroyed in this persecution. After this tragical work, the lieutenant and archdeacon proceeded with the troops of Pragelo and Frassaniere, to persecute the Waldenses in those parts. But these having heard the fate of their brethren in the valley of Loyse, thought proper to arm themselves; and by fortifying the different avenues, and bravely disputing the passages through them, they so harassed the troops that the lieutenant was compelled to retire without effecting his purpose.

In 1594, Anthony Fabria and Christopher de Salience, having a commission to persecute the Waldenses of Dauphiny, put some to death, sequestered the estates of others, and confiscated the goods of many; but Louis XII. coming to the crown in 1598, the Waldenses petitioned him for a restitution of their properties. The king determined to have the affair impartially canvassed, and sent a commissioner of his own, together with a commissary from the pope, to make the proper inquiries. Witnesses against the Waldenses having been examined, the innocence of those poor people evidently appeared, and the king's commissioner therefore declared—"That he only desired to be as good a Christian as the worst of them." This favourable report being made to the king, he immediately gave orders that the Waldenses should have their property restored to them. The archbishop of Ambrone, having the greatest quantity of their goods, it was generally imagined that he would set a laudable example to others by being the first to restore them. However, to the surprise of the people in general, and the affliction of the Waldenses in particular, the prelate protested that he would not restore any of the property, for it was incorporated and become part of his archbishopric. He, however, with an affectation of candour, offered to relinquish several vineyards, of which he had dispossessed the sufferers, provided the lords of Dauphiny would restore all they had taken from them; but this the lords absolutely refused, being as fond of keeping their plunder as the archbishop himself.

The Waldenses finding that they were not likely to recover any of their property, again appealed to the king; and the monarch having attended to their complaints, wrote to the archbishop; but that artful and avaricious prelate replied,—“That at the commencement of the persecution

the Waldenses had been excommunicated by the pope, in consequence of which their goods were distrained; therefore, till the sentence of excommunication was taken off, which had occasioned them to be seized they could not be restored with propriety." This plea was allowed to be reasonable: and application was ineffectually made to the pope to remove the sentence of excommunication; the archbishop having used all his interest at the court of Rome to prevent the petition from succeeding. Thus were the poor Waldenses robbed of their property, only because they would not sacrifice their consciences to the will of their enemies.

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

"Then," said the king, "they are much better Christians than myself or my catholic subjects, and therefore they shall not be persecuted." The king was as good as his word, and sent orders to stop the persecution.

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

The president of Opède sent several companies of soldiers to burn some villages occupied by protestants: this commission they too faithfully executed, exceeding it by a brutal treatment of the inhabitants, in which neither infancy, age, or sex, was spared. He also proclaimed that none should give any manner of assistance or sustenance to the sufferers. On reaching another small town, the president found only a boy, who had surrendered himself to a soldier, the other inhabitants having deserted the place. The boy he ordered to be shot by the soldier to whom he had surrendered, and then destroyed every house in the place. He next marched against Cabrières, and began to cannonade it. At this time

there were not above sixty poor peasants with their families in the town, and they sent him word that he need not expend powder and shot upon the place, as they were willing to open the gates and surrender, provided they might be permitted to retire unmolested to Geneva or Germany. This was promised them; but the gates were no sooner opened, than the president ordered all the men to be cut to pieces, which cruel command was immediately executed. Several women and children were driven into a large barn, which was set on fire, and every one perished in the flames. Other women and children having taken refuge in a church, the president ordered one of his officers to go and kill them all: the captain at first refused, saying, "unnecessary cruelty is unbecoming a military man." The president, displeased at his reply, said, "I charge you, on pain of being accused of mutiny, immediately to obey my orders." When the captain, afraid of the consequences, thought proper to comply. The president then sent a detachment of his troops to ravage the town of Costa, which was done with the greatest barbarity.

At length the judgment of God overtook this monster of cruelty; he was afflicted with a dreadful bloody-flux, and a painful strangury. In this extremity he sent for a surgeon from Arles, who, on examining his disorders, told him they were of a singular nature, and much worse than he had ever seen in any other person. He then took occasion to reprehend him for his cruelties, and told him that unless he repented, he might expect the hand of Heaven to fall still heavier upon him. On hearing this, the president flew into a violent passion, and ordered his attendants to seize the surgeon as a heretic. The surgeon, however, found means to escape, and soon after the president's disorder increased to a terrible degree. As he had found some little ease from the surgical operations, he again sent for the faithful operator, having been informed of the place of his retirement: his message was accompanied with an apology for his former behaviour, and a promise of personal security. The surgeon forgiving what was past, went to him, but too late to be of any service; for he found the tyrant raving like a madman, and crying out that he had a fire within him. After blaspheming for some time he expired in dreadful agonies; and his body in a few hours became so offensive, that hardly any one could endure the place where it lay.

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

The bishop of Aix, with some priests, being at Avignon together, were one day walking along the streets with some courtizans, and seeing a man who sold obscene pictures, they purchased several, and presented them to the women. A bookseller, who had a number of bibles in the French language for sale, lived at hand. The bishop stepping up to him, said, "How darest thou be so bold as to sell French merchandize in



this town?" The bookseller replied with a kind of sneer, "My lord, do you not think that bibles are so good as those pictures which you have bought for the ladies?" Enraged at the sarcasm, the bishop exclaimed—"I'll renounce my place in paradise if this fellow be not one of the Waldenses. Take him away, take him away to prison." These expressions occasioned him to be cruelly treated by the rabble; and the next day he was brought before the judge, who, at the instigation of the bishop, condemned him to the flames. He was accordingly burnt, with two bibles hanging about his neck, the one before and the other behind.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The principal persecutor of the Merindolians was this bishop of Aix, who persuaded the president and counsellors of the court of parliament to send an army through all Provence to destroy those who professed the reformed religion. The people, on seeing the army, commended themselves to God, and prepared for death. While they were in this distress, mourning and lamenting together, suddenly there was news brought them that the army had retired, and no man knew how, or by what means; yet afterwards it was known that the lord of Alenc, a wise man, and learned in scripture and the civil law, moved with the love of justice, declared to the president Cassanee, that he ought not to proceed against the inhabitants of Merindol by force of arms, without judgment or condemnation: and after more arguments to the same effect, he addressed Cassanee, who was a monster of cruelty, and reminded him of a statement which the president had made in a book, called "*Catalogus Glorie Mundi*." This statement, which appears to have been a fact, is of so ludicrous a nature, that nothing but a knowledge of the absurdities of the popish superstitions can render it plausible. The president says, that in the bishopric of Autun, a process was instituted against the rats by the officers of the court and jurisdiction of the bishop; for it happened there was throughout all the bailiwick of Laussois such a number of rats, that they destroyed and devoured all the corn of the country. Whereupon they sent to the bishop of Autun's official, to have the rats excommunicated; and it was decreed by him, after he had heard the plaintiff of the procurator fiscal, that before he would proceed to excommunication, the rats should have admonition and warning according to the order of justice; and it was ordained, that by the sound of a trumpet, and open proclamation made throughout all the streets of the town of Autun, the rats should be cited to appear within three days; and if they did not appear, the court should proceed against them.

The three days passed, and the procurator came into court against the rats, and for want of appearance obtained default, by virtue whereof he required that they should proceed to excommunication. Whereupon it was judicially acknowledged that the said rats, being absent, should have their advocate appointed them to hear their defence, because the question was for the whole destruction and banishment of the said rats. "And you, my lord president," says the lord of Alenc, "being at that time the king's advocate at Autun, were chosen to be the advocate to defend the rats. And having taken the charge upon you in pleading the matter, it was by you there declared, that the citation was of no effect, for certain causes by you there alleged. Then it was decreed that the said rats should be again cited through the parishes where they were; and after the citations were *duly served*, the procurator came again into the court as before; and there it was alleged by you, my lord president, that the term of appearance given to the rats was too short, and that there were so many cats in every town and village that they had to pass through, that they had just cause to be absent. Wherefore, my lord president, you ought not so lightly to proceed against these poor men, but ought to look upon the holy scriptures, and there find how to proceed in this matter: and you my lord, have alleged many places of scripture concerning the same; and by this plea of a matter which seemeth to be of a small importance you have obtained great fame and honour, for the upright declaration of the form how judges ought gravely to proceed in criminal causes. Then, my lord president, you who have taught others, will you not also learn by your own books? which will manifestly condemn you, if you proceed any further to the destruction of these poor men of Merindol. For are they not christian men, and ought you not to minister right and justice unto them, as you have done to the rats?" By these humorous demonstrations the president was persuaded, and immediately recalled his commission, caused the army to retire, and spared his intended victims.

The Merindolians understanding that the army was retired, gave thanks to God, comfort-

## SECTION V.

## THE PERSECUTIONS OF THE ALBIGENSES.

The Albigenses were a people of the reformed religion, who inhabited the country of Albi. They were condemned on account of religion in the council of Lateran, by order of pope Alexander III. but they increased so rapidly, that many cities were inhabited exclusively by persons of their persuasion, and several eminent noblemen embraced their doctrines. Among the latter were two distinguished noblemen of the name

ing one another with admonition and exhortation always to have the fear of God before their eyes, to be obedient to his holy commandments, subject to his most holy will, and every man to submit himself to his providence, patiently attending and looking for the hope of the blessed, the true life, and the everlasting riches, having all before them in the example of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who entered into his glory by many tribulations.

Shortly after the bishop of Cavaillon came to Merindol, and calling before him the children, gave them money, and commanded them to learn the Pater-noster and the Creed in Latin. Most of them answered, that they knew the Pater-noster and Creed already in Latin, but they could make nothing of what they spake, except in the vulgar tongue. The bishop answered, that it was not necessary they should be so wise, but that it was sufficient they knew it in Latin; and that it was not requisite for their salvation to understand the articles of their faith; for there were many bishops and doctors of divinity whom it would trouble to expound the Pater-noster and the Creed. Here the bailiff of Merindol, named Andrew Maynard, asked what purpose it would serve to say the Pater-noster and the Creed, and not to understand the same: for in so doing they would but mock and deride God. Then said the bishop, "Do you understand what is signified by these words, I believe in God?" The bailiff answered, "I should think myself very miserable if I did not understand it:" and he began to give an account of his faith. Then said the bishop, "I should not have thought there had been such great doctors in Merindol." The bailiff answered, "The least of the inhabitants of Merindol can do it more readily than I: but I pray you question one or two of these young children, that you may understand whether they be well taught or no." But the bishop either knew not how to question them, or would not. On this a person named Pieron Roy, said, "Sir, one of these children may question with another, if you think fit;" and the bishop consented. Then one of the children began to question his fellows, with as much grace and gravity as if he had been a schoolmaster; and the children, one after another, answered so much to the purpose, that it was wonderful to hear them: for it was done in the presence of many, among whom there were four religious men who came lately from Paris, one of whom said to the bishop, "I must needs confess that I have been at the schools of Sorbon in Paris, where I have heard the disputation of the divines, but yet I never learned so much as I have done by hearing these young children." Then said William Armant, a child, "Did you never read that which is written in the eleventh chapter of St. Matthew, where it is said, I thank thee, O Father, Lord of Heaven and Earth, that thou hast hid these things from the sage and wise men of the world, and hast revealed them unto babes: but behold, O Father, such was thy good will and pleasure."

When the bishop saw he could not prevail, he tried another way, and went about by flattering words to effect his purpose. Causing the strangers to go apart, he said, that he now perceived they were not so bad as many thought them; notwithstanding, for the sake of those who were their persecutors, it was necessary that they should make some abjuration, which only the bailiff, with two officers, might make generally in his presence, in the name of the rest, without any notary to record it in writing; and in doing so they should be loved and favoured by all men, and even by those who now persecuted them: and that they should sustain no infamy thereby, for there should be no report made, but only to the pope, and the parliament of Provence. The children, however, unanimously refused, and said, that they conceived the way in which they had been instructed to be the pure faith of Jesus Christ!

of Raymond, earls of Toulouse and Foix. The pope at length pretended that he wished to draw them to the Romish faith by sound argument and clear reasoning, and for this end ordered a general conference; in which, however, the popish doctors were entirely overcome by the arguments of Arnold, a reformed clergyman, whose reasonings were so strong, that they were compelled to yield submission.

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

the earl; for he was stripped, led nine times round the grave of friar Peter, and severely scourged before all orders of people. Not contented with this, they obliged him to swear that he would be obedient to the pope during the remainder of his life, conform to the church of Rome, and make irreconcilable war against the Albigenses. The legate even ordered him, by the oaths he had newly taken, to join the troops, and inspect the siege of Beziers. But thinking this too hard an injunction he took an opportunity privately to quit the army, and determined to go to the pope and relate the ill usage he had received. The army, however, proceeded to besiege Beziers; and the earl of Beziers, who was likewise governor of that city, thinking it impossible to defend the place came out, and presenting himself before the pope's legate, implored mercy for the inhabitants; intimating that there were as many Roman Catholics as Albigenses in the city. The legate replied, that all excuses were useless; that the place must be delivered up at discretion, or the most dreadful consequences would ensue.

The earl of Beziers returning to the city, told the inhabitants he could obtain no mercy, unless the Albigenses would adjure their religion and conform to the worship of the church of Rome. The Roman Catholics pressed the Albigenses to comply with his request; but the Albigenses nobly answered, that they would not forsake their religion for the base price of a frail life: that God was able if he pleased to defend them; but if he would be glorified by the confession of their faith unto death, it would be a great honour to them to die for his sake. They added, that they had rather displease the pope, who could but kill their bodies, than God, who could cast both body and soul into hell. On this their enemies, finding importunity ineffectual, sent their bishop to the pope's legate, beseeching him not to include them in the chastisement of the Albigenses; and representing that the best means to win the latter over to the Roman Catholic persuasion was by gentleness, and not by rigour. Upon hearing this the legate flew into a violent passion with the bishop, and declared that "If all the city did not acknowledge their fault, they should taste of one curse without distinction of religion, sex, or age." The inhabitants refusing to yield upon such terms, a general assault was made, and the place taken by storm, when every cruelty that barbarous superstition could devise was practised; nothing was to be heard but the groans of men who lay weltering in their blood; the lamentations of mothers, who, after being violated by the soldiery, had their children taken from them, and dashed to pieces before their faces. The city being fired in various parts, new scenes of confusion arose: in several places the streets were streaming with blood. Those who hid themselves in their dwellings, had only the dreadful alternative to remain and perish in the flames, or rush out and fall by the swords of the soldiers. The bloody legate, during these infernal proceedings, enjoyed the carnage, and even cried out to the troops, "Kill them, kill them all; kill man, woman, and child; kill Roman Catholics as well as Albigenses, for when they are dead the Lord knows how to select his own." Thus the beautiful city of Beziers was reduced to a heap of ruins; and 60,000 persons of different ages and both sexes were murdered.

The earl of Beziers and a few others made their escape, and went to Carcasson, which they endeavoured to put into the best posture of defence. The legate, not willing to lose an opportunity of shedding blood during the forty days which the troops were to serve, led them immediately against Carcasson. As soon as the place was invested a furious assault was made, but the besiegers were repulsed with great slaughter; and upon this occasion the earl of Beziers gave the most distinguished proofs of his courage, animating the besieged by crying out—"We had better die fighting than fall into the hands of such bigoted and bloody enemies." Two miles from Carcasson was a small town of the same name, which the Albigenses had likewise fortified. The legate being enraged at the repulse he had received from the city, determined to wreak his vengeance upon the town: the next morning he made a general assault; and, though the place was bravely defended, the legate took it by storm and put all within it to the sword.

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

The king reported to the legate what the earl had said: the legate, after considering for a time, replied, "For your sake, Sir, I will receive the earl of Beziers to mercy, and with him twelve others shall be safe, and be permitted to retire with their property; but as for the rest, I am determined to have them at my discretion." This answer displeased the king; and when the earl heard it, he absolutely refused to comply with such terms. The legate then commanded another assault, but his troops were again repulsed with great slaughter, and the dead bodies occasioned a stench that was exceedingly offensive both to the besieged and besiegers. The legate, provoked and alarmed at this second disappointment, determined to act by stratagem. He sent a gentleman who was well skilled in dissimulation and artifice to the earl of Beziers, with a seeming friendly message. The design was, by

any means, to induce the earl to leave the city, in order to have an interview with the legate; and to this end the gentleman was to promise, nay swear, whatever he thought proper; for, said the legate, "Swear to whatever falsehoods you will in such a cause, I will give you absolution." The infamous plot succeeded: the earl believing the promises made him of personal security, and crediting the solemn oaths that the perjured agent swore upon the occasion, left the city and went with him. The legate no sooner saw him, than he told him he was a prisoner, and must remain so till Carcasson had surrendered, and the inhabitants taught their duty to the pope. The earl on hearing this, cried out that he was betrayed, and exclaimed against the treachery of the legate, and the perjury of the agent he had employed. But he was ordered into close confinement, and the place summoned to surrender without delay.

The people, on hearing of the captivity of the earl, were thrown into the utmost consternation, when one of the citizens informed the rest, that he had been formerly told by some old men, that there was a very capacious subterraneous passage, leading from thence to the castle of Camaret, three leagues distant. "If," continued he, "we can find this passage, we may all escape before the legate can be apprised of our flight." The information was joyfully received; all were employed to search for the passage, and at length it was discovered. Early in the evening the inhabitants began their flight, taking with them their wives, children, a few days' provisions, and such property as was most valuable and portable. They reached the castle by the morning, and escaped to Arragon, Catalonia, and such other places as they thought would secure them from the power of the sanguinary legate. Next morning the troops were astonished, not hearing any noise, nor seeing any stir in the city; yet they approached the walls with much fear, lest it should be but a stratagem to endanger them; but finding no opposition, they mounted the walls, crying out, that the Albigenses were fled; and thus was the city with all the spoils taken, and the earl of Beziers committed to prison in one of the strongest towers of Carcasson, where he soon after died.

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

Montpellier, they surprised some of his fortresses, and were successful in several expeditions against his officers.

These proceedings so enraged earl Simon, that returning from Montpellier, he collected together some forces, marched against the Albigenses, and ordered every prisoner he took to be immediately burnt. But not succeeding in some of his enterprises, he grew disheartened, and wrote to every Roman Catholic power in Europe to send him assistance, otherwise he should not be able to hold out against the Albigenses. He soon received assistance with which he attacked the castle of Beron, and making himself master of it, ordered the garrison to be cruelly mutilated and deprived of sight: one person alone excepted, and he was but partially blinded that he might conduct the rest to Cabaret. Simon then undertook the siege of Menerbe, which, on account of the want of water, was obliged to yield to his forces. The lord of Termes, the governor, was put in prison, where he died; his wife, sister, and daughter were burnt, and 180 persons were committed to the flames. Many other castles surrendered to the forces of earl Simon, and the inhabitants were butchered in the most barbarous manner.

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

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

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

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

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

Soon after, earl Simon marched towards the city of Toulouse, when the earl who had retired to Montalban, sent word to the citizens of the former place, to make the best terms they could with the Roman catholics, as he was confident they could not hold out a siege; but he recommended them to preserve their hearts for him, though they surrendered their persons to another. The citizens of Toulouse, on receiving this intimation, sent deputies to earl Simon with offers of immediate surrender, provided the city itself, and the persons and properties of its inhabitants, should be protected from devastation. These conditions were agreed to immediately, and earl Simon, to ingratiate himself at



court, wrote a letter to prince Louis, the son of Philip king of France, informing him that the city of Toulouse had offered to surrender to him; but being willing that the prince should have the honour of receiving the keys and homage of the people, he begged that he would repair to the camp for that purpose. The prince, pleased with the invitation, went directly to the army, and had the city of Toulouse surrendered to him in due form. The pope's legate was greatly displeased at the mild conditions granted to the people of Toulouse, and insisted, that though the prince might take upon him the sovereignty of the place, and receive the homage of the people, yet the plunder belonged to the holy pilgrims (so the popish soldiers employed in these expeditions were called;) and that the place, as a receptacle of heretics, ought to be dismantled. The prince and earl Simon in vain remonstrated against proceedings so contrary to the conditions granted at the surrender: the legate was peremptory, when earl Simon and the prince, unwilling to come to an open rupture with him, gave up the point. The legate immediately set his holy pilgrims, as he termed them, to work, when they soon dismantled the city, and plundered the inhabitants of all their property, when they thought themselves perfectly secured by the articles of the surrender.

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

The prince, offended at this mode of reasoning, and highly displeased at the meanness of the subterfuge, still thought proper to dissemble his resentment. But being determined to quit the legate, he put the troops under his command in motion, and marched to attack some other fortresses: he found, however, that the legate had played the same trick, and plainly perceived, if he continued his military operations, that when unsuccessful he should bear all the blame, and when successful the legate would pilfer all the profit; he therefore left the army in disgust and returned to court. On this earl Simon, with his own forces, those the prince had just quitted, and some other auxiliaries, undertook the siege of Foix, being chiefly incited to it by the death of his brother, who was slain by the earl of Foix, who was of the reformed persuasion. He lay before the castle of Foix for the space of ten days, during which time he frequently assaulted it, but was always repulsed. Hearing that an army of Arragonians were in full march towards him, to revenge the death of their king, he raised the siege and went to meet them. The earl immediately sallied out and harassed his

rear, while the Arragonians in front gave him a total defeat, which compelled him to shut himself up in Carcasson.

Soon after, the pope's legate called a council at Montpellier for renewing military operations against the Albigenses, and for doing proper honour to earl Simon who was present; for the Arragonians not taking advantage of their victory, had neglected to block up Carcasson, by which omission earl Simon had an opportunity to repair to Montpellier. On meeting the council, the legate, in the pope's name, paid many compliments to earl Simon, and declared that he should be prince of all the countries that might in future be taken from the Albigenses: at the same time, by order of the pontiff, he styled him the active and dexterous soldier of Jesus Christ, and the invincible defender of the catholic faith. Just as the earl was going to return thanks for these great honours and fine encomiums, a messenger brought word, that the people had heard earl Simon was in the council, and that they had taken up arms, and were coming thither to destroy him as a common disturber. This intelligence threw the whole council into great confusion; and earl Simon, though a minute before styled an invincible defender of the faith, was glad to jump out of the window and steal away from the city. The affair becoming serious in the opinion of the papists, the pope soon after called a council to be held at Lateran, in which great powers were granted to Roman Catholic inquisitors, and many Albigenses were immediately put to death. This council likewise confirmed to earl Simon all the honours intended him by the council of Montpellier, and empowered him to raise another army against the Albigenses. Earl Simon immediately repaired to court, received his investiture from the French king and began to levy forces. Having now a considerable number of troops, he determined, if possible, to exterminate the Albigenses, when he received advice that his countess was besieged in Narbonne by the earl of Toulouse. He proceeded to her relief, when the Albigenses met him, gave him battle and defeated him; but he found means to escape from the field into the castle of Narbonne. After this Toulouse was recovered by the Albigenses; but the pope espousing earl Simon's cause raised forces on his account, and enabled him once more to undertake the siege of that city. The earl assaulted the place furiously, but being repulsed with great loss, he sunk into affliction; when the pope's legate said, to comfort him, "Fear nothing, my lord, make another vigorous attack: let us by any means recover the city, and destroy the inhabitants; and those of our men who are slain in the fight, I will assure you shall immediately pass into Paradise." One of the earl's principal officers, on hearing this, said with a sneer, "Monsieur cardinal, you talk with great assurance; and if the earl believes you, he will as before pay dearly for his confidence."

Earl Simon, however, took the legate's advice, made another assault and was again repulsed. To complete his misfortune, before the troops could recover from their confusion, the earl of Foix made his appearance at the head of a formidable army, attacked the already dispirited forces of earl Simon, and easily put them to the rout. The earl himself narrowly escaped drowning in the Garonne, into which he had hastily plunged, in order to avoid being captured. This discomfiture almost

broke earl Simon's heart; but the pope's legate continued to encourage him, and offered to raise him another army, which promise, with some difficulty and three years' delay, he at length performed, and that bigoted nobleman was once more enabled to take the field. On this occasion he turned his whole force against Toulouse, which he besieged for the space of nine months, when in one of the sallies made by the besieged his horse was wounded. The animal being in great anguish, ran away with him, and bore him directly under the ramparts of the city, when an archer shot him in the thigh with an arrow; and a woman immediately after throwing a large stone from the wall, it struck him upon the head and killed him. The siege was raised; but the legate, incensed at his disappointment of vengeance on the inhabitants, engaged the king of France in the cause, who sent his son to besiege the city. The French prince, with some chosen troops, furiously assaulted it: but meeting with a severe repulse, he abandoned Toulouse to besiege Miromand. This place he soon took by storm, and put to the sword all the inhabitants, consisting of 5000 men, women, and children.

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

This unexpected distress broke the king's heart; but his son, who succeeded him, determined to carry on the war, when he was soon defeated in three engagements by the earl of Toulouse. The king, the queen-mother, and three archbishops raised another formidable army, and had the art to persuade the earl of Toulouse to come to conference, when he was treacherously seized upon, made a prisoner, forced to appear barefooted and bareheaded before his enemies, and compelled to subscribe to the following ignominious conditions—1. That he should abjure the faith that he had hitherto defended. 2. That he should be

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

The persecution against the Albigenses was renewed in 1620. At a town called Tell, while the minister was preaching to a congregation of the reformed, the papists attacked and murdered a number of the people. A lady of principal eminence being exhorted to change her religion, if not for her own sake, at least for that of the infant she held in her arms, said, with undaunted courage, "I did not quit Italy my native country, nor forsake the estate I had there, for the sake of Jesus Christ, to renounce him here. With regard to my infant why should I not deliver him up to death, since God delivered up his son to die for me?" As soon as she had done speaking, they took the child from her, delivered it to a popish nurse to bring up, and then slew the mother. Dominico Burto, a youth of sixteen, refusing to turn papist, was set upon an ass with his face to the tail, which he was obliged to hold in his hand. In this condition he was led to the market-place, amidst the acclamations of the populace; after which he was sadly mutilated and burnt in several parts of his body, till at last he died with the pain. An Albigense young lady, of a noble family, was seized, and carried through the streets with a paper mitre upon her head. After mocking and beating her, the brutal multitude told her to call upon the saints; when she replied, "My trust and salvation is in Christ only; for even the virgin Mary, without the merits of her son, could not be saved." On this the multitude fell upon and destroyed her.

## SECTION VI.

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

Almericus, a learned man, and six of his disciples, were, in the third century, ordered to be burnt at Paris for holding that God was no more present in the sacramental bread than in any other bread; that it was idolatry to build altars or shrines or to offer incense to saints, and absurd to kiss relics. The martyrdom of Almericus and his pupils did not prevent many from acknowledging the justice of his notions, so that the faith of Christ continued to increase; and in time it not only spread over many parts of France, but various other nations.

In the year 1524, at a town in France called Meaux, one John Clerk affixed a bill on the church door, in which he called the pope antichrist: for this offence he was repeatedly whipped, and then branded in the forehead. His mother, who saw the chastisement, cried with a loud voice, "Blessed be Christ, and welcome these marks for his sake." He went afterwards to Metz, in Lorraine, and demolished some images, for which he had his right hand and nose cut off, and his arms and breasts torn by pincers: while suffering these cruelties, he was sufficiently at ease to sing the 115th psalm, which expressly forbids superstition. On concluding the psalm he was thrown into the fire and burnt to ashes. About the same time several persons of the reformed persuasion were beaten, racked, scourged, and burnt to death, in several parts of France; but particularly at Paris, Limosin, and Malda.

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

At Paris, Alexander Kanuse, a reformed clergyman, was burnt in a slow fire; and four men were committed to the flames for distributing papers, ridiculing the performance of mass. One had his tongue bored through. Peter Gaudet, a Genoese, was burnt by the desire of his own uncle, a bigoted Roman Catholic; and John Pointer, a surgeon, had his tongue cut out, and was then burnt. At Arras, Fontanis, and Rutiers, many were martyred for being of the reformed religion. At the latter place one Stephen Brune was condemned to be burnt for refusing to attend mass. When the fire was kindled, the flames were driven from him by a brisk wind, which occasioned the executioner to heap more fagots round him, and pour oil on them. Still, however, the wind blew the flames in a contrary direction, when the executioner, absurdly enraged with Brune, struck him on the head. Brune very calmly said, "As I am condemned only to be burnt, why do you strike me like a dog?" This expression so enraged the executioner, that he ran him through with a pike, and then burnt the lifeless body.

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

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

Francis Bribard, secretary to cardinal de Bellay, for speaking in favour of the reformed, had his tongue cut out, and was burnt A. D. 1554. James Cobard, a schoolmaster in the city of St. Michael, was burnt A. D. 1545, for saying, "that mass was useless and absurd." About the same time, fourteen men were burnt at Malda, their wives being compelled to behold their martyrdom. Peter Chapot brought a number of bibles in the French tongue to France, and publicly sold them there in the year 1546, for which he was condemned to be burnt. Soon after a cripple of Meaux, a schoolmaster of Fera named Stephen Polliot, and a man named John English, were burned for their religion. Michael Michelot being told either to recant and be spared, or to persevere and be burned; he chose the latter, making use of these words: "God has given me grace not to deny the truth, and will give me strength to endure the fire." At Langres five men and two women

<sup>r</sup> It is stated in Gallic. Hist. Johan. Crisp. lib. ii. that the Carmelite friar who attended Husson, and made great efforts to convert him to popery, though without success, was soon afterwards converted himself, and preached the gospel of Christ. The same writer adds, that the decree for cutting out the tongues of the martyrs at the stake, arose from the circumstance of those worthies reviling the popish blasphemies even while the fire was burning around them.

suffered for being of the reformed religion; when the youngest woman encouraged the other, saying, "This day shall we be married to Jesus Christ, and be with him for ever."

Monsieur Blondel, a rich jeweller, was in 1549 apprehended at Lyons, and sent to Paris, where he was burnt for the faith by order of the high court. Hubert, a youth of nineteen years of age, was committed to the flames at Dijon; as was Florent Venote, at the same time. A lady, named Anne Audebert, who purposed on account of her faith to retire to Geneva, was seized and sent to Paris. She was led to execution by a rope placed round her waist. This rope she called her wedding girdle; and as it was on a Saturday, she said, "I was once married to a man on a Saturday, and now I shall be married to God on the same day of the week."

Immediately after the coronation of Henry the Second, king of France, many singular circumstances happened. An artisan was apprehended for working on a saint's day; being asked why he gave such an offence to religion, his reply was, "I am a poor man, and have nothing but my labour to depend upon, necessity requires that I should be industrious, and my conscience tells me there is no day but the sabbath which I ought to keep sacred from labour." Having expressed himself thus, he was committed to prison, and the affair being soon after rumoured at court, some of the nobles persuaded the king to be present at the trial. On the day appointed, the monarch appeared in a superb chair of state, and the bishop of Mascon was ordered to interrogate the prisoner. On perceiving the king, the man paid obedience to him in the most respectful manner. The king was much affected with his arguments, and seemed to muse; on which the bishop exclaimed, "He is an obstinate and impudent heretic; let him be taken back to prison, and burnt to death." The officers proceeded to obey the mandate, when the bishop artfully insinuated, that the heretics, as he called the reformed, had many specious arguments, which at first appeared plausible; but on examination, they were found to be false. He then did his utmost endeavours to persuade the king to be present at the execution, who at length consented, and repaired to a balcony which overlooked the place. On seeing the king, the prisoner fixed his eyes stedfastly upon him; and even while the flames were consuming him, kept gazing in such a manner as threw the monarch into visible confusion, and obliged him to retire before the martyr was dead. The king was so shocked, that he could not recover his spirits for some time; and it was reported that the royal dreams were for some time greatly disturbed by the visionary appearance of the martyr, with the same intense gaze upon the king.

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

with; and after having sung a psalm with great fervency, they were all three consumed.

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

In 1554, two men of the reformed religion, with the son and daughter of one of them, were committed to the Castle of Niverne. On examination they confessed their faith, and were ordered for execution: they were first covered with grease, brimstone, and gunpowder; their tongues were then cut out, and they were then committed to the flames. Philip Hamlin, a priest, was apprehended for having renounced the errors of popery. Being brought to the stake, he began to exhort the people to quit the errors of the church of Rome; on which the officer who presided at the execution ordered the fagots to be lighted, and that a trumpet should be blown while the martyr was burning, that the people might not hear his voice.

\* Johan. Crispinus says, speaking of this worthy martyr, as he went to the stake, he passed by the college of St. Martial, where he was told to honour the picture of the Virgin standing at the gate; but refusing, the judge commanded his tongue to be cut out; and then being put to the fire, he stood quiet, looking up to Heaven all the time of burning, as if he had felt nothing, causing such admiration amongst the people, that one of the parliament said, it was not judicious to bring the Lutherans to the fire, for that would do more harm than good by strengthening their cause.



## BOOK IV.

### CONTAINING AN HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE PERSECUTIONS IN SPAIN, PORTUGAL, ITALY, &c.

This book contains whatever relates to the cruelties of the Inquisition. It has been necessary to depart in a small degree, from the chronological order with which the volume commenced, and to prefer combining all the transactions of christian martyrdoms in the foreign parts. The martyrdoms and persecutions which took place in this kingdom from the reign of Henry VIII. will therefore be given distinct from those of other countries; and the history of the persecutions abroad will thus be kept connected.

#### SECTION I.

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

IN the time of pope Innocent III. the reformed religion had occasioned such a noise throughout Europe, that the Catholics began to fear their church was in danger, and the pope was determined to impede as much as possible the progress of the reformation: he accordingly instituted a number of inquisitors—persons who were to make inquiry after, apprehend, and punish the reformed heretics. At the head of these was one Dominic, who had been canonized in order to render his authority the more respectable. He and the other inquisitors spread themselves into various Roman Catholic countries, and treated the Protestants with the utmost severity. At length the pope not finding them so useful as he had imagined, resolved upon the establishment of fixed and regular courts of inquisition; the first office of which was established in the city of Toulouse, and Dominic became the first inquisitor-general.

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

The pope gave the inquisitors the most unlimited powers, as judges delegated by him, and immediately representing his person: they were permitted to excommunicate, or sentence to death, whom they thought proper, upon the slightest information of heresy; they were allowed to publish crusades against all whom they deemed heretics, and enter into leagues with sovereign princes, to join those crusades with their forces. About the year 1244, their power was further increased by the emperor

Frederic the Second, who declared himself the protector and friend of all inquisitors, and published two cruel edicts—that heretics who continued obstinate should be burnt; and that those who repented should be imprisoned for life. This zeal in the emperor for the inquisitors, and the Roman Catholic persuasion, arose from a report, which had been propagated throughout Europe, that he intended to turn Mahometan; he therefore attempted, by the height of bigotry and cruelty, to establish beyond all doubt his attachment to the popish system.

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

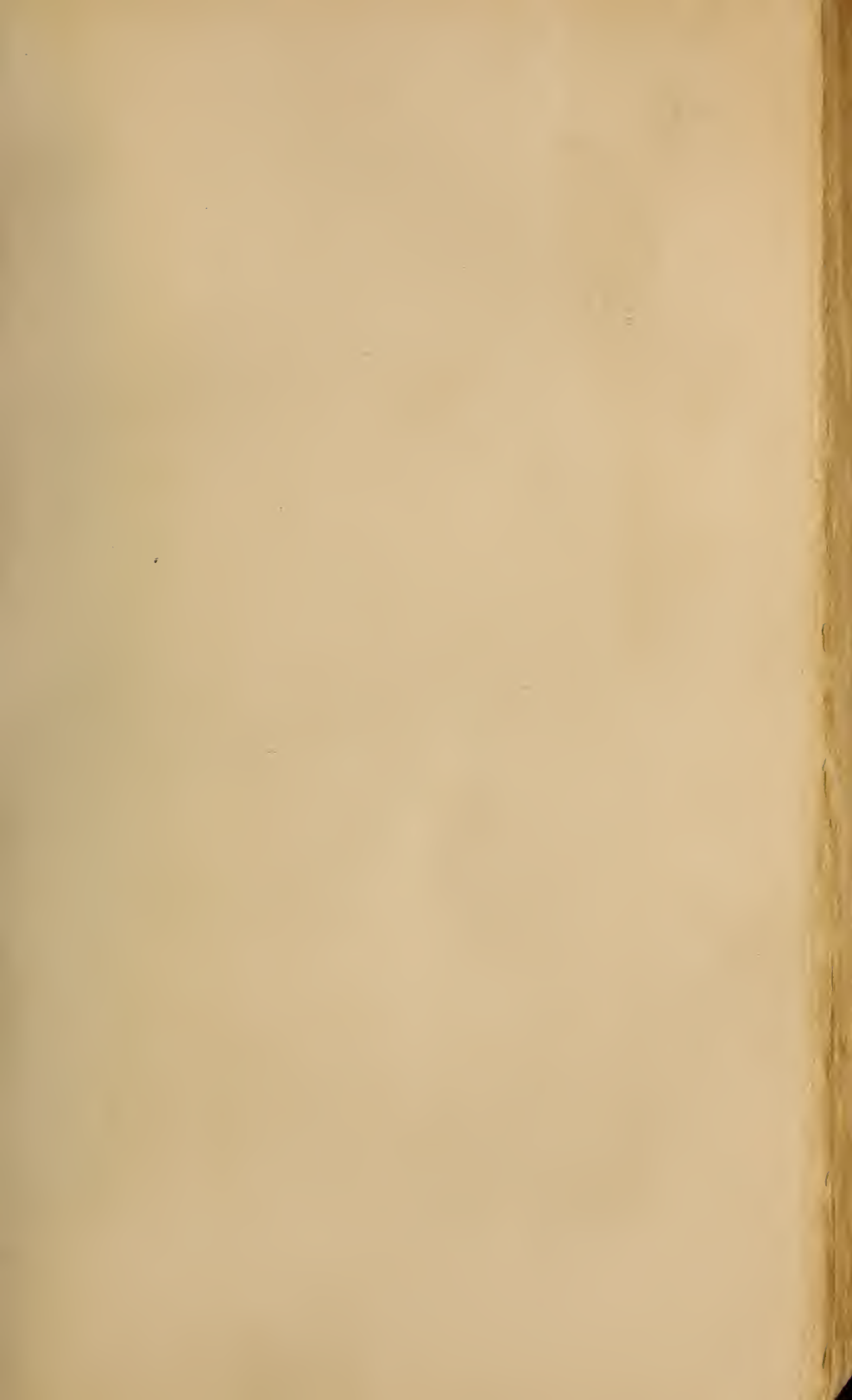
Heresy comprises many subdivisions, and, upon a suspicion of any of these, the party is immediately apprehended. Advancing an offensive proposition; failing to impeach others who may advance one; contemning church ceremonies; defacing idols; reading books condemned by the inquisition; lending such books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

company with another converted Jew, suspicion arises that they privately practise together some Jewish ceremonies; if he keep company with a person who was lately a protestant, but now professes popery, they are accused of plotting together; but if he associate with a Roman Catholic, an accusation is often laid against the former for only pretending to be a papist, and the consequence is, a confiscation of his effects, and the loss of life if he complain of ill usage. A defence is of little use to the prisoner; for suspicion only is deemed cause of condemnation, and the greater his wealth the greater his danger. Most of the inquisitors' cruelties are owing to their rapacity: they destroy life to possess the property of their victims, and, under pretence of zeal, plunder individuals of their rights. A prisoner of 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 criminate himself. If the jurisdiction of the inquisition be not fully allowed, vengeance is denounced against such as call it in question; or if any of its officers are opposed, those who oppose them are almost certain of becoming 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 at their authority. These are the circumstances which subject persons to the rage of the inquisition; and the methods of beginning the process are, 1. to proceed by an imputation, or prosecute on common report; 2. to proceed by the information of an indifferent person who wishes to impeach another; 3. to prosecute on the information of spies retained by the inquisition; and, 4. to prosecute on the confession of the prisoner himself. The inquisitors never forget or forgive; length of time cannot efface their resentments; nor can the humblest concessions or most liberal presents obtain a pardon: they carry their desire of revenge to the grave, and are gratified with nothing short of the property and lives of those who have offended. Hence, when a person once accused to the inquisition, after escaping, is retaken, he ought seriously to prepare himself for martyrdom, for pardon is next to an impossibility. If a positive accusation be given, the inquisitors direct an order to the executioner, who takes a certain number of familiars with him to assist in the execution. Father, son, brother, sister, husband, or wife, must quietly submit; none dare resist or even speak—as either would subject them to the punishment of the devoted victim. No respite is allowed, but the prisoner is instantaneously hurried away.

This dreadful engine of tyranny may at any time be introduced into a country where the catholics have the ascendancy; and hence how careful ought we to be, who are not cursed with such an arbitrary court, to prevent its introduction. In speaking of this subject, an elegant author pathetically says, "How horrid a scene of perfidy and inhumanity! What kind of community must that be whence gratitude, love, and mutual forbearance with human frailties, are banished! What must that tribunal be, which obliges parents not only to erase from their minds the remembrance of their own children, to extinguish all those

keen sensations of tenderness and affection wherewith nature inspires them, but even to extend their inhumanity so far as to force them to become their accusers, and consequently the cause of the cruelties inflicted upon them! What ideas ought we to form of a tribunal which obliges children not only to stifle every soft impulse of gratitude, love, and respect, due to those who gave them birth; but even forces them, under the most rigorous penalties, to be spies over their parents, and to discover to a set of merciless inquisitors the crimes, the errors, and even the infirmities to which they are exposed by human frailty! In a word, a tribunal that will not permit relations, when imprisoned in its horrid dungeons, to give each other the succours, or perform the duties which religion enjoins, must be of an infernal nature. What disorder and confusion must such conduct give rise to in a tenderly affectionate family! An expression, innocent in itself, and, perhaps, but too true, shall, from an indiscreet zeal or a panic of fear, give infinite uneasiness to a family; shall entirely ruin its peace and perhaps cause one or more of its members to be the unhappy victims of the most barbarous of all tribunals. What distractions must necessarily break forth in a house where the husband and wife are at variance, or the children loose and wicked! Will such children scruple to sacrifice a father, who endeavours to restrain them by his exhortations, by reproofs, or paternal corrections? Will they not rather, after plundering his house to support their extravagance and riot, readily deliver up their unhappy parent to all the horrors of a tribunal founded on the blackest injustice? A riotous husband, or a loose wife, has an easy opportunity, assisted by the system in question, to rid themselves of one who is a check to their vices, by delivering him or her up to the rigours of the inquisition."

When the inquisitors have taken umbrage against an innocent person, all expedients are used to facilitate condemnation; false oaths and testimonies are employed to find the accused guilty; and all laws and institutions are sacrificed to satiate the most bigoted vengeance. If a person accused be arrested and imprisoned, his treatment is deplorable. The gaolers may begin by searching him for books and papers which tend to his conviction, or for instruments which might be employed in self-murder or escape, and on this pretext they often rob him of valuables and even wearing apparel. When the prisoner has been searched and robbed, he is committed to prison. Innocence, on such an occasion, is a weak reed; nothing being easier than to ruin an innocent person. The mildest sentence is imprisonment for life; yet the inquisitors proceed by degrees at once subtle, slow, and cruel. The gaoler first insinuates himself into the prisoner's favour, by pretending to wish and advise him well; and among other hints of false kindness tells him to petition for an audit. When he is brought before the consistory, the first demand is, "What is your request?" To this the prisoner very naturally answers, that he would have a hearing. On this one of the inquisitors replies, "Your hearing is—confess the truth, conceal nothing, and rely on our mercy." If now the prisoner make a confession of any trifling affair, they immediately found an indictment upon it; if he is mute, they shut him up without light, or any food but a scanty allowance of bread and water till he overcomes his obstinacy, as they call it;





PROCESSION TO AN AUTO DA FÉ AT MADRID.—SEE PAGE 155.

and if he declare his innocence, they torment him till he either dies with the pain, or confesses himself guilty.

On the re-examination of such as confess, they continually say, "You have not been sincere, you tell not all; you keep many things concealed, and therefore must be remanded to your dungeon." When those who have been silent are called for re-examination, if they continue mute, such tortures are ordered as either make them speak, or kill them; and when those who proclaim their innocence are re-examined, a crucifix is held before them, and they are solemnly exhorted to take an oath of their confession of faith. This brings them to the test; they must either swear they are Roman catholics, or acknowledge they are not. If they acknowledge they are not, they are proceeded against as heretics: if they acknowledge they are, a string of accusations is brought against them, to which they are obliged to answer extempore; no time being given even to arrange their thoughts. On having verbally answered, pen, ink, and paper, are brought them, in order to produce a written answer, which must in every degree coincide with the verbal one. If the verbal and written answers differ, the prisoners are charged with prevarication; if one contain more than the other, they are accused of wishing for concealment; if they both agree, they are charged with premeditated artifice.

After a person impeached is condemned, he is either severely whipped, violently tortured, sent to the galleys, or sentenced to death; in either case the effects are confiscated. After judgment, a procession is arranged to the place of execution, and the ceremony is called an *Auto da Fé*, or act of Faith. The following is an exact account of one of these solemn farces, performed at Madrid in the year 1682.

The officers of the inquisition, preceded by trumpets, kettle-drums, and their banner, marched on the 30th of May, in cavalcade, to the palace of the great square, where they declared by proclamation, that on the 30th of June the sentence of the prisoners would be put in execution. There had not been a spectacle of this kind at Madrid for several years before, for which reason it was expected by the inhabitants with as much impatience as a day of the greatest festivity and triumph. When the day appointed arrived, a prodigious number of people appeared dressed as gaily as their respective circumstances would admit. In the great square was raised a high scaffold; and thither, from seven in the morning till the evening, were brought criminals of both sexes; all the inquisitions in the kingdom sending their prisoners to Madrid. Twenty men and women, with one renegado Mahometan, were ordered to be burned; fifty Jews and Jewesses, never having before been imprisoned, and repenting of their crimes, were sentenced to a long confinement, and to wear a yellow cap; and ten others, indicted for bigamy, witchcraft, and other crimes, were sentenced to be whipped, and then sent to the galleys; these last wore large paste-board caps, with inscriptions on them, having a halter about their necks, and torches in their hands. On this occasion the whole court of Spain was present. The grand inquisitor's chair was placed in a sort of tribunal higher than that of the king. Nobles acted the part of the sheriff's officers in England, leading such criminals as were to be

burned, and holding them when fast bound with thick cords: the rest of the victims were conducted by familiars of the inquisition. There was among them a young Jewess of exquisite beauty, but seventeen years of age. Being on the same side of the scaffold where the queen was seated, she addressed her, in hope of obtaining pardon, in the following pathetic speech: "Great queen! will not your royal presence be of some service to me in my miserable condition? Have regard to my youth; and, oh! consider that I am about to die for professing a religion imbibed from my earliest infancy!" Her majesty seemed to pity her distress, but turned away her eyes, as she did not dare speak a word in behalf of a person who had been declared heretic by the inquisition. Mass now began, in the midst of which the priest came from an altar placed near the scaffold, and seated himself in a chair prepared for that purpose. Then the chief inquisitor descended from the amphitheatre, dressed in his cope, and having a mitre on his head. After bowing to the altar, he advanced towards the king's balcony, attended by some of his officers, carrying a cross and the gospels, with a book containing the oath by which the kings of Spain oblige themselves to protect the catholic faith, to extirpate heretics, and support with all their power the decrees of the inquisitions. On the approach of the inquisitor presenting this book to the king, his majesty rose up bare-headed, and swore to maintain the oath, which was read to him by one of his counsellors: after which the king continued standing till the inquisitor had returned to his place; when the secretary of the holy office mounted a sort of pulpit, and administered a like oath to the counsellors and the whole assembly. Mass commenced about twelve at noon, and did not end till nine in the evening, being protracted by a proclamation of the sentences of the several criminals, which were all separately rehearsed aloud one after the other. Next followed the burning of the twenty-one men and women, whose intrepidity in suffering that horrid death was truly astonishing: some thrust their hands and feet into the flames with the most dauntless fortitude; and all yielded to their fate with such resolution, that many of the amazed spectators lamented that such heroic souls *had not been more enlightened*. The situation of the king was so near to the criminals, that their dying groans were audible to him: his coronation oath obliges him to give sanction by his presence to all the acts of the tribunal.

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



their exhortations, and if they find them ineffectual, usually tell them at parting, that they leave them to the devil, who is standing at their elbow ready to receive their souls, and carry them with him into the flames of hell-fire, as soon as they are out of their bodies. A general shout is then raised, and when the priests get off the ladder, the universal cry is, 'Let the dogs' beards be burnt,' which is accordingly done by means of flaming furzes thrust against their faces. This barbarity is repeated till their faces are burnt, and is accompanied with loud acclamations. Fire is then set to the furzes, and the criminals are consumed."

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

A testoon, which is sevenpence-halfpenny English money, is allowed every prisoner daily; and the principal gaoler, accompanied by two other officers, visits every prisoner monthly to enquire how he would have his allowance laid out. This visit, however, is only a matter of form, for the gaoler usually lays out the money as he pleases, and commonly allows the prisoner daily a porringer of broth, half a pound of beef, a small piece of bread, and a trifling portion of cheese. Centinels walk about continually to listen, and if the least noise is heard, to address and threaten the prisoner; if the noise is repeated, a severe beating ensues. The following is said to be a fact: a prisoner having a violent cough, one of the guards came and ordered him not to make a noise; to which he replied, that from the violence of his cold, it was not in his power to forbear. The cough increasing, the guard went into the cell, stripped the poor creature naked, and beat him so unmercifully that he soon died.

Sometimes a prisoner passes months without knowing of what he is accused, or having the least idea when he is to be tried. The gaoler at length informs him that he must petition for a trial. This ceremony being gone through he is taken bare-headed for examination. When they come to the door of the tribunal, the gaoler knocks three times, to give the judges notice of their approach. A bell is rung by one of the judges, when an attendant opens the door, admits the prisoner, and accommodates him with a stool. The prisoner is then ordered by the president to kneel down, and lay his right hand upon a book, which is presented to him close shut. This being complied with, the following question is put to him: "Will you promise to conceal the secrets of the

holy office, and to speak the truth?" Should he answer in the negative, he is remanded to his cell and cruelly treated. If he answer in the affirmative, he is ordered to be again seated, and the examination proceeds; when the president asks a variety of questions, and the clerk minutes both them and the answers. When the examination is closed, the bell is again rung, the gaoler appears, and the prisoner is ordered to withdraw with this exhortation: "Tax your memory, recollect all the sins you have ever committed, and when you are again brought here, communicate them to the holy office." The gaolers and attendants, when apprized that the prisoner has made an ingenuous confession, and readily answered every question, make him a low bow, and treat him with affected kindness as a reward for his candour. He is brought in a few days to a second examination, with the same formalities as before. The inquisitors often deceive prisoners by promising the greatest lenity, and even to restore their liberty, if they will accuse themselves: the unhappy persons who are in their power frequently fall into this snare, and are sacrificed to their own simplicity. Instances have occurred of some, who relying on the faith of the judges, have accused themselves of what they were totally innocent, in expectation of obtaining their liberty; and thus become martyrs to their own folly.

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

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

#### THE FIRST TIME OF TORTURING.

A prisoner on refusing to comply with the iniquitous demand of the inquisitors, by confessing all the crimes they thought proper to charge him with, was immediately conveyed to the torture-room, where no light appeared but what issued from two candles. That the cries of the sufferers might not be heard by other prisoners, the room was lined with

a kind of quilting, covering all the crevices and deadening the sound. The prisoner's horror was extreme on entering this infernal place, when suddenly he was surrounded by six wretches, who, after preparing the tortures, stripped him naked to his drawers. He was then laid upon his back on a kind of stand, elevated a few feet from the floor. They began by putting an iron collar round his neck, and a ring to each foot, which fastened him to the stand. His limbs being thus stretched out they wound two ropes round each arm and each thigh; these being passed under the scaffold, were all drawn tight at the same instant of time, by four of the men on a given signal. The pains which immediately succeeded were intolerable; the ropes, which were of a small size, cut through the prisoner's flesh to the bone, making the blood gush out at all the different places bound at a time. As he persisted in not making any confession of what the inquisitors required, the ropes were drawn in this manner four times successively. A physician and surgeon attended, and often felt his temples, to judge of the danger he might be in; by these means his tortures were for a short time suspended; but only that he might have sufficient opportunity of recovering his spirits to sustain further torture. During this extremity of anguish, while the tender frame is tearing, as it were, in pieces, while at every pore it feels the sharpest pangs of death, and the agonized soul is just ready to burst forth and quit its wretched mansion, the ministers of the inquisition have the obduracy to look on without emotion, and calmly to advise the poor distracted creature to confess his imputed guilt, that he may obtain pardon and receive absolution. All this, however, was ineffectual with the prisoner, whose mind was strengthened by a sweet consciousness of innocence, and the divine consolation of religion. Amidst his bodily suffering, the physician and surgeon were so barbarous as to declare, that if he died under the torture he would be guilty, by his obstinacy, of self-murder. The last time the ropes were drawn tight he grew so exceedingly weak, by the stoppage of the circulation of his blood, and the pains he endured, that he fainted away; upon which he was unloosed and carried back to his dungeon.

#### THE SECOND TIME OF TORTURING.

The inhuman wretches of the inquisition, finding that all the torture they inflicted, instead of extorting a discovery from the prisoner, only served the more fervently to excite his supplications to Heaven for patience and power to persevere in truth and integrity, were so inhuman, in six weeks after, as to expose him to another kind of torture, more severe, if possible, than the former; the manner of inflicting which was as follows: they forced his arms backwards, so that the palms of his hands were turned outward behind him; when, by means of a rope that fastened them together at the wrists, and which was turned by an engine, they drew them by degrees nearer each other, in such a manner that the back of each hand touched, and stood 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 delivered to the physician and surgeon, who, in setting the dislocated bones, put him to the most exquisite torment.

#### THE THIRD TIME OF TORTURING.

About two months after the second torture, the prisoner, being a little recovered, was again ordered to the torture-room; and there, for the last time, made to undergo another kind of punishment, which was inflicted twice without intermission. The executioners fastened a thick iron chain twice round his body, which, crossing upon his stomach, terminated at the wrists. They then placed him with his back against a thick board, at each extremity whereof was a pulley, through which there run a rope that caught the ends of the chain at his wrists. Then the executioner stretching the end of this rope, by means of a roller placed at a distance behind him, pressed or bruised his stomach in proportion as the ends of the chain were drawn tighter. They tortured him in this manner to such a degree, that his wrists, as well as his shoulders, were quite dislocated. They were, however, soon set by the surgeons; but the barbarians, not yet satisfied with this series of cruelty, made him immediately undergo the torture a second time; which he sustained with equal constancy and resolution. He was then remanded to his dungeon, attended by the surgeon to dress his bruises and adjust the parts dislocated; and here he continued till their gaol delivery restored him to a miserable freedom in this world, or their *Auto da Fé* removed him to a better state.

It may be judged from these accounts what dreadful agony the sufferer must have laboured under, by being so frequently put to the torture. Most of his limbs were disjoined; so much was he bruised and exhausted, as to be unable, for weeks, to lift his hands to his mouth; and his body became greatly swelled from the inflammation caused by frequent dislocations. After his discharge he felt the effects of this cruelty for the remainder of his life, being frequently seized with thrilling and excruciating pains, to which he had never been subject, till after he had the misfortune to fall under the merciless and bloody lords of the inquisition. The unhappy females who fall into the hand of the inquisitors, have not more favour shewn them on account of the tenderness of their sex; but are tortured with as much severity as the male prisoners, with the additional mortification of having the most shocking indecencies added to the most savage barbarities.

Should these modes of torturing force a confession from the prisoner, he is remanded to his horrid dungeon, and left a prey to the melancholy of his situation, to the anguish arising from what he has suffered, and to the dreadful ideas of future cruelties. Should he refuse to confess, he is still remanded to his dungeon; but a stratagem is used to draw from him what the torture fails to do. A companion is allowed to attend him, under the pretence of comforting his mind till his wounds are healed: this person, who is always selected for his cunning, insinuates himself into the good graces of the prisoner, laments the anguish he feels, sympathises with him, and, taking advantage of the hasty expressions forced from him by pain, does all he can to dive into his secrets. This companion sometimes pretends to be a prisoner like himself, and

imprisoned for similar charges; to draw the unhappy person into unsuspecting confidence, and persuade him in unbosoming his grief, to betray his private sentiments.

Frequently these snares succeed, as they are the more alluring by being glossed over with the appearance of friendship, sympathy, pity, and every tender passion. In fine, if the prisoner cannot be found guilty, he is either tortured or harassed to death, though a few have sometimes had the good fortune to be discharged; but not without having first of all suffered the most dreadful cruelties. If he is found guilty, all his effects are confiscated, and he is condemned to be whipped, imprisoned for life, sent to the galleys, or put to death. Having mentioned the barbarities with which the prisoners are treated by the inquisitors, we shall proceed to recount the severity of their proceedings against publications.

When a book is published, it is carefully read by some of the familiars belonging to the inquisition. These wretched critics are too ignorant and bigoted to search for truth, and too malicious to appreciate sound wisdom and virtue. They scrutinize not for the merits, but for the defects of an author, and pursue the slips of his pen with unremitting diligence. Hence they read with prejudice, judge with partiality, pursue errors with avidity, and strain that which is innocent into an offensive meaning. They misapply, confound, and pervert the sense; and when they have gratified the malignity of their disposition, charge their blunders upon the author, that a prosecution may be founded upon their false conceptions, and designed misinterpretations. Any trivial charge causes the censure of a book. There is a catalogue of condemned books annually published under three different heads of censures, and being printed on a large sheet of paper, is hung up in the most public and conspicuous places. After this, people are obliged to destroy all such books as come under either of the censures, unless the exceptionable passages have been expunged, and the corrections made, as in either case disobedience would be of the most fatal consequence: for the possessing and reading the proscribed books are deemed very atrocious crimes. Every publisher of such books is usually ruined in his circumstances, and sometimes obliged to pass the remainder of his life in a cell of the inquisition.

## SECTION II.

### CRUELITIES EXERCISED BY THE INQUISITIONS OF SPAIN AND PORTUGAL, FROM THE MOST AUTHENTICATED RECORDS.

Francis Romanus, a native of Spain, was employed by the merchants of Antwerp to transact some business for them at Bremen. He had been educated in the Romish persuasion, but going one day into a protestant church, he was struck with the truths which he heard, and beginning to discern the errors of popery, he determined to search farther into the matter. Perusing the sacred scriptures, and the writings of some protestant divines, he perceived the falsehood of the principles he had

formerly embraced; and soon renounced the impositions of popery for the doctrines of the reformed church, in which religion appeared in its genuine purity. Resolving to think only of his eternal salvation, he studied religious truth more than earthly trade, and purchased books rather than merchandize, convinced that the riches of the body are trifling to those of the soul. He resigned his agency to the merchants of Antwerp, giving them an account at the same time of his conversion; and then, resolved on the conversion of his parents, he returned without delay to Spain for that purpose. But the Antwerp merchants writing to the inquisitors, he was seized, imprisoned for some time, and then condemned to the flames as a heretic. He was led to the place of execution in a garment painted with demon figures, and had a paper mitre put on his head by way of derision. As he passed by a wooden cross, one of the priests bade him kneel to it; but he absolutely refused to do so, saying, "It is not for Christians to worship wood." Having been placed on a pile of fagots, the fire quickly reached him, when he suddenly lifted up his head; the priests thinking he meant to recant, ordered him to be taken down. Finding, however, that they were mistaken, and that he still retained his constancy, he was placed again upon the pile, where, as long as he had life and voice remaining, he kept repeating these verses of the seventh psalm—"O Lord my God, in thee I put my trust! O let the wickedness of the wicked come to an end, but establish thou the just. My defence is of God, who saveth the upright in heart. I will praise the Lord according to his righteousness; and will sing praise to the name of the Lord most high!"

At St. Lucar, in Spain, resided a carver named Rochus, whose principal business was to make images of saints and other popish idols. Becoming, however, convinced of the errors of the Romish persuasion, he embraced the protestant faith, left off carving images, and for subsistence followed the business of a seal engraver only. But he had retained one image of the Virgin Mary for a sign; when an inquisitor passing by, asked if he would sell it. Rochus mentioned a price; the inquisitor objected to it, and offered half the money. Rochus replied, "I would rather break it to pieces than take such a trifle."—"Break it to pieces," said the inquisitor, "break it to pieces if you dare!" Rochus being provoked at this expression, snatched up a chisel, and cut off the nose of the image. This was sufficient; the inquisitor went away in a rage, and soon after sent to have him apprehended. In vain did he plead that what he defaced was his own property; and that if it was not proper to do as he would with his own, it was not proper for the inquisitor to bargain for the image in the way of trade. Nothing, however, availed him; his fate was decided; he was condemned to be burnt, and the sentence was executed without delay.

A doctor Cacalla, his brother Francis and sister Blanche, were burnt at Valladolid, for having spoken against the inquisitors. A gentlewoman with her two daughters and niece, were apprehended at Seville, professing the protestant religion. They were all put to the torture: and when that was over, one of the inquisitors sent for the youngest daughter, pretended to sympathize with her, and pity her sufferings; then binding himself with a solemn oath not to betray her, he said,

“If you will disclose all to me, I promise you I will procure the discharge of your mother, sister, cousin, and yourself.” Rendered confident by this oath, and ensnared by specious promises, she revealed all the tenets they professed; when the perjured wretch, instead of acting as he had sworn, immediately ordered her to be put to the rack, saying, “Now you have revealed so much, I will make you reveal more.” Refusing, however, to say any thing further, the whole family were condemned to the flames, and the horrid sentence was executed at the next *Auto da Fé*.

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

A maid-servant to another gaoler belonging to the inquisition was accused of humanity, and detected in bidding the prisoners keep up their spirits. For this heinous crime, as it was called, she was publicly whipped, banished her native place for ten years, and had her forehead branded by red hot irons with these words, “A favourer and aider of heretics.”

John Pontic, a Spanish gentleman and a protestant, was, principally on account of his great estate, apprehended by the inquisitors, and charged with heresy. On this charge all his effects were confiscated to the use of the inquisitors, and his body was burnt to ashes. John Gonsalvo, originally a priest, but who now embraced the reformed religion, was, with his mother, brother, and two sisters, seized by the inquisitors. Being condemned, they were led to execution singing part of the 106 psalm. At the place of execution they were ordered to repeat the creed, which they immediately complied with, but coming to these words, “the holy catholic church,” they were commanded to add the monosyllables “of Rome,” which absolutely refusing, one of the

inquisitors said, "Put an end to their lives directly," when the executioners obeyed, and strangled them.

Four protestant women were seized at Seville, tortured, and afterwards ordered for execution. On the way they began to sing psalms; but the officers thinking that the words of the psalms reflected on themselves, used the most cruel means to silence them. They were then burnt, and the houses they resided in ordered to be demolished. A protestant schoolmaster of the name of Ferdinando, was apprehended by order of the inquisition, for instructing his pupils in the principles of protestantism; and after being severely tortured, committed to the flames.

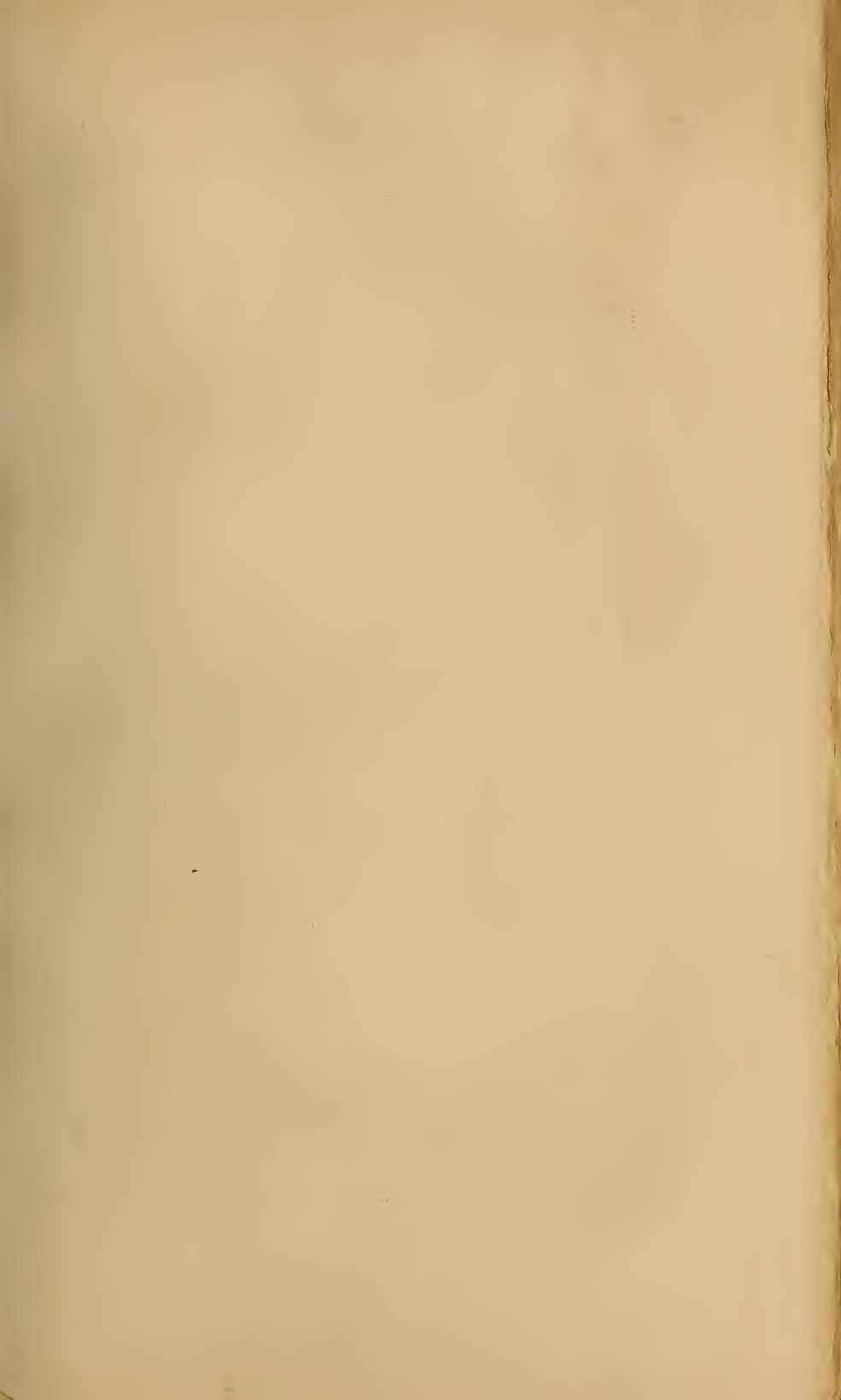
A monk, who had abjured the errors of popery, was imprisoned at the same time as Ferdinando; but through the fear of death, he said he was willing to embrace his former communion. Ferdinando hearing of this, obtained an opportunity to speak to him, reproached him with his weakness, and threatened him with eternal perdition; when the monk, sensible of his crime, re-embraced and promised to continue in the protestant faith, and declared to the inquisitors that he solemnly renounced his intended recantation. Sentence of death was therefore passed upon him, and he was burned at the same stake with his friend.

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

A protestant tailor of Spain, named John Leon, travelled to Germany, and from thence to Geneva, where hearing that a number of English protestants were returning to their native country, he and some other Spaniards determined to go with them. The Spanish inquisitors being apprised of their intentions, sent a number of familiars in pursuit of them, who overtook them at a sea-port in Zealand. The prisoners were heavily fettered, handcuffed, had their heads and necks covered with a kind of iron net-work, and in this miserable condition they were conveyed to Spain, thrown into a dungeon, almost famished, barbarously tortured, and then burnt.

A young lady having been forced into a convent, absolutely refused to take the veil; and on leaving the cloister she embraced the protestant faith, on which she was apprehended and condemned to the flames. An eminent physician and philosopher of the name of Christopher Losada, became obnoxious to the inquisitors, on account of exposing the errors of popery, and professing the tenets of protestantism. He was apprehended, imprisoned, and racked; but these severities not making him confess the Roman catholic church to be the only true one, he was







A LADY BROUGHT BEFORE THE INQUISITORS AFTER THE TORTURE.—PAGE 165.

sentenced to the fire; which he bore with exemplary patience, and resigned his soul to his Creator.

Arias, a monk of St. Isidore's monastery at Seville, was a man of great abilities, but of a vicious disposition. He sometimes pretended to forsake the errors of the church of Rome, and become a protestant, and soon after turned Roman catholic. Thus he continued a long time wavering between both persuasions, till God thought proper to touch his heart. He now became a true protestant; and the sincerity of his conversion soon after becoming known, he was seized by the officers of the inquisition, severely tortured, and afterwards burned at an *Auto da Fé*.

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

A lady of a noble family of Seville, named Jane Bohorquia, was apprehended on the information of her sister, who had been tortured and burnt for professing the protestant religion. While on the rack, she confessed she had frequently conversed with her sister concerning protestantism, and upon this extorted confession Jane was seized and ordered to be racked, which was done with such severity, that she expired a week after of the wounds and bruises. Upon this occasion the inquisitors affected some remorse, and in one of the printed acts of the inquisition, which they always publish at an *Auto da Fé*, this young lady is thus mentioned: "Jane Bohorquia was found dead in prison; after which, upon reviving her prosecution, the inquisitors discovered she was innocent. Be it therefore known, that no further prosecution shall be carried on against her; and that her effects, which were confiscated, shall be given to the heirs at law." One sentence in this passage is as remarkable as it is ridiculous, that no further prosecution shall be carried on against her. This alludes to the absurd custom of prosecuting and burning the bones

of the dead : for when a prisoner dies in the inquisition, the process continues the same as if he was living ; the bones are deposited in a chest, and if sentence of guilt is passed they are brought out at the next *Auto da Fé* ; the sentence is read against them with as much solemnity as against a living prisoner, and they are at length committed to the flames. In a similar manner are prosecutions carried on against prisoners who escape ; and when their persons are far beyond the reach of the inquisitors, they are burnt in effigy.

Isaac Orobio, a learned physician, having beaten a Moorish servant for stealing, was accused by him of professing Judaism, and the inquisitor seized the master upon the charge. He was kept three years in prison before he had the least intimation of what he was to undergo, and then suffered the following modes of torture :—A coarse coat was put upon him, and drawn so tight that the circulation of the blood was nearly stopped, and the breath almost pressed out of his body. After this the strings were suddenly loosened, when the air forcing its way hastily into his stomach, and the blood rushing into its channels, he suffered the most incredible pain. He was seated on a bench with his back against a wall to which iron pulleys were fixed. Ropes being fastened to several parts of his body and limbs, were passed through the pulleys, and being suddenly drawn with great violence, his whole frame was forced into a distorted mass. After having suffered for a considerable time the pains of this position, the seat was suddenly removed and he was left suspended against the wall. The executioners fastened ropes round his wrists, and then drew them about his body. Placing him on his back with his feet against the wall, they pulled with the utmost violence, till the cord had penetrated to the bone. He suffered the last torture three times, and then lay seventy days before his wounds were healed. He was afterwards banished, and in his exile wrote the account of his sufferings.

A protestant author of Toledo was fond of producing fine specimens of writings, and having them framed to adorn the different apartments of his house. Among other curious examples of penmanship, was a large piece containing the Lord's prayer, creed, and ten commandments, in verse. This piece, which hung in a conspicuous part of the house, was one day seen by a person belonging to the inquisition, who observed that the numerical arrangement of the commandments was not according to the church of Rome, but according to the protestant church ; for the protestants retain the whole ten commandments as they stand in the bible, but the papists omit the second which forbids the worship of images. The inquisition soon had information of the circumstance, and this gentleman was seized, prosecuted, and burnt, only for adorning his house with a specimen of his skill.

### SECTION III.

#### THE TRIAL AND SUFFERINGS OF MR. ISAAC MARTIN.

In the year 1714, about Lent, Mr. Martin arrived at Malaga, with his wife and four children. On the examination of his baggage, a

bible and some other books were seized. He was accused soon after of being a Jew, for these curious reasons, that his own name was Isaac and one of his sons was named Abraham. The accusation was laid in the bishop's court, and he informed the English consul of it, who said it was nothing but the malice of some of the Irish papists, whom he advised him always to shun. The clergy sent to Mr. Martin's neighbours to know their opinion concerning him, and the result of the enquiry was this—"We believe him not to be a Jew, but a heretic." After this, being continually pestered by priests, particularly those of the Irish nation, in order to change his religion, he determined to dispose of what he possessed and retire from Malaga. When, however, his purpose became known his house was assailed after dark by a loud knocking at the door. He demanded who was there. The persons without said they wanted to enter. He desired they would come the next morning; but they replied, if he would not open the door they would break it open; and they were as good as their word. Then about fifteen persons entered, consisting of a commissioner, with several priests and familiars belonging to the inquisition. Mr. Martin would fain have gone to the English consul; but they told him the consul had nothing to do in the matter, and then said, "Where are your beads and fire arms?" To which he answered, "I am an English protestant, and as such carry no private arms, nor make use of beads." They took away his watch, money, and other things, carried him to the bishop's prison, and loaded him with heavy fetters. His distressed family was turned out of doors till the house was stripped: and when they had taken every thing away, they returned the key to his wife. Four days after his commitment, Mr. Martin was told he must be sent to Grenada to be tried: he earnestly begged to see his wife and children before he went, but this request was cruelly denied. Oppressed with fetters, he was mounted on a mule, and set out towards Grenada. By the way, the mule threw him upon a rocky part of the road, and almost broke his back. He was three days on the journey of 72 miles.

On his arrival at Grenada he was detained at an inn till it was dark. No one is ever put into the inquisition by day light—fit arrangement for so black a deed. At night he was taken along a range of galleries till he arrived at a dungeon, with a few things brought from Malaga by the carrier, consisting of an old bed, some clothes, and a box of books. The gaoler nailed up the latter, and said, they must remain in that state till the lords of the inquisition chose to inspect them, for prisoners were not allowed to read books. He also took an inventory of whatever Mr. Martin had about him; and having asked a great number of frivolous questions, at length gave him this order: "You must observe as great silence as if you were dead; you must not speak, nor whistle, nor sing, nor make any noise that can be heard; and if you hear any body cry or make a noise, you must be still and say nothing, on pain of receiving 200 lashes." Mr. Martin asked if he might have liberty to walk about the room; the gaoler replied he might, but it must be very softly. After giving him some wine, bread, and half a dozen walnuts, the gaoler left him till morning. It was frosty weather, and the walls of the dungeon were between two and three feet thick, the floor was bricked,

and a great wind came through an aperture which served as a window. The next morning the gaoler came to light his lamp, and bade him light a fire in order to dress his dinner. He then took him to a wheel usually found at the doors of convents, on which a person on the other side, unseen turns the provisions round. He had then given him half a pound of mutton, two pounds of bread, some kidney beans, a bunch of raisins, and a pint of wine, which formed his allowance for three days. He was also furnished with some charcoal, and earthen stove, and a few other articles.

In about a week Mr. Martin was summoned to an audience: he followed the gaoler, and coming to a large room found a man sitting between two crucifixes; and another with a pen in his hand, who was evidently secretary to the inquisition. The chief lord inquisitor, the person between two crucifixes, seemed about sixty years of age, and was a bony slender man, meagre and hideous as could well be imagined. He commanded Mr. Martin to sit down upon a little stool that fronted him. A frivolous examination then took place, the questions related to his family, their religion, and his own tenets and professions. The prisoner admitted that he was a protestant, pleaded that Christ admitted of no persecution, and concluded with saying, that he hoped to remain in the religion he had hitherto adopted. He underwent five examinations without any thing serious being alleged against him.

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

*First accusation.* Soon after your coming to Malaga, you went and abused the schoolmaster for teaching your children the christian doctrine, telling him that you would teach them your own religion, and that you sent them to school to learn to read and write, and not to learn religion.

*Answer.* My lord, I did go to the schoolmaster, and told him that I sent my children to read and write, and not to learn prayers; that I would have them brought up in my own religion, and would teach them how to pray; but I did not abuse him. I believe, my lord, I have liberty to bring up my children in my own faith without being called to an account for it.

The inquisitor, displeased at this reply, bid the secretary write him down guilty of the first accusation.

*Second accusation.* At divers times it was remarked, that you did not pull off your hat, in homage to images, but turned your back on them.

*Answer.* My lord, in my religion we pay no respect to graven images. I profess myself to be a protestant, it is against my conscience to bow to wood or stone, and I am not obliged by the articles of peace to do so.

The inquisitor told him, that as he lived in a country where it was done, he ought to comply with the custom of the place in which he resided. The secretary was then ordered to record the answer.

*Third accusation.* You once said, walking in your own apartment with an English captain, a heretic like yourself, that purgatory was but an invention of the church of Rome to get money. There was one present who could understand your language, and heard you say so.

*Answer.* My lord, I cannot remember every thing I have said during four years time. It may be that I have said such a thing; but if I did, it was not to a Roman catholic. If there was one in the room that heard me say so he must have been an Irishman, who was not very welcome there, for he came as a spy upon my words and actions.

The inquisitor asking if he thought he knew him, Mr. Martin named the person on whom his suspicions fell. The inquisitor then having blamed him for giving his tongue such liberties in Roman catholic countries, demanded if he was sorry for having said so; he replied, "My lord, if I have said amiss, I beg your lordship's pardon." When the inquisitor, turning to the secretary, said, "Write down that the heretic begs pardon for the third accusation."

*Fourth accusation.* You were once walking with another person who pulled off his hat to the crucifix. You asked him why he did this. He replied, I honour the crucifix: when you said, "We have no such things in our country," and passed by without pulling off your hat.

*Answer.* My lord, I remember the time very well; it is true, I never pulled off my hat to a crucifix, unless it was carried in procession; and then I used to pull off my hat, not in respect to the image, but to cause no scandal, by appearing to deny my superiors salutation as they passed.

Guilty of this accusation by his own confession.

*Fifth accusation.* You have several times spoken in religious disputes against our faith; and though you have been frequently admonished to embrace the Roman catholic persuasion, without which no man can be saved, you would never listen to the salutary advice.

*Answer.* My lord, at my first arrival in the inquisition you allowed that a man might defend his religion; it is what I have done. As for being admonished to change it, that has happened very often; but I have no inclination to change.

Then the inquisitor asked him if he could not defend his own religion without speaking against the church of Rome. To which Mr. Martin made answer, that he really could not: "For," said he, "in disputing with others, when they spoke against my religion, I naturally spoke against theirs; and I brought proof of scripture for what I said." He was recorded as guilty of this charge by his own confession.

*Sixth accusation.* Being on board an English ship with your wife and others, a female admonished your wife to change her religion, when you bade her be quiet and mind her own religion. This was on a Friday, and you ate meat without regarding the day.

*Answer.* My lord, we were merry drinking Florence wine and punch, and the woman was always talking of religion to my wife, though she hardly knew what she said, and at best knew but little of the matter. Continuing to talk on in the same manner, she made us very uneasy, so that I bade her hold her tongue, and had a trifling quarrel with her. As for eating meat on a Friday, I generally do, and so did she, though she was a Roman catholic.

*Seventh accusation.* Being in company with some English heretic captains at church, there were several people kneeling and praying to the image of the Virgin Mary. The captains asked if they prayed to

the image. You answered, "Yes; they know no better, for they are brought up in ignorance."

*Answer.* My lord, I have been several times walking with captains. I do not remember this particular time: it may be that some person heard me say so.

*Eighth accusation.* Walking with several merchants, the host passed by, when they took off their hats, and some kneeled; but you did not so much as take off your hat, which occasioned such scandal, that some of the people were going to stab you.

*Answer.* My lord, it is false: I have lived several years in Roman catholic countries, and know that by the articles of peace, I am obliged to have my hat off on all such occasions. As for people stabbing me, I have run those hazards many times on account of my religion.

*Ninth accusation.* You have been threatened various times with the pope's authority in those countries, and you have said that you did not value him, and that he had no authority over you.

*Answer.* My lord, it is true I have said so.

This answer occasioned the following curious altercation:—

Q. How came you to say so? Don't you value the holy father, who is God on earth?

A. My lord, talking with some people who were very troublesome about religion, they threatened me with the authority of the pope; and being an English protestant, I thought he had nothing to do with me.

Q. What! then you value nobody?

A. I beg your lordship's pardon; I value all mankind as being fellow-creatures; I value the pope as bishop of Rome, but not for the authority he has over me, for I believe he has not any.

Q. You are mistaken. Who is the head of the church?

A. My lord, I see to my sorrow I was mistaken. Jesus Christ is the head of the church.

Q. What! then you allow no head upon earth?

A. No, my lord.

Q. Hold your tongue; you are an unbeliever; he is God upon earth. The secretary was ordered to record Mr. Martin's several replies.

*Tenth accusation.* Walking with some captains of ships, there was a procession passing, when you bade them retire, and not mind it, though it was their design to see it: but you hindered them through disrespect to the procession.

*Answer.* My lord, processions are very frequent in Malaga. I have been in company with captains who were never in Roman catholic countries before: and they, not knowing that people went in procession for devotion, would laugh and not take their hats off: so that I desired them to retire to avoid confusion.

*Eleventh accusation.* The procession mentioned in accusation the tenth went by, and the people kneeled down and worshipped: but you stood with your hat on, and took no notice of it.

*Answer.* My lord, I remember nothing of the affair, but believe it is false; or if I did not take off my hat, it was because the host was not there. But with respect to kneeling or bowing, I told your lordship I never do either.



*Twelfth accusation.* Being in your own house, an English captain asked if you were a Jew; when you burst into a fit of laughter, and answered, you did not value what scandalous people said, for you were ready to give an account of your religion.

*Answer.* It is true, my lord, I little valued what such scandalous people said, and was always ready to give an account of my faith. Nor did I think of being sent here, that it might be examined whether I was a Jew or not, when the clergy are so numerous at Malaga.

*Thirteenth accusation.* You refused to give any thing to such as begged alms for the souls that are in purgatory, and violently dismissed them from your door.

*Answer.* My lord, it is true; but do they mention the reason why I did so?

The inquisitor did not satisfy him, but bade him relate the reason, which he did, by stating, that one person in particular, who went about begging alms for souls in purgatory, did all he could to torment him, and the more Mr. Martin declared he would not bestow money for such a purpose, the more importunate the other became, calling him heretic dog, and telling him that he would be damned, which at length overcame his temper, and made him in some measure return the fellow's scurrility.

*Fourteenth accusation.* You have been heard to say that you feared no ecclesiastical court of justice, not even the inquisition itself, which you affirmed had nothing to do with an English protestant.

*Answer.* My lord, I have oftentimes said so.

*Fifteenth accusation.* You have had Jews in your house without giving notice to the commissioners of the inquisition, that they might be taken up and prosecuted according to the laws of the country. How durst you do such a thing? Do you remember these circumstances?

*Answer.* Yes, my lord, I do very well.

*Sixteenth accusation.* It is confirmed by several people, that the said heretic, Isaac Martin, has often shewn himself disaffected to the holy faith of the church of Rome, and has hindered people from embracing it; so that had it not been for the sake of his family, he would have been murdered long ago.

*Answer.* My lord, I suppose those are good christians who give me this character; God knows best what to do with them. I hope God will enable me to go through these afflictions. I am well assured that your lordship knows that I am no Jew. I have answered the truth in your examination to the best of my remembrance; and I believe your lordship knows it to be so, and know the people who informed against me are of a very indifferent character, and have envied me ever since I lived at Malaga.

*Seventeenth accusation.* You hindered your family from being brought up in the christian faith, and if it was not for you they would be all Romans, and it is against the laws of the country to prevent their becoming such.

*Answer.* My lord, it is false that my family had any inclination to be Romans; neither can the law oblige them to be so, or hinder me from bringing them up in my religion.

*Eighteenth accusation.* You used to close your window-shutters when the procession passed by, to hinder your children from kneeling down, and would beat them if they shewed any inclination to be Roman catholics.

*Answer.* My lord, it is true I have closed my shutters several times; for sometimes I have had captains of ships in my house, who would not pull their hats off when the procession passed. As for my children, they went to the window generally to laugh; and I often bade them not shew themselves till the procession was gone, that no scandal might be given.

*Nineteenth accusation.* Your daughter being of age, hath often said in the neighbourhood, that she would be a Roman catholic, but was afraid you would beat her; and that you had sometimes beaten her upon that account.

*Answer.* My lord, I have nothing to answer to lies; it is false as the devil is false.

*Twentieth accusation.* In Lent, and other fast-days, you caused your family to eat meat, and forbade them to keep any of the fasts appointed by the church of Rome, and beat them if they did.

*Answer.* My lord, these are poor accusations, and they are all false. I thank God my table afforded flesh and fish all the year round; I never troubled myself to see what the servants used to eat; and as for myself, wife, and children, we ate meat all the year, without any scruple of conscience. Your lordship knows the fact.

You English mind nothing but eating and drinking and living at your ease, without doing any penance.

My lord, I beg your pardon, we have souls to be saved as well as other nations. We are born in a plentiful country, and I believe we live as well as the people of any nation, and serve God as well.

Your country was a good country formerly; it produced a great many saints, but it now produces no such thing.

My lord, I believe there are few saints now in the sense in which you use the word; but I am persuaded it produces as many good men as ever it did.

Hold your tongue, you are all lost men; you are all fallen from the holy church, and there is no salvation for you if you do not return.

*Twenty-first accusation.* Your children had often been at mass and at prayers in the neighbourhood, and would have done so every day if you would have let them; but you beat them, and prevented their being Christians, and thereby endangered their souls.

*Answer.* My lord, I never knew my children go to mass or prayers in the neighbourhood, nor did I ever beat them on that account; I hope God will save their souls in the religion to which they are brought up, though the church of Rome condemns them. The accusation is false.

*Twenty-second accusation.* Living at Lisbon you had several disputes about religion, and you hid yourself for fear of being taken up as a Jew.

*Answer.* My lord, God knows that I am no Jew, and your lordship knows it very well. The devil has invented this to frighten me; but God, who knows every thing, will plead and avenge my cause.

*Twenty-third accusation.* You breed schisms among the people, persuading them to turn heretics, and to leave the church of Rome, out of which no man can be saved.

*Answer.* I wish your lordship or any one else would tell me whom I persuaded to change their religion. You may accuse me of any thing; hell can't invent greater lies. I can't think, my lord, who could have sent such accusations against me.

*Twenty-fourth accusation.* Your name being Isaac, and your son's name Abraham, you must be a Jew, or related to Jews.

*Answer.* My lord, I have sufficiently answered this matter; the Roman catholics that are in Holland and Flanders don't mind whether their children have names out of the Old or New Testament; and I know a man at Malaga, who is a Fleming, and a Roman catholic, whose name is Jacob. As for my parents, I never knew any of them were Jews.

*Twenty-fifth accusation.* You offered to dispose of your house, and retire for fear of being taken up by the inquisition.

*Answer.* My lord, it is true I offered to dispose of my house, but not through fear of the inquisition, for I never thought it had any thing to do with English protestants. If I had been afraid of it, I would not have come to live in the country: I had opportunities enough to go on board English ships, and to retire if I had been afraid.

What! then you thought the inquisition had nothing to do with the English protestants? You are mistaken.

My lord, I see I am, to my sorrow.

*Twenty-sixth accusation.* You took all opportunities of making game of the religion of the church of Rome.

*Answer.* My lord, I don't deny that; being in company with some Roman catholics, as they have made game of my religion, I have made game of theirs; but it was not in a profane way.

Mr. Martin being remanded to his dungeon, the next day one of the gaolers gave him some frankincense to be put into the fire, as he was to receive a visit from the lords of the inquisition. Two of them accordingly came, asked many trivial questions, concluding them as usual, with, "We will do you all the service we can." Mr. Martin complained of their having promised him a lawyer to plead his cause; when, instead of a proper person, there was a man they called a lawyer, but he never conversed with him. To this one of the inquisitors gravely replied, "Lawyers are not allowed to speak here." The gaoler and secretary went out of the dungeon to laugh, and Mr. Martin could scarce refrain from smiling, to think that his cause was to be defended by a man who scarce dared to open his lips. Some time after Mr. Martin was ordered to dress himself very clean: as soon as he was ready, one of the gaolers came and told him that he must go with him: but that first he must have a handkerchief tied about his eyes. This alarmed Mr. Martin, who now thought of nothing but the torture. The gaoler then led him for some time, till he heard a voice say, "Stop, and pull off your clothes." He was then examined to know if he had been circumcised. Finding that he had not, he was remanded to his dungeon.

In a month after, he was brought to a room filled with a great number

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

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

The case of Mr. Martin was published and authenticated by Mr. Secretary Craggs, the archbishop of Canterbury, the archbishop of York, the bishops of London, Winchester, Ely, Norwich, Sarum, Chichester, St. Asaph, Lincoln, Bristol, Peterborough, and Bangor.

#### SINGULAR DISCOVERY OF ENORMITIES OF THE INQUISITION.

In the beginning of the last century, when the crown of Spain was contested by two princes, who had equal pretensions to the sovereignty, France espoused the cause of one competitor, and England of the other. The duke of Berwick, a natural son of the apostate James II. 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. On the troops approaching the city of Arragon, the magistrates came to offer the keys to the duke; but he told them haughtily, they were rebels, and that he would not accept the keys, for he had orders to enter the city through a breach. Accordingly, he made a breach in the walls, with his cannon, and then entered the city with his whole army. When he had made regulations here, he departed to subdue other places, leaving a strong garrison under the command of his lieutenant-general, M. de Legal. This gentleman, though brought up a Roman catholic, was totally free from superstition: he united great talents with great bravery; and was at once the accomplished gentleman and the skilful officer. Before his departure, the duke had ordered heavy contributions to be levied upon the city.

The money demanded of the magistrates and principal inhabitants,

and of every house, was immediately paid; but when the collectors applied to the heads of the convents and monasteries, they found that these were not so willing to part with their ill-gotten wealth. On this the lieutenant-general sent to the Jesuits a peremptory order to pay the money without delay. The superior of the Jesuits returned for answer, that for the clergy to pay money to the army was against all ecclesiastical law; and that he knew of no argument to authorize such a procedure. M. de Legal then sent four companies of dragoons to quarter in the college, with this sarcastic message: "To convince you of the necessity of paying, I have sent four substantial arguments to your college, drawn from the system of military logic; and therefore I hope you will not need further admonition to direct your conduct."

The Jesuits, greatly perplexed at these proceedings, dispatched an express to court to the king's confessor, who was of their order; but the dragoons were much more expeditious in plundering and doing mischief, than the courier in his journey: so that the Jesuits, seeing every thing going to ruin, thought proper to adjust the matter, and paid the money before the return of the messenger. The Augustins and Carmelites taking warning by what had happened to the Jesuits, prudently went and paid the money, and by that means escaped the study of military arguments, and of being taught logic by the dragoons.

On the other hand the Dominicans, who are all familiars or agents of the inquisition, imagined that this very circumstance would be their protection; but they were mistaken, for M. de Legal neither feared nor respected the inquisition. The chief of the Dominicans sent word to the military commander, that his order was poor, and had no money whatever to pay the donative; "for," said he "the whole wealth of the Dominicans consists in the silver images of the apostles and saints, as large as life, which are placed in our church, and which to remove would be accounted sacrilege."

This insinuation was meant to terrify the French commander, who the inquisitors thought would not dare 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; but when they come into my possession, they shall be useful, I will put them in motion; for I intend to have them coined, that they may travel like the apostles." The inquisitors were astonished at an answer which they never expected to receive even from crowned heads; they therefore determined to deliver their precious images in solemn procession, that they might excite the people to an insurrection. The Dominican friars were accordingly ordered to march to De Legal's house, with the silver apostles and saints, in a mournful manner, having lighted tapers with them, and bitterly crying all the way, "Heresy! heresy!"

When M. de Legal heard of these proceedings, he ordered four companies of grenadiers to line the streets which led to his house; each grenadier was ordered to have his loaded fusee 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 ceremony. The friars did all they could to raise a tumult, but the people were too much afraid of the troops under arms; the silver images were, therefore, peaceably delivered up to M. de Legal, who sent them to the mint to be melted into money.

The inquisitors, on this, determined to excommunicate M. de Legal, unless he would release their precious saints from imprisonment in the mint, before they were melted down. The French commander absolutely refused to release the images, upon which the inquisitors drew up the form of excommunication, and ordered their secretary to proceed and read it to M. de Legal. This commission the secretary punctually performed, reading the excommunication deliberately and distinctly. The French commander heard it with great patience, and politely told the secretary he would answer it next day. As soon as 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 instead of his own name, to put in the names of the inquisitors.

The next morning he ordered four regiments under arms, and commanded them to accompany his secretary, and act according to his direction. The secretary went to the inquisition, and insisted on admittance, which, after considerable altercation, was granted. As soon as he entered, he read in an audible voice the excommunication sent by M. de Legal of the inquisitors. They were all present, and heard it with astonishment. Crying out against De Legal as a heretic, they said this was a daring insult against the catholic faith. But, to surprise them still more, the French secretary told them they must remove from their present apartments; for the French commander wanted to quarter the troops in the place, it being the most commodious place in the whole city for a military purpose. On this the inquisitors exclaimed loudly, when the secretary put them under a strong guard and sent them to a place appointed by M. De Legal to receive them. 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 the troops of his grandfather, the king of France, by whose assistance alone he could be firmly established in his kingdom. In the mean time, M. De Legal set open the doors of the inquisition, *and released its prisoners, amounting to four hundred, among whom were sixty beautiful young women, who appeared to form a seraglio for the three principal inquisitors!*

This discovery, which laid open the enormity of the inquisitors, greatly alarmed the archbishop, who desired M. De Legal to send the women to his palace, and he would take proper care of them; at the same time he published an ecclesiastical censure against all such as should ridicule or blame the holy office of the inquisition. But the French commander sent word to the archbishop, that the prisoners had either escaped, or were securely concealed by their friends, or even by his own officers, so that it was impossible for him to send them to him;

therefore the inquisition, having committed such atrocious actions, must now submit as it could to the shameful exposure.

One of the ladies thus delivered from captivity was afterwards married to the French officer who opened the door of her dungeon and released her. She related the following circumstance to her husband, and to M. Gavin, author of the *Master-Key to Popery*, who has in that work given it to the public.

“I went one day with my mother, to visit the countess of Attarass, and I met there Don Francisco Tirregon, her confessor, and second inquisitor of the holy office. After we had taken chocolate, he asked my age, my confessor’s name, and many intricate questions about religion. The severity of his countenance frightened me; which he perceiving, told the countess to inform me, that he was not so severe as he appeared. He then caressed me in the 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 same night, when our whole family were in bed, we heard a great knocking at the door. The maid, who slept in the 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 inquisition were at the door. On hearing this, instead of protecting, he hurried me 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. 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 servant appeared with a silver salver, on which were sweet-meats and cinnamon-water. She desired me to take some refreshments before I went to bed. I told her I could not, but should be glad if she could inform me whether I was to be put to death. ‘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 will want for nothing 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; 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, and assured me that nobody would come to disturb me. She then left me for about a quarter of an hour, and returned, saying, ‘Madam, pray let me know when you will be pleased to have your chocolate ready in the morning?’ This greatly surprised me; so that, without replying to her question, I asked her

name. She said, 'My name is Mary.' 'Mary, then,' said I, 'for Heaven's sake, tell me whether I am brought here to die or not?' 'I have told you already,' replied she, 'that you come here to be one of the happiest ladies in the world.'

"We now went to bed, but the fear of death prevented me from sleeping. When 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.

"In about half an hour 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 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 constrains 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 not accepting his box.'

"Mary took my answer, and soon returned with Don Francisco's picture elegantly set in gold, and richly embellished with diamonds. This message accompanied it, that his lordship had made a mistake; his intent not being to send me a snuff-box, but his picture. I was at a great loss what to do; when Mary said, 'Pray, Madam, take my poor advice; accept of the picture, and every thing else 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, he will be very kind, and you will be as happy as a queen; you will have elegant apartments to live in, beautiful gardens to range in, and agreeable ladies to visit you: therefore I advise you to send a civil answer, and even not to deny a visit from his lordship, or perhaps you may repent of your disrespect.'

"O, my God!" I exclaimed, "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,' she said, '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 the 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 on any religious matters. I chose out a book of history, and so passed out the interval with some degree of composure till dinner time.

"When dinner was over, Mary left me, and told me, if I wanted any thing I might ring a bell, which she pointed out to me. I read 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 shew the great respect he had for my family, and to inform me, that it was my lover who had procured my confinement, having accused me in matters of religion; and that the information was taken, and the sentence was pronounced against me, to be burned alive over 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. 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. When he was gone I burst into tears, when Mary came and asked what could make me cry so bitterly. To which I answered, 'Oh, Mary! what is the meaning of the gradual fire by which I am to die?'

"'Alas, madam,' said she, 'never fear; you shall see, ere long; it is made for those who oppose the holy father's will, not for you who are so good as to obey it.' But pray, was Don Francisco very obliging?' 'I don't know,' said I, 'for he frightened me out of my wits by his discourse; he saluted me with civility, but left me in an abrupt manner.' 'Well,' said Mary, 'you do not yet know his temper: he is extremely obliging to them that are kind to him; but if they are disobedient, he is as unmerciful as Nero; so, for your own sake, take care to oblige him in all respects. And now, dear Madam, pray go to supper, and be easy.' I went to supper, indeed, and afterwards to bed; but I could neither eat nor sleep, for the thought of the gradual fire deprived me of appetite, and banished drowsiness.

"The next morning early, Mary said, that as nobody was stirring, if I would promise her secrecy, she would shew me what so much disturbed me; so taking me down stairs, she brought me to a large room with a thick iron door, which she opened. Within it was an oven, with fire in

it at the time, and a large brass pan upon it, with a cover of the same, and a lock to it. In the next room there was a great wheel, covered on both sides with thick boards. Opening a little window in the centre, Mary desired me to look in with a candle: there I saw all the circumference of the wheel set with sharp razors, which made me shudder.

“Mary then took me to a pit, which was full of venomous animals. On my expressing great horror at the sight, she said, ‘Now, my good mistress, I’ll tell you the use of these things. The brass pan is for heretics, and those who oppose the holy father’s will and pleasure. They are put alive into it; and the cover being locked down, the executioner puts a small fire into the oven, and by degrees augments it, till the body is reduced to ashes. The wheel is designed for those who speak against the pope, or the holy fathers of the inquisition; for they are put into that machine through the little door, which is locked after them, and then the wheel is turned swiftly, till they are all cut to pieces. The pit is for those who condemn the images, and refuse to give proper respect to ecclesiastical persons; for they are thrown into the pit, and so become the food of poisonous animals.’

“We went back again to my chamber; and Mary said, that another day she would shew me the torments designed for other transgressors; but I was in such agonies at what I had seen, that I begged not to be terrified with any more such sights. She soon after left me, but not without enjoining my strict obedience to Don Francisco; ‘for if you do not comply with his will,’ says she, ‘the gradual fire will be your fate.’ The horrors which the sight of these things and Mary’s injunctions impressed on my mind, almost bereaved me of sense, and left me in such a state of stupefaction, that I seemed to have no will of my own.”

In this state the ruin of this lovely and timid creature was effected; on which sad result she has these bitter reflections—“Thus to avoid a dreadful death 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 the next morning served us with chocolate in the most submissive manner; 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 advice, in keeping a prudent guard over my tongue. In a few minutes a great number of very beautiful young ladies, richly dressed, entered the room, and successively embracing me, wished me joy. I was so surprised, that I was unable to answer their compliments; which one of the ladies perceiving, said, ‘Madam, the solitude of this place will affect you in the beginning, but when you begin to feel the pleasures and amusements you may enjoy, you will quit those pensive thoughts. We at present beg the honour of you to dine with us to-day, and henceforward three days in a week.’ I returned them suitable thanks

in general terms, and so went to dinner, in which the most exquisite and savoury dishes of various kinds were served up, with the most delicate and pleasant fruits and sweetmeats. The room was long, with two tables on each side, and a third in the front. I reckoned fifty-two young ladies, the eldest not exceeding twenty-four years of age. There were five maid-servants, besides Mary, to wait upon us; but Mary confined her attention to me alone. After dinner we retired to a capacious gallery, where some played on musical instruments, a few diverted themselves with cards, and the rest amused themselves with walking about. Mary at length entered the gallery, and said, 'Ladies, this is a day of recreation, and so you may go into whatever rooms you please, till eight o'clock in the evening.' They unanimously agreed to adjourn to my apartment. Here we found an elegant cold collation, of which all the ladies partook, and passed the time in conversation and mirth; but none mentioned a word concerning the inquisition or the holy fathers, or gave the least distant hint concerning the cause of their confinement.

"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 to 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.' She then left me in the utmost consternation and 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 sympathetic tone of voice, 'Dear sister, 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 shew our grief through 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 I 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 that Mary has been the chief instrument of your fright, as she has been of ours; and I

warrant she has shewn 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 clothes are distinguishing tokens of the three holy fathers. The red silk belongs to Don Francisco, the blue to Don Guerro, and the green to Don Aliapa; and they always give those colours to those ladies whom they bring here for their respective use. We are strictly commanded to express all the demonstrations of joy, and to be very merry for three days, when a young lady first comes amongst us, as we did with you, and as you must now do with others. But afterwards we live like the most wretched prisoners, without seeing any body but Mary, and the other maid-servants, over whom Mary has a kind of superiority, for she acts as house-keeper. Our situation is miserable indeed, and we have only to pray that the Almighty will pardon the 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 he returned home and thought proper to make me his wife, in which situation I enjoy a recompense for all the miseries I before suffered."

It is wonderful that superstition has, with respect to the inquisition especially, always overcome common sense, and custom operated against reason. One prince, indeed, Don Carlos, the amiable son of Philip the Second, king of Spain, and grandson of the celebrated emperor Charles V. intended to abolish this cruel court; but he lost his life before he became able to accomplish the merciful purpose. He possessed all the good qualities of his grandfather, without any of the bad ones of his father. He had sense enough to see the errors of popery, and abhorred the very name of the inquisition. He inveighed publicly against the court, ridiculed the affected piety of the inquisitors, and declared, that if he ever came to the crown, he would abolish the inquisition, and exterminate all its agents. This irritated the inquisitors against him, and they accordingly determined on his destruction. They employed all their agents and emissaries to spread the most artful insinuations against the prince, and at length raised such a spirit of discontent among the people, that the king was under the necessity of removing Don Carlos from court. They even pursued his friends, obliged the king to banish Don John, duke of Austria, his own brother,

and uncle to the prince; together with the prince of Parma, nephew of the king and cousin of the prince, because both the duke of Austria and the prince of Parma had a most sincere attachment to Don Carlos.

Shortly after, the prince having shewn 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 be one, since he gave them countenance. Thus they gained such an ascendancy over the mind of the king, who was absolutely a slave to superstition, that he sacrificed the feelings of nature to the force of bigotry, and through fear of incurring the anger of the inquisition, passed sentence of death on his only son. The prince had what they termed an indulgence: that is, he was permitted to choose the manner of his death. He chose bleeding and the hot-bath. On an early day every thing was prepared as he wished; when veins in his arms and legs were opened, and he gradually sunk to death without apparent pain—falling a martyr to inquisitorial malice, strangely sanctioned and strengthened by parental bigotry and relative superstition.

#### SECTION IV.

##### ACCOUNT OF THE PERSECUTIONS OF VARIOUS PROTESTANTS ABROAD.

Dr. Ægidio was educated at the university of Alcalá, and applied himself to the study of the sacred scriptures. The professor of theology dying, he was elected in his place, and acted so much to the satisfaction of every one, that his reputation for learning and piety was celebrated throughout Europe. The doctor's enemies, however, laid a complaint against him to the inquisitors, who sent him a citation, and when he appeared to it, cast him into a dungeon.

As the greatest part of those who belonged to the cathedral church at Seville, and many persons belonging to the bishopric of Dortoís approved of the doctrines of Ægidio, which they thought perfectly consonant with true religion, they petitioned the emperor in his behalf. Though the monarch had been educated a Roman Catholic, he was not a bigot; and therefore sent an immediate order for his liberation. Soon after he visited the church of Valladolid, did every thing he could to promote the cause of religion, and returning home he fell sick, and died in an extreme old age. The inquisitors having been disappointed of gratifying their malice against him while living, determined, while the emperor's whole thoughts were engrossed by a military expedition, to wreak their vengeance on the doctor's corpse. They, therefore, soon after he was buried, ordered his remains to be dug up; and a legal process being carried on, they were condemned to be burnt, and the wretched sentence was executed without further delay.

Dr. Constantine, an intimate acquaintance of Dr. Ægidio, was a man of uncommon natural abilities and profound learning. 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.

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

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

The inquisitors, thus possessed of Constantine's books and writings, soon found matter to form charges against him. When he was brought for re-examination, they presented one of his papers, and asked him if he knew the hand-writing. 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." Having been detained upwards of two years in prison, he was at last seized with a bloody flux, which put an end to his miseries. The process, however, was carried on against his body, which was publicly burnt at the ensuing *Auto da Fé*.

Mr. Burton was a merchant of London who traded to Spain. Being at Cadiz, a familiar of the inquisition called upon him one day at his lodgings, pretending that he wanted to send a quantity of merchandise to London. Having asked as many questions as he thought proper, he departed, and the next day one of the inquisitorial officers took Mr. Burton into custody. The president, on this examination, demanded if he had said or insinuated any thing disrespectful to the Roman catholic persuasion. Mr. Burton replied in the negative, saying, that he was sensible, in whatever country he was, respect ought to be paid to the established religion. This defence, however, availed him nothing;

they proceeded to torture him, in order to gain information. Failing in this, they condemned him for invincible obstinacy, and at the next *Auto da Fé* he was burnt. When the flames first touched him, he bore the torments with such exemplary patience, and appeared with so smiling a countenance, that one of the priests, enraged at his serenity, said with equal malice and absurdity, "The reason why he does not seem to feel is to me very evident: the devil has already got his soul, and his body is of course deprived of the usual sensations." Several other English in Spain were, about the time of Mr. Burton's martyrdom, put to death by the inquisitors; particularly John Baker, William Burgate and William Burgess, who were burnt, and William Hooker was stoned to death.

William Gardiner was born at Bristol, received a tolerable education, and was, at a proper age, placed under the care of one Paget, an eminent merchant. At the age of twenty-six he was sent to Lisbon as a British factor. Here he applied himself to the study of the Portuguese language, conversed privately with a few whom he knew to be zealous protestants; at the same time cautiously avoided giving the least offence, except by not resorting for divine worship to any of the popish churches.

There being a marriage concluded between the king of Portugal's son and the infanta of Spain, upon the wedding-day the bridegroom, bride, and the whole court went to the cathedral attended by a multitude 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 beheld. From this he conceived, the rash design of making a reform in Portugal, or perishing in the attempt, and determined to sacrifice his prudence to his zeal, though upon the occasion he became a martyr. For this purpose he settled all his worldly affairs, paid his debts, closed his books, and consigned over his merchandize. On the ensuing Sunday he went again to the cathedral church, and placed himself near the altar, with a New Testament in his hand. In a short time the king and court appeared, and a cardinal began mass. At that part of the ceremony in which the people adore the wafer, Gardiner, springing towards the cardinal, snatched the host from him, and trampled it under his feet. The whole congregation were thunder-struck, 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 him to forbear. Thinking that he had been stimulated by some other person to act as he had done, the king demanded who was his abettor, to which he replied, "My conscience alone. I would not hazard what I have done for any man living; but I owe that and all other services to my Creator." Hereupon he was sent to prison, and a general order issued to apprehend all Englishmen in Lisbon. This order was in a great measure put in execution, 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 induce him to acknowledge something which might throw a light upon the business. Gardiner himself was 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, and he was drawn up to the gibbet by pulleys, and then let down near the fire, but not so close as to touch it; so that he was burnt or rather roasted by slow degrees. Some embers were blown from the fire towards the haven, which 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, excepting the person that resided in the same house with him, who was detained two years before he could procure his freedom.

William Lithgow was descended from a good family, and having a propensity to travelling, he rambled when very young over the Northern and Western Islands; after which he visited France, Germany, Switzerland, and Spain. He set out on his travels in 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 scene of all his embarrassments. While he resided here, he contracted with the master of a French ship for his passage to Alexandria, but was prevented from going by unexpected 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 R. Mansell's ship, who commanded on that expedition, and after staying some time returned, and silenced all the people's fears.

Many persons from on board the fleet came ashore the next day. Among these were several well known to Mr. Lithgow, who invited him on board. When Mr. Lithgow got on shore he proceeded towards his lodgings by a private way; in passing through a narrow, uninhabited street, he found himself suddenly surrounded by nine serjeants who threw a black cloak over him, and forcibly conducted him to the governor's house. After 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 returned from his devotions; directing, at the same time, that the captain of the town, the alcaid major, and the 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 of it reaching the English merchants who resided in the town at that time. All these orders were strictly obeyed; 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: but without being able to extort an answer upon which he could found a plausible charge. Then the governor proceeded to inquire the quality of the English commander and the prisoner's opinion of the motives that prevented his accepting an invitation to come on shore. He demanded also the names of the English captains of 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 were set down in writing by



the notary; but the junta seemed surprised at Mr. Lithgow's denying any knowledge of the fitting out of the fleet. The governor said he lied, that he was a traitor and spy, and came directly from England to favour and assist in designs 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. The inquisitors exclaimed against his familiarity with the officers of the fleet, and many other English gentlemen, between whom they said unusual civilities had passed; but all these transactions had been noticed with peculiar attention. In short, they pretended 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 whatever they say or swear."

Mr. Lithgow in vain endeavoured to obviate the accusations laid against him, and to obtain belief from his prejudiced judges. A consultation was held to fix the place where the prisoner should be confined. The alcaid, or chief judge, was for putting him in the town prison; but this was objected to, particularly by the *corrigidore* who said in Spanish, "In order to prevent the knowledge of his confinement from reaching his countrymen, I will take the matter on myself, and be answerable for the consequences;" on which it was agreed, that he should be confined in the governor's house, and the greatest secrecy observed. At midnight the serjeant and two Turkish slaves removed Mr. Lithgow from this mild though unjust imprisonment to one 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, 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 refreshment, consisting of boiled mutton and a loaf, with a small quantity of wine, of which he was allowed to partake.

He received a visit from the governor the next day, who promised him his liberty, with many other advantages, if he would confess being a spy; but on his protesting that he was entirely innocent, the governor left him in a rage, saying, he should see him no more till further tortures constrained him to confess; commanding the keeper, to whose care he was committed, that his sustenance should not exceed three ounces of musty bread and a pint of water every second day; that he should be allowed neither bed, pillow, nor coverlet. "Close up," he added, "this window in his room with lime and stone; stop the holes of the door with double mats; let him have nothing that bears any resemblance to comfort." The unfortunate man continued in this melancholy state, without seeing any person for several days, in which time the governor received an answer to a letter he had written concerning his prisoner, from Madrid. Agreeably with this written instruction, he commenced a series of greater cruelties, which were hastened because Christmas approached, and it was not deemed expedient to interrupt

the ease and mirth of the usual holidays. Mr. Lithgow had now been more than six weeks in confinement.

About three o'clock one morning he heard the noise of a coach in the street, and some time after the opening of the prison doors, not having had any sleep for two nights. Immediately after the doors were opened, the nine serjeants who had first seized him, with the notary, entered the place where he lay, and without uttering a word, conducted him in his irons into the street, where the coach waited, and into which they laid him on his back, as he was not able to sit. Two of the serjeants rode with him, and the rest walked by the coach-side, but all observed the most profound silence. They drove him to a vine-press house, about a league from the town, to which place a rack had been privately conveyed before; and here they shut him up for the night. At day-break the next morning the governor and the alcaid arrived, into whose presence he was immediately brought, to undergo another examination. The prisoner desired he might have an interpreter, but was refused; nor would they permit him to appeal to Madrid, the superior court of judicature. After an examination, which lasted the whole day, there appeared in all his answers so exact a conformity with what he had said before, that they declared he had learned them by heart. They pressed him again to make a full discovery; that is, to accuse himself of crimes never committed; the governor adding, "You are still in my power; I can set you free if you comply; if not, I must deliver you to the alcaid." Mr. Lithgow still persisting in his innocence, the governor ordered him to be immediately tortured.

He was then conducted to the end of a gallery where the rack was placed. The executioner immediately struck off his irons, which put him to very great pain, the bolts being so close rivetted, that the sledge hammer tore away above half an inch of his heel in forcing off the bolt; the anguish of which, together with his weak condition (not having taken the least sustenance for three days) occasioned him to groan bitterly; upon which the merciless alcaid said, "Villain, traitor, this is but the beginning of what you shall endure." As soon as his irons were off, he fell on his knees, uttering a short prayer, that God would be pleased to enable him to be stedfast, and firmly to undergo the trial he had before him. The alcaid and notary having seated themselves in chairs, he was stripped naked and fixed upon the rack. It is impossible to describe all the tortures inflicted upon him. He lay on the rack above five hours, during which time he received above sixty different tortures of the most infernal nature; and had they been continued a few minutes longer he must have expired.

On being taken from the rack, and his irons again put on, he was conducted to his former dungeon, receiving no other nourishment than a little warm wine, which was given rather to reserve him for future punishments than from any principle of pity. In this horrid situation he continued till Christmas-day, when he received some relief from Marianne, waiting-woman to the governor's lady. This woman having obtained leave to visit him, carried with her some refreshments, consisting of honey, sugar, raisins, and other articles.

Mr. Lithgow at length received information which gave him little hope

of ever being released. The substance of it was, that an English seminary priest and a Scotch cooper had been for some time employed by the governor to translate from the English into the Spanish language all his books and observations; and that it was commonly said in the governor's house, that he was an arch and dangerous heretic. About two days after he had received this information, the governor, an inquisitor, and a canonical priest, accompanied by two Jesuits, entered his dungeon, and after several idle questions asked Mr. Lithgow if he was a Roman catholic, and acknowledged the pope's supremacy. He answered, that he neither was the one, nor did the other. In the bitterness of his soul he made use of some warm expressions not suited to his circumstances:—"As you have almost murdered me 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 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 perished in a miserable manner.

After some silence the inquisitor addressed Mr. Lithgow in the following words: "You have been taken 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 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 special appointment: your books and papers are miraculously translated by the assistance of Providence influencing your own countrymen." When this harangue was ended, they gave the prisoner eight days to consider, and resolve whether he would become a convert to their religion; during which time the inquisitor told him that he, with other religious officers, would attend to give him assistance. One of the Jesuits said, first making the sign of the cross upon his breast, "My son, behold you deserve to be burnt alive; but by the grace of our lady of Loretto, whom you have blasphemed, we will both save your soul and body."

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

So enraged was the inquisitor at the replies made by the prisoner,

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

The Jesuits finding their arguments had not the desired effect, and that torments could not shake his constancy, after severe menaces left him. On the eighth day after, being the last of their inquisition, when sentence is pronounced, they returned again quite altered both in words and behaviour. After repeating much the same kind of arguments as before, with seeming tears in their eyes they pretended sorrow from their hearts that 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 hell, being prepared against both." He received sentence that night of eleven different tortures; and if he did not die in the execution of them, he was after Easter to be carried to Grenada, and there burnt to ashes. The first part of the sentence was executed with great barbarity that night; and it pleased God to give him strength both of body and mind, to adhere to the truth, and to survive the horrid punishments.

After these cruelties, they again fettered and conveyed him to his dungeon. The next morning he received some little comfort from a Turkish slave, who secretly brought him raisins and figs, which he ate in the best manner his strength would permit. It was to this slave Mr. Lithgow attributed his surviving so long in such a wretched situation; for he found means to convey similar fruits to him twice every week. It is very extraordinary and exemplary that this poor slave, bred up from his infancy according to the maxims of his prophet, in the greatest detestation of Christians, should be so affected at the situation of Mr. Lithgow, that he became unwell and continued so for upwards of forty days. During this period Mr. Lithgow was attended by a female negro slave, who found means to furnish him with refreshments still more amply than the Turk, being more conversant with the house and family. She brought him wholesome food and nourishing wine every day.

Mr. Lithgow now waited, with anxious expectation, for the day which by putting an end to his life, would also end his torments. But his melancholy expectations were, by the interposition of Providence, rendered abortive, and his deliverance obtained from the following incidents:—A Spanish gentleman of quality came from Grenada to Malaga; who, being invited to an entertainment by the governor, was

informed of what had befallen Mr. Lithgow from the time of his being apprehended as a spy, and the various sufferings he had endured. The governor told him, that after it was known the prisoner was innocent it gave him great concern. 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. On his refusing to abjure these heretical opinions, he was turned over to the inquisition, who finally condemned him.

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

Mr. Lithgow was released from his confinement on the eve of Easter-Sunday, when he was carried from his dungeon on the back of the slave that had attended him, to the house of one Mr. Busbich, where every possible comfort was given him. It 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 he was removed to another ship, by direction of the general Sir Robert Mansel. The factory presented him with clothes and all necessary provisions, besides which they gave him two-hundred reals, and Sir Richard Hawkins sent him two double pistoles. Sir Richard demanded of the inquisition the delivery of his papers, money, and books, before his departure from the Spanish coast, but could not obtain a satisfactory answer on that head. By such unexpected means does Providence frequently interfere in behalf of the virtuous and oppressed.

Having lain twelve days in the road, the ship weighed anchor, and

in about two months arrived safe at Deptford. The next morning Mr. Lithgow was carried on a feather-bed to Theobalds, in Hertfordshire, where at that time were the king and royal family. The sufferer was presented to him, and related the particulars of his sufferings, and his happy delivery; at which the king was so affected that he expressed the deepest concern, and gave orders that he should be sent to Bath. By these means, under God, Mr. Lithgow, became 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 rendered unserviceable ever after. Notwithstanding every effort he could never obtain any part of his money or effects, though his majesty and the ministers interested themselves in his behalf. Gondamore, the Spanish ambassador, promised that all should be restored, with the addition of 1000*l.* as some compensation for the tortures he had undergone; which last was to be paid by the governor of Malaga. These engagements, however, were never kept; and though the king was a kind of guarantee for the performance of them, the cunning Spaniard found means to elude the order.

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## BOOK V.

FURTHER ACCOUNT OF THE PERSECUTIONS, SUFFERINGS, AND CRUEL DEATHS OF PROTESTANT MARTYRS IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES, DURING THE 16th AND 17th CENTURIES.

### SECTION I.

A RELATION OF THE HORRIBLE MASSACRE IN FRANCE, ANNO 1572.

AFTER a long series of troubles in France, the papists seeing nothing effectual could be done against the protestants by open force, began to devise how they could entrap them by subtlety, and that by two ways: first, by a pretended commission sent into the Low Countries, which the prince of Navarre and Conde was to command. This was merely to understand what power and force the admiral had under him, who they were, and what were their names. The second was by a marriage between the prince of Navarre and the king's sister; to which were to be invited all the chief protestants of France. Accordingly they first began with the queen of Navarre, mother to the prince who was to espouse the king's sister, and who was then at Rochelle. Allured by many fair words to repair to the king, she consented to come to Paris, where she was at length won over to the king's mind. Shortly after she fell sick, and died within five days, not without suspicion of poison; but her body being opened, no sign thereof appeared. A certain apothecary, however, made his boast that he had killed the queen by venomous odours and smells prepared by himself.

Notwithstanding this, the marriage still proceeded. The admiral, prince of Navarre and Conde, with many other eminent protestant chiefs, were induced by the king's letters and fair promises, to proceed to Paris, and were received with great solemnity. The marriage took place on the 18th of August, 1572, and was solemnized by the cardinal of Bourbonne, upon a high stage raised for the purpose without the church walls: the prince of Navarre and Conde came down, waiting for the king's sister, who was then at mass. This done, they all resorted to the bishop's palace to dinner. On the evening they were conducted to a palace in the centre of the city to supper. Four days after this the admiral coming from the council table, on his way was shot at with a pistol, charged with three bullets, and wounded in both his arms. He still remained in Paris, although his friends advised him to flee. Soldiers were appointed in different places of the city to be ready at the command of the king; and upon the watch-word being given, they burst out to the slaughter of the protestants, beginning with the admiral himself, who being wounded was cast out of the window into the street, where his head being struck off, was embalmed and sent to the pope. The savage people then cut off his arms, and drew his mangled body three days through the streets of Paris, after which they took him to the place of execution, and there hanged him by the heels to the scorn of the populace.

The martyrdom of this virtuous man had no sooner taken place, than the armed troops with rage and violence ran about slaying all the protestants they knew or could find within the city gates. This continued many days; but the greatest slaughter was in the first three days, in which were said to be murdered above 10,000 men and women, old and young, of all sorts and conditions. The bodies of the dead were carried in carts and thrown into the river, which, with other whole streams in certain places of the city was redenned with the blood of the slain. In the number of eminent men who fell in this dreadful slaughter were Petrus Ramus, Lambinus, Plateanus, Lomenius, Chapesius, and others.

The brutal deeds of this period were not confined within the walls of Paris, but extended to other cities and quarters of the realm, especially to Lyons, Orleans, Toulouse, and Rouen, where the cruelties were if possible even greater than in the capital. Within the space of one month, thirty thousand religious protestants are said to have been slain. When intelligence of the massacre was received at Rome, the greatest rejoicings took place. The pope and his cardinals went in procession to the church of St. Mark, to give thanks to God; and a medal was struck to commemorate the event. A jubilee was also published, and the ordnance fired from the castle of St. Angelo. To the person who brought the news the cardinal of Lorraine gave 1000 crowns. Similar rejoicings were also made all over France for this imagined overthrow of the faithful.

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

suffer death. Among the honourable men and great personages who were at the same time murdered, were Count Rochfulcaud, Telinius, the admiral's son-in-law, Antonius Claromontus, marquess of Ravely, Lewis Bussius, Bandineus, Pluvialius, Bernius, and others. Francis Nompars Caumontius, being in bed with his two sons, was slain with one of them; the other was strangely preserved, and afterwards came to great dignity. Stephen Cevalerie Prime, chief treasurer to the king of Poitiers, a very good man, and careful of the common-wealth, after he had paid for his life a large sum of money, was cruelly murdered. Magdalen Brissonet, an excellent and learned woman, the widow of Ivermus, master of requests to the king, flying out of the city in poor apparel, was taken, murdered, and cast into the river. Two thousand were murdered in one day; and the same liberty of killing and spoiling continued certain days after.

At Meldis two hundred were cast into prison, and being brought out as sheep to the slaughter, were cruelly murdered. There also were twenty-five women slain. At Orleans, a thousand men, women, and children, were massacred. The citizens of Augustobona, hearing of the massacre at Paris, shut the gates of their town that no protestants might escape, and cast all they suspected into prison, who were afterwards brought forth and murdered. At Lyons there were eight hundred most miserably and cruelly put to death; the children hanging at their fathers' necks, and the fathers embracing their children. Three hundred were slain in the archbishop's house: the monks would not suffer their bodies to be buried. At Toulouse two hundred were murdered. At Rouen five hundred were put to death. At last, Thuanus records, "this example passed unto other cities, and from cities to towns and villages, so that it is by many published, that in all the kingdom above 30,000 were in these tumults in divers ways destroyed."

A little before this massacre, a man, nurse, and infant carried to be baptised, were all three murdered. Bricamotius, a man of seventy years, and Cavagnius, were laid upon hurdles and drawn to execution. The first might have been pardoned if he would publicly confess that the admiral had conspired against the king, which he refused to do. At Bourdeaux, by the instigation of a monk, named Enimund Angerius, two hundred and sixty-four were cruelly murdered, of whom some were senators. This monk continually provoked the people in his sermons to slaughter. At Agendicum in Maine, a cruel slaughter of protestants was committed by the instigation of Emarus, inquisitor of criminal causes. A rumour being spread abroad that the protestants had taken secret counsel to invade and spoil the churches, above a hundred of every estate and sex were, by the enraged people, killed or drowned in the river Igonna.

On entering Blois, the duke of Guise, notwithstanding the city had voluntarily opened its gates, gave it up to rapine and slaughter; houses were spoiled, many protestants who had remained were slain, or drowned in the river; neither were women spared, of whom some were ravished, and more murdered. From thence he went to Mere, two leagues from Blois, where protestants had frequent assembly at sermons. For several days together they were worried from place to place, many of them killed, and Cassebonius, the pastor, was drowned in the next river. At



Anjou, Alciacus, the pastor, was also murdered, and numerous women injured in a cruel manner, some in the sight of their parents, and others so as to deprive them of life.

John Burgeolus, president of Turin, an old man, being suspected to be a protestant, having bargained for a sum of money for his life and safety, was, notwithstanding, taken and beaten cruelly with clubs and staves, and being stripped of his clothes, was brought to the bank of the river Liger, and hanged with his feet upward, and his head downwards in the water to his breast.

When the city of Matiscon was taken, by corrupting the keeper of the keys, whom, notwithstanding, they killed, great cruelty was shewed, so that they counted it sport to maim whatever protestants were unable to resist them. A man of influence in the city, named Sapontius, inviting gentlewomen to supper, would walk with them, and having his soldiers about him, used to cast protestants from the bridge into the river and with that spectacle gratified his guests; whom he would often ask, whether they ever saw men leap better. At Albia of Cahors, on the Lord's day, the papists, at the ringing of a bell, broke open the doors where protestants were assembled, and killed without distinction all they could find: among whom was one Guacerius, a rich merchant, whom they drew into his house, and then murdered him together with his family.

In a town called Penna, three hundred protestants notwithstanding the safety of their lives was promised them, were cruelly murdered by Spaniards, who were newly come to serve the French king. The town of Nonne having capitulated to the papists, on condition that the foreign soldiers should depart safe with horse and armour, leaving their ensigns, and that the enemy's soldiers should not enter into the town; and that no harm should be done to the inhabitants, who might go into the castle; after its surrender the gates were set open, when, without regard to those conditions, the soldiers rushed in, and began murdering and spoiling all around them. Men and women without distinction were killed; the streets resounded with miserable mourning, and blood flowed in every stream. Many were thrown down headlong from the heights. Among others, the following monstrous act of cruelty is reported: a woman being drawn out of a private place, into which to avoid the rage of the soldiers she had fled with her husband, was in his sight shamefully defiled: and then was commanded to draw a sword, and forced by others, who guided her hand, to give her husband a dreadful and mortal wound.<sup>t</sup>

Bordis, a captain under the prince of Conde, at Mirabellum, was, contrary to promise, cruelly killed, and his naked body cast into the street. The prince of Conde of the Bourbon family, being taken prisoner, and his life promised him, was shot in the neck by Montisquius, captain of the duke

<sup>t</sup> The author mentions this monstrous act of cruelty *as a report*, and it is to be hoped it was a mere report. The record of it is retained, not because the present editor believes it to have actually taken place; but as a sample of the credulous taste of the times, which so easily received and so gravely recorded incidents too often because they *were* monstrous, without consulting either their delicacy or their truth—without suspecting their falsehood or shrinking at their impropriety. This is, perhaps, the proper place to intimate that several reports of this repulsive sort have already been expunged.

of Anjou's guard. Thuanus thus speaks of him: "This was the end of Lewis Bourbon, prince of Conde, of the king's blood, a man higher in birth, most honourable in courage and virtue; in valour, constancy, wit, wisdom, experience, courtesy, eloquence, and liberality, all which virtues excelled in him, had few equals, and none, even by the confession of his enemies, superior to him."

The enemies of the truth, glutted with slaughter, began every where to triumph in the fallacious opinion, that they were the sole lords of men's conscience; and, truly, it might appear to human reason that by the destruction of his people, God had abandoned the earth to the ravages of his enemy. But he had otherwise decreed, and thousands who had not *bowed the knee to Baal*, were called forth to *glory and virtue*. The inhabitants of Rochelle, hearing of the cruelties committed on their brethren, resolved to defend themselves against the power of the king; and their example was followed by various other towns, with which they entered into a confederacy, exhorting and inspiring one another in the common cause. To crush this, the king shortly after summoned the whole power of France, and the greatest of his nobility, among whom were his royal brothers: he invested Rochelle by land and sea, and commenced a furious siege, which, but for the immediate hand of God, must have ended in its destruction. Seven principal assaults were made against the town; but none of them succeeded. At one time a breach was made by the tremendous cannonade; but through the undaunted valour of the citizens, assisted even by their wives and daughters, who could not be restrained, the soldiers were driven back with great slaughter. It is worthy of record, that amidst every scarcity of *provisions*, there was found in the river a great multitude of fish, which the people used instead of bread; these fish on the conclusion of the siege, entirely disappeared. The siege lasted seven months, when the duke of Anjou being proclaimed king of Poland, he, in concert with the king of France, entered into a treaty with the people of Rochelle, which ended in a peace: conditions, containing twenty-five articles, having been drawn up by the latter, embracing many immunities both for themselves and other protestants in France, were confirmed by the king, and proclaimed with great rejoicings at Rochelle and other cities.

The year following died Charles IX. of France, the tyrant who had been so instrumental in the calamities above recorded. He was only in the 28th year of his age, and his death was remarkable and dreadful. When lying on his bed, the blood gushed from various parts of his body. Amidst his slumbers, his dreams and exclamations were horrid beyond description. He rolled about his bed and on the floor of his chamber a most dreadful spectacle, and at last was suffocated in the effort to discharge a quantity of blood from the cruel mouth, whose edicts had occasioned such torrents of his subjects' blood to stain the face of the country.

HISTORY OF ROBERT OGUIER, HIS WIFE, AND THEIR SONS, WHO  
WERE BURNED AT LISLE.

On Saturday March 6, 1556, about ten o'clock at night, the provost of the city with his serjeants armed themselves, and went to seek any protestants met together in houses: but there was then no assembly. They therefore came to the house of Robert Oguier, which was a little church, where both rich and poor were familiarly instructed in the scriptures. Having entered they found certain books, which they carried away. But he whom they principally sought was not there, namely, Baudicon, the son of Oguier, who was gone abroad to commune and talk of the word of God with some of the brethren. On his return home, he knocked at the door, when Martin, the younger brother, watching his coming, bade him be gone: but Baudicon, thinking his brother mistook him for some other, said, "It is I, open the door:" with that the serjeants opened the same, and let him in, saying, "Ah, sir, you are well met!" to whom he answered, "I thank you my friends, you are also welcome hither." Then said the provost, "I arrest you all in the emperor's name;" and with that commanded the husband, his wife, and their two sons to be bound and imprisoned, leaving their two daughters to look to the house. A few days after, the prisoners were brought before the magistrates who examined them concerning their course of life. They directed their speech first to Robert Oguier, in these words: "It is told us that you never come to mass, yea, and also dissuade others from coming to it. We are further informed that you maintain conventicles in your house, causing erroneous doctrines to be preached there, contrary to the ordinance of our holy mother the church, whereby you have transgressed the laws of his imperial majesty."

Robert Oguier answered, "Whereas, first of all you lay to my charge that I go not to mass. I refuse so to do indeed, because the death and precious blood of the Son of God, and his sacrifice, are utterly abolished there, and trodden under foot; 'For Christ by one sacrifice hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified.' Do we read in all the scriptures, that either the prophets, Christ, or any of his apostles, ever said mass? They knew not what it meant. Christ indeed instituted the holy supper, in which all Christians communicate together, but they sacrifice not. If you please to read the Bible over, you will never find the mass once mentioned therein; therefore it is the mere invention of men. You know then what Christ saith, 'In vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men.' If either myself, or any of mine, had been at mass, which is ordained by men, Christ would have told us we had worshipped him in vain.

"As for the second accusation, I will not deny but there have met together in my house honest people fearing God: I assure you not with intention to wrong any, but rather for the advancement of God's glory, and the good of many. I knew indeed that the emperor had forbidden it, but what then? I knew also that Christ in his gospel had commanded it: 'Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.' Thus you see I could not well obey

the emperor, but I must disobey Christ. In this case I chose rather to obey God than man."

One of the magistrates demanded what they did when they met together. To which Baudicon, the eldest son, answered, "If it please you to give me leave, I will open the business at large unto you." The sheriffs seeing his promptness, looking upon one another, said, "Well, let us hear it." Baudicon lifting up his eyes to heaven, began thus:—"When we meet together in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, to hear the word of God, we first of all prostrate upon our knees before God, and in the humility of our spirits do make a confession of our sins before his Divine Majesty. Then we pray that the word of God may be rightly divided, and purely preached: we also pray for our sovereign lord the emperor, and for all his honourable counsellors, that the common-wealth may be peaceably governed to the glory of God; yea, we forget not you whom we acknowledge our superiors, entreating our good God for you, and for this whole city, that you may maintain it in all tranquillity. Thus I have exactly related unto you what we do: think you now, whether we have offended so highly in this matter of our assembling."

While they were thus examined, each of them made an open confession of their faith; and being returned again to prison, they not long after were put to the torture, to make them confess who they were that frequented their house; but they would discover none, unless such as were well known to the judges, or else were at that time absent. Four or five days after they were convened again before their judges, namely, the father and his two sons; and after many words passed, they asked them whether they would submit themselves to the will of the magistrates. Robert Oguier, and Baudicon his son, with some deliberation said, "Yea, we will." Then demanding the same of Martin, the younger brother, he answered, That he would not submit himself thereto, but would accompany his mother; so he was sent back again to prison, whilst the father and the son were sentenced to be burnt alive to ashes. One of the judges, after sentence pronounced, said, "To-day you shall go to dwell with all the devils in hell-fire," which he spake as one transported with fury in beholding the great patience of these two servants of Christ. Having received the sentence of death, they were returned to the prison from whence they came, being joyful that the Lord did them the honour to enroll them in the number of his martyrs. They no sooner entered the prison than a band of friars came thither; one amongst the rest told them, the hour was come in which they must finish their days. Robert Oguier and his son answered, "We know it well; but blessed be the Lord our God, who now delivering our bodies out of this vile prison, will receive our souls into his glorious and heavenly kingdom."

One of the friars endeavoured to turn them from their faith, saying, "Father Robert, thou art an old man, let me entreat thee in this thy last hour, to think of saving thine own soul; and if thou wilt give ear unto me, I warrant thee thou shalt do well." The old man answered, "Poor man, how darest thou attribute that to thyself which belongs to the eternal God, and so rob him of his honour? for it seems by thy

speech, that if I will hearken to thee thou wilt become my Saviour. No, no, I have only one Saviour, Jesus Christ, who by and by will deliver me from this miserable world. I have one Doctor whom the heavenly Father hath commanded me to hear, and I purpose to hearken to none other."

Another exhorted him to take pity on his soul. "Thou willest me," said Robert, "to pity mine own soul; dost thou not see what pity I have on it, when for the name of Christ I willingly abandon this body of mine to the fire, hoping to-day to be with him in paradise? I have put all my confidence in God, and my hope wholly is fixed upon the merits of Christ, his death and passion; he will direct me the right way to his kingdom. I believe what the holy prophets and apostles have written, and in that faith will I live and die." The friar hearing this, said, "Out, dog! thou are not worthy the name of Christian; thou and thy son with thee are both resolved to damn your bodies and souls with all the devils in hell."

As they were about to separate Baudicon from his father, he said, "Let my father alone, and trouble him not thus: he is an old man, and hath an infirm body; hinder him not, I pray you, from receiving the crown of martyrdom." Baudicon was then conveyed to a chamber apart, and there being stripped of his clothes, was prepared to be sacrificed. While one brought him gunpowder to put to his breast, an odd fellow standing by, said, "Wert thou my brother, I would sell all that I am worth to buy fagots to burn thee—thou findest but too much favour." The young man answered, "Well, sir, the Lord shew you more mercy." Whilst they spake thus to Baudicon, some of the friars pressed about the old man, persuading him at least to take a crucifix into his hands, lest the people should murmur against him; adding further, that he might for all that lift up his heart to God. Then they fastened it between his hands; but as soon as Baudicon was come down and espied what they had done to his father, he said, "Alas! father, what do you now? will you play the idolater even at our last hour?" And then pulling the idol out of his hands, which they had fastened therein, he threw it away, saying, "What cause hath the people to be offended at us for not receiving a Christ of wood? We bear upon our hearts the cross of Christ, the Son of the ever-living God, feeling his holy word written therein in letters of gold."

A band of soldiers attended them to execution, no less than if a prince had been conducted into his kingdom. Being come to the place where they were to suffer, they ascended the scaffold; when Baudicon asked leave of the sheriffs to make a confession of his faith before the people: answer was made that he was to look unto his spiritual Father, and confess to him. He was then dragged to the stake, where he began to sing the 16th Psalm. The friar cried out, "Do you not hear, my masters, what wicked errors these heretics sing, to beguile the people with?" Baudicon hearing him, replied, "How, simple idiot, callest thou the psalms of the prophet David errors? But no wonder, for thus you are wont to blaspheme against the Spirit of God." Then turning his eyes towards his father, who was about to be chained to the stake, he said, "Be of good courage, father, the worst will be past very soon." Then he often reiterated these short breathings, "O God,

Father everlasting, accept the sacrifice of our bodies, for thy well beloved Son Jesus Christ's sake." One of the friars cried out, "Heretic, thou liest; he is none of thy Father, the devil is thy father." During these conflicts, he lifted his eyes upwards, and speaking to his father, said, "Behold, I see the heavens open, and millions of angels ready to receive us, rejoicing to see us thus witnessing the truth in the view of the world. Father, let us be glad and rejoice, for the joys of heaven are set open to us." Fire was forthwith put to the straw and wood, which burnt beneath, whilst they not shrinking from the pains spake one to another; Baudicon often repeating this in his father's ears, "Faint not, father, nor be afraid; yet a very little while and we shall enter into the heavenly mansions." In the end, the fire growing hot upon them, the last words they were heard to pronounce were, "Jesus Christ, thou Son of God, into thy hand do we commend our spirits." And thus these two slept sweetly in the Lord.

In eight days after, Jane, the mother, and Martin her son, were executed in the same city. But before we come to describe their happy ends, we will, as briefly as we can, take notice by the way of the very great conflicts of spirit which both of them sustained. There were sent unto them many of the popish rabble, to turn them from their faith. That their devilish enterprise might the better be effected, they separated one from the other, by the politic advice of a monk: the poor woman began to waver, and let go her first faith. At this their enemies rejoiced not a little, whilst the little flock of Christ hearing such sad news were in continual perplexity; but the Lord left them not in their mournful condition.

One of the monks waited on her in the prison, counselling her to win over her son Martin, and to draw him from his errors, which she promised to do. But when he was come to his mother, and perceived that she was not only fallen, but also quite turned out of the right way, he began with tears to bewail her miserable state. "O mother," said he, "what have you done? Have you denied Him who hath redeemed you? Alas! what evil hath he done you, that you should requite him with so great injury and dishonour? Now I am plunged into that woe which I have most feared. Ah, good God, that I should live to see this, which pierceth me to the very heart!" His mother hearing these his pitiful complaints, and seeing the tears which her son shed for her, began again to renew her strength in the Lord, and with tears cried out, "O Father of mercies, be merciful unto me a miserable sinner, and cover my transgressions under the righteousness of thy blessed Son. Lord, enable me with strength from above to stand to my first confession, and make me to abide steadfast therein even unto my last breath." It was not long after this change that the emissaries of Satan who had seduced her came in, supposing to find her in the mind wherein they left her: whom she no sooner espied, but with detestation said, "Away, Satan, get thee behind me: for henceforth thou hast neither part nor portion in me. I will, by the help of God, stand to my first confession; and if I may not sign it with ink, I will seal it with my blood." And from that time this frail vessel, who for awhile relented, after her recovery grew stronger and stronger. A certain temporizer

said to Martin, "Thou silly youth, thou sayest thou knowest not what; thou art too much conceited of thyself and of thy cause. Seest thou not all these people about thee, what thinkest thou of them? They believe not as thou dost, and yet I doubt not but they shall be saved. But you imagine to do that which will never come to pass, though you pretend so much that you are in the faith, and have the scripture for you." The good woman hearing this, answered, "Sir, Christ Jesus our Lord saith, that it is the wide gate and broad way which leads to destruction, and therefore many go in thereat; but the gate is narrow that leads to life, and few there be that find it. Do ye then doubt whether we are in the straight way or no, when ye behold our sufferings? Would you have a better sign than this, to know whether we are in the right way? Compare our doctrine with that of your priests and monks: we, for our parts, are determined to have but one Christ, and him crucified; we embrace only the scriptures of the Old and New Testament. Are we deceived in believing that which the holy prophets and apostles have taught?"

Soon after Martin and his mother were bound and brought to the place of their martyrdom. His mother having ascended the scaffold, cried to Martin, "Come up, come up, my son." And as he was speaking to the people, she said, "Speak out, Martin, that it may appear to all that we do not die heretics." Martin would have made a confession of his faith, but he was not permitted to speak. His mother being bound to the stake, said in the hearing of the spectators, "We are Christians; and that which we now suffer is not for murder or theft, but because we believe no more than that which the word of God teacheth us: we both rejoice that we are counted worthy to suffer for the same." The fire being kindled, the vehemency thereof did not abate the fervency of their zeal, but they continued constant in the faith, and with uplifting hands to heaven, in a holy accord said, "Lord Jesus, into thy hands we commend our spirits." And thus they blessedly slept in the Lord.

#### RELATION OF THE MASSACRE AT VASSY, IN THE COUNTRY OF CHAMPAIGNE, IN FRANCE.

The duke of Guise, on his arrival at Joinville, asked whether those of Vassy used to have sermons preached constantly by their minister? It was answered they had, and that they increased daily. On hearing this he fell into a grievous passion; and upon Saturday, the last day of February, 1562, that he might the more covertly execute his determined wrath against the religious people of Vassy, he departed from Joinville, accompanied by the cardinal of Guise, his brother, and those of their train, and lodged in the village of Damartin, distant from Joinville about two miles and a half.

The next day, after he had heard mass very early in the morning, being attended by about two hundred armed men, he left Damartin and went on to Vassy. As he passed the village of Bronzeval, which is distant from Vassy a quarter of a mile, the bell after the usual manner

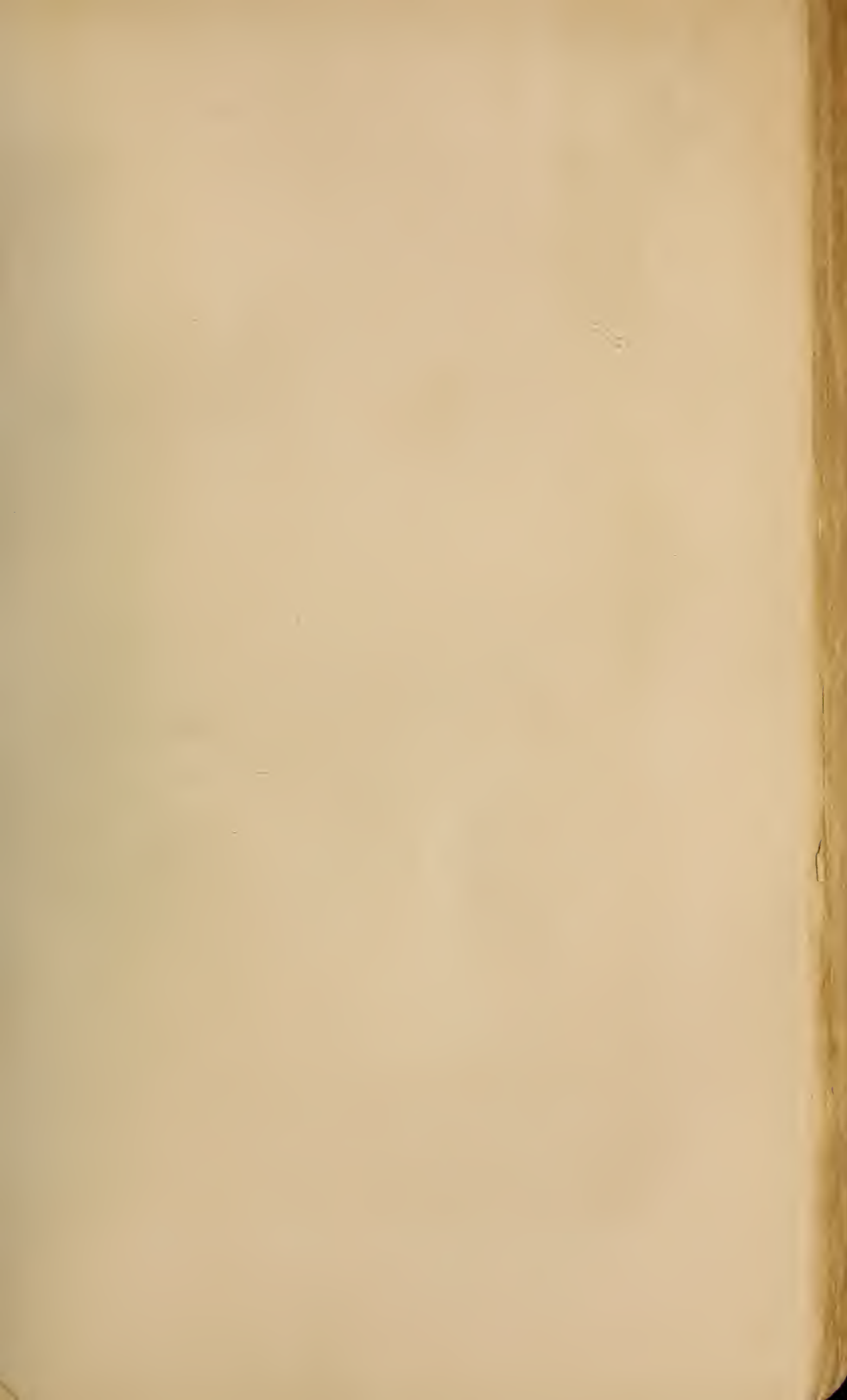
rang for sermon. The duke hearing it, asked those he met why the bell rang so loud at Vassy. A person named La Montague told him it was for the assembling of the Hugonots; adding, that there were many in Bronzeval who frequented the sermons preached at Vassy; therefore, that the duke would do well to begin there, and first offer them violence. But the duke answered, "March on, march on, we shall take them amongst the rest of the assembly."

There were certain soldiers and archers accompanying the duke who surrounded Vassy, most of them being lodged in the houses of papists. The Saturday before the slaughter, they were seen to make ready their weapons, arquebuses, and pistols; but the protestants, not dreaming of a conspiracy, thought the duke would offer them no injury, being the king's subjects; remembering that not above two months before, the duke and his brethren passed near Vassy, and gave no sign of their displeasure.

The duke being arrived at Vassy with his troops, they, with the duke La Brosse, and La Montague, passed through the city with their soldiers, went directly to the common-hall or market-house, and then entered into the monastery; where, having called to one Dessales, the prior of Vassy, and another whose name was Claude le Sain, provost of Vassy, the duke talked a while with them, then issuing hastily out of the monastery attended by many of his followers. Command was given to such as were papists, to retire into the monastery and not be seen in the streets, unless they would venture the loss of their lives. The duke perceiving others of his retinue to be walking to and fro under the town-hall, and about the church-yard, commanded them to march on towards the place where the sermon was, being in a barn about a hundred paces from the monastery. This command was soon after put in execution by such of the company as went on foot. He that marched foremost of this rabble was La Brosse, and on the side marched the horsemen, after whom followed the duke with another company of his own men, and then those of the cardinal of Guise his brother. By this time, Mr. Leonard Morel, the minister, after the first prayer, had begun his sermon before numerous auditors, which might amount to 1200 persons, consisting of men, women, and children. The horsemen first approaching to the barn within about twenty-five paces, shot off two arquebuses right upon those who were placed in the galleries joining to the windows. The people within perceiving their danger, endeavoured to shut the door, but were prevented by the ruffians rushing in upon them, who drawing their swords, furiously cried out, "Death of God! kill, kill these Hugonots."

The first they seized on was a crier of wine, who stood next the door, asking him if he were not a Hugonot, and on whom he believed. Having answered that he believed in Jesus Christ, they smote him twice with a sword, which felled him to the ground. He got up again, thinking to recover himself, when they struck him a third time; whereby, being overcharged with wounds, he fell down and died instantly. Two other men, at the same time, were slain at the entry of the door, as they were pressing out to escape. Then the duke of Guise, with his company, violently entered in among them, striking the poor people down with







MASSACRE AT VASSY, HEADED BY THE DUKE OF GUISE.—PAGE 203.

their swords, daggers, and cutlasses, not sparing any age or sex: the whole assembly were so astonished, that they knew not which way to turn, but running hither and thither, fell one upon another, flying as sheep before a company of ravening wolves. Some of the murderers shot off their carbines against them that were in the galleries; others cut in pieces such as were below; some had their heads cleft in twain, their arms and hands cut off; so that many of them died instantly on the spot. The walls and galleries of the place were dyed with the blood of those who were every where murdered: and so great was the fury of the murderers, that part of the people within were forced to break open the roofs of the houses, in hope of saving themselves upon the top. Being got thither, and then fearing to fall again into the hands of these cruel tigers, some of them leaped over the walls of the city, which were very high, flying into the woods and amongst the vines, which with most expedition they could soonest attain; some hurt in their arms, others in their heads, and other parts of their bodies. The duke presented himself in the house with his sword drawn, charging his soldiers to kill especially the young men. Pursuing those who went upon the house tops, they cried, "Come down, ye dogs, come down!" using many cruel threatening speeches to them. The cause why some women escaped was, as the report went, for the duchess's sake, his wife, who, passing by the walls of the city, and hearing hideous outcries among these poor creatures, with the noise of the carbines and pistols continually discharging, sent in haste to the duke her husband with much entreaty to cease his persecution because of the women's terror.

During this slaughter, the cardinal of Guise remained before the church of the city of Vassy, leaning upon the wall of the church-yard, looking towards the place where his followers were busied in killing and slaying whom they could. Many of this assembly being thus hotly pursued, did in the first brunt save themselves upon the roof of the house, not being discerned by those who stood without: but at length, some of the bloody crew espying were they lay, shot at them with long pieces, wherewith many were hurt and slain. The household servants of Dessales, prior of Vassy, shooting at the people on the roof, one of that wretched company was not ashamed to boast, after the massacre was ended, that he for his part had caused six at least to fall dead in that pitiful plight, adding that if others and all had done the same he should have rejoiced.

The minister, in the beginning of the massacre, ceased not to preach, till one discharged his piece against the pulpit where he stood, after which, falling upon his knees, he entreated the Lord to have mercy upon himself, and also upon his poor persecuted flock. Having ended his prayer, he left his gown behind him, thinking thereby to keep himself unknown: but as he approached towards the door, in his fear he stumbled upon a dead body, where he received a blow with a sword upon his right shoulder. Getting up again, and then thinking to go forth, he was immediately laid hold of, and grievously hurt on the head with a sword, whereupon being felled to the ground, and thinking himself mortally wounded, he cried, "Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit, for thou hast redeemed me, God of truth." While he thus prayed, one of

the bloody crew ran upon him, with an intent to have ham-stringed him; but it pleased God his sword broke in the hilt. Two gentlemen taking knowledge of him, said, "He is the minister, let him be conveyed to my lord duke." These leading him away by both the arms, brought him before the gate of the monastery, from whence the duke and the cardinal his brother, coming forth, said, "Come hither;" and asked him, saying, "Art thou the minister of this place? who made thee so bold to seduce this people thus?" "Sir," said the minister, "I am no seducer, for I have preached to them the gospel of Jesus Christ." The duke perceiving that this answer condemned his cruel outrages, began to curse and swear, saying, "Death of God, doth the gospel preach sedition? Provost, go and let a gibbet be set up, and hang this fellow." At which words the minister was delivered into the hands of two pages, who cruelly misused him. The women of the city, being ignorant papists, caught up dirt to throw in his face, and with extended outcries, said, "Kill him, kill this varlet, who hath been the cause of the death of so many." In the mean time the duke went into the barn, to whom they presented a great Bible, which they used for the service of God. The duke taking it into his hands, calling his brother, the cardinal, said, "Lo, here is the title of the Hugonot books." The cardinal viewing it, said, "There is nothing but good in this book, for it is the bible, to wit, the holy scriptures." The duke being offended, that his brother suited not to his humour, grew into a greater rage than before, saying, "Blood of God, how now? What! the holy scriptures. It is one thousand five hundred years ago since Jesus Christ suffered his death and passion, and it is but a year since these books were printed, how then say you that this is the gospel? You say you know not what." This unbridled fury of the duke displeased the cardinal, so that he was heard secretly to mutter, "An unworthy brother!"

This massacre continued a full hour, the duke's trumpeters sounding the while several times. When any of the victims desired to have mercy shewed them for the love of Jesus Christ, the murderers in scorn would say unto them, "You use the name of Christ, but where is your Christ now?" There died in this massacre within a few days, fifty or three-score persons; besides those, there were about two hundred and fifty men and women that were wounded and injured, whereof some died, one losing a leg, another an arm, another his fingers. The poor's box, which was fastened to the door of the church with two iron hooks, containing twelve pounds, was wrested thence, and never restored. The minister was closely confined, and frequently threatened to be enclosed in a sack and drowned. He was, however, on the 8th of May, 1563, liberated at the earnest suit of the prince of Portien.

Monsieur Pierre De la Place was a gentleman whose piety equalled his courage; he was president of the court of requests at Paris. On Sunday morning, about six o'clock, captain Michael, arquebuser to the king, came armed to his lodging, and presenting himself before De la Place, said, that the duke of Guise had slain the admiral of France by the king's orders, with many Hugonots; and because the rest of them, of whatever quality, were destined to death, he was come to his lodging to exempt him from the common destruction; and that he desired to

have a sight of what gold and silver were in his possession. The duke De la Place, amazed at his audacity, who, in the presence of several persons in the room, durst presume to utter such language, asked him if he knew where he was, or whether or not he thought there was a king? To this the captain roughly answered, that he must go with him to know the king's pleasure. De la Place hearing this, began to apprehend some danger, and therefore slipped out at a back door, proposing to secret himself in a neighbour's house. Meanwhile, most of his servants disappeared; and the captain, having plundered his chest of a thousand crowns, was entreated by the lady Marets to convey her father, with the lord Marets her husband, into the house of some Roman catholic; which he consented to do, and also performed it.

De la Place, like a deer singled out for death, being refused admittance at three several houses, returned to his own, where he found his wife overwhelmed with grief; but the lord De la Place, being strengthened by the Spirit of God, with incredible constancy and calmness, demonstrated to her, that we must receive afflictions from the hand of God; and consoled her with the promises of the gospel. He then commanded all his servants that remained to be called together, when, according to his custom on the Lord's day, he made an exhortation and offered prayer. He then discoursed upon the justice and mercy of God, and shewed how needful afflictions were for Christians, and that it was beyond the power of Satan or men to hurt or wrong them, without permission of the Lord. "What need have we then," he added, "to dread their authority, which at the most can but prevail over our bodies?" He then exhorted them rather to endure all kind of torment, yea death itself, than to speak or do any thing that might tend to the dishonour of God.

While thus employed, word was brought him that Seneca, the provost-martial, with a band of archers, was at the door, demanding admittance in the king's name, saying, that he came to secure the person of the lord De la Place, and to preserve his house from being pillaged by the rabble. De la Place immediately commanded the door to be opened to him. Seneca, on entering, declared the great slaughter that was made upon the Hugonots every where in the city by the king's command; adding, in Latin, that he would not suffer one to live. "Yet have I express charge from his majesty," he said, "to see that you sustain no wrong; only suffer me to conduct you to the Louvre, because the king is desirous to be informed about the affairs of those of the religion which he hath now in hand." De la Place answered, that it had always been his greatest wish, and nothing could render him more happy, than to gain any opportunity by which he might give an account to his majesty of his behaviour and actions; but that such horrible massacres were every where committed, it was impossible for him to pass to the Louvre without danger of his life: he therefore prayed him to assure his majesty of his willingness to come, but to excuse his appearance until the fury of the people was somewhat abated. The provost agreed to this request, and left with him one of his lieutenants and four of his archers.

Soon after came president Charron, with whom the provost conferred a little in secret, and then left him with four more of the city archers.

The whole night following was spent in fortifying all the passages and windows of the house with logs and flint stones, for the defence of De la Place and his family. Next day Seneca returning, declared that he had express charge from the king to bring him to his majesty without delay. He replied as before, that it was dangerous as yet to pass through the city. But Seneca insisted, saying, "It is the common speech of these Hugonots, to protest that they are the king's most loyal and obedient subjects and servants; but when they are to manifest their obedience to his commands, then they come slowly, seeming rather to abhor and detest it." When De la Place apprehended danger, Seneca answered, that he should have a captain of Paris, well known to the people, to accompany him. At that moment, the captain, named Pazon, a principal actor in this sedition, entered and offered his service to conduct him to the king. De la Place refused, telling Seneca that Pazon was one of the most cruel and bloody-minded men in all the city; and therefore, seeing that he must go to the king, he entreated him to be his guard. Seneca answered, that having now other affairs to look unto, he could not conduct him above fifty paces.

The lady of De la Place then prostrated herself at the feet of Seneca, beseeching him to accompany her husband to the king; but her husband, who never shewed any sign of a dejected spirit, came to her, and lifting her from the ground, told her, that it was not an arm of flesh that we must stoop to, but unto God only. Then turning round, he perceived in his son's hat a white cross, which he had placed there to delude the enemy. His father sharply chid him, and commanded him to pluck that mark of apostasy thence; telling him, that they must now submit to bear the true cross of Christ, namely, those afflictions and tribulations which it shall please God to lay upon us, as pledges of that eternal happiness which he hath treasured up for his servants. Being now pressed by Seneca to go, as he foresaw, to death, he took his cloak, and embracing his wife, earnestly exhorted her above all things to have the fear of God and his honour in precious esteem; and then boldly went on his way. Coming into the street where the glass-house stood, assassins waited his approach with their daggers in readiness, and killed him as an innocent lamb in the midst of Seneca's archers, who led him into that butchery. They then plundered his house of all they could find, while his body being dragged into a stable, they covered his face over with dung, and the next day threw him into the river.

Peter Ramus, the king's professor in logic, a man renowned for his learning, was not forgotten. He had taken refuge in the college of priests; but being discovered, he offered a great sum of money for his life. Nevertheless he was massacred, and cast down from a high chamber window upon the ground, so that his bowels came out on the stones, and were afterwards trailed through the streets, while the body was whipped by certain scholars, instigated by the envy and malevolence of their tutors.<sup>u</sup>

Philip le Doux, a great jeweller, on his return from a journey, had

<sup>u</sup> It is remarkable that in this extensive massacre not more than two ministers were known to have suffered.

retired to rest, when he heard the furies below thundering at the door, and commanding it to be opened to them in the king's name. Ill as his wife was, she ventured down and opened it to these tigers, who presently stabbed her husband in his bed. They also took this poor woman, half dead with fear, and thrust into her a dagger to the very hilt. She finding herself mortally wounded, ran into a corn-loft, whither they pursued her, stabbed her a second time, and then threw her out of a window into the street, to the great astonishment and confusion of the papists themselves, who were constrained to confess the cruelties of their own agents. One of the assassins having snatched up a little child in his arms, the innocent babe began to play with his beard and to smile upon him; but instead of being moved to compassion, the barbarian struck it with his dagger, and threw it all in gore into the river.

Quintin Croyer, an elder of the reformed church, seeing many of his companions murdered before his eyes at the massacre at Meaux, kneeled down and prayed God to pardon the murderers; at which they fell a laughing, and not being able with their daggers to pierce a jerkin of double buff which he wore, and which they were loth to spoil, because it would be worth preserving as a good booty, they cut asunder the points, and then gave him several stabs with a dagger in his body.

Faron Haren, formerly sheriff of the city, a man zealously affected to religion, having chased the mass out of Meaux, was mortally hated by the papists. They were, in consequence, not contented simply to kill him, without first cutting off his nose, ears, and other members, and giving him thrusts in divers parts of his body, driving him to and fro among them. Being weakened, and not able any longer to hold out, from loss of blood issuing from all parts of his body, he fell dead upon the ground.

#### PERSECUTION OF THE FAITHFUL AT TROIS, IN CHAMPAIGNE.

When news arrived at Trois of the massacre at Paris, the greater part of the judges and officers of the king went to the bailiff, and commanded a diligent search for protestants, and to imprison all they could find.

In the city was a merchant, named Peter Belin, a man of turbulent temper. This man was at the massacre in Paris on St. Bartholomew's day, and was dispatched thence with letters from the king, dated the 28th of August, to the mayor and sheriffs of Trois, to cause all persecutions to cease, and the prisoners to be set at liberty. He did not, however, arrive till the 3rd of September; and on entering Trois, proceeded to the house of the bailiff, a man of the same stamp as himself. They agreed, before they published the letters, to murder all the Hugonots who were in prison; and to make it appear that this act was sanctioned by authority, they requested the assistance of the city executioner, whose name was Charles. More just and humane than they, he peremptorily refused to have any hand in an act of cruelty; answering, that it was contrary to his office to execute any man before sentence of death had first been pronounced by the magistrates; and that he would not presume without a warrant to deprive any man of life: with these

words he left them. Upon this, the bailiff sent for one of the gaolers of the prison, but he being confined by sickness, Martin de Bures was sent to know his pleasure. The bailiff told him what Belin had signified to him in private; as also, that on a sudden all the prisoners of the religion must die, that the place might be purged of them; "and this," he added, "you must do."

De Bures, however, made no haste to execute the command, acquainted no man with aught that passed between the bailiff and him; not even Perennet the keeper, then sick in bed. The day following the bailiff came to the prison, and calling for Perennet, who was then recovered, asked him, with a smile, "Whether it was done?" "What?" said Perennet, knowing nothing of it. "Why," said the bailiff, "are not the prisoners dispatched?" and was ready with his dagger to have stabbed him. But coming a little to himself, he told Perennet his purpose, and how he was to behave himself concerning the execution. At this, Perennet, standing amazed, (though otherwise forward enough to commit any outrages against the protestants) certified to the bailiff, that such an inhuman act could not be committed to him, apprehending that in time to come justice might rise up against him from the parents or friends of the prisoners. "No, no," said the bailiff, "fear not, I will stand between you and all harm. Others of the justices have consented besides myself, and would you have better security than that?"

In a short time after, the gaoler, coming into the yard of the prison where the prisoners were abroad recreating themselves, ordered each to his cabin, because the bailiff was coming to see whether the keepers had done their duty. Then began these poor sheeps to fear they were destined to the slaughter, and therefore went presently to prayers. Perennet now called his companions about him, reported to them what the bailiff had given him in charge, on which they all took an oath to execute the same; but approaching near to the prisoners they were so surprised with fear, and their hearts so failed them, that they stood gazing upon one another, having no courage to perform such a deed of blood: they therefore returned to the lodge without executing their commission. This repugnance, however, was of short duration; for instead of considering it as a warning from above, they sent for wine, to drown every spark of conscience. Becoming drunk, they drew a list of the prisoners, which they delivered to one who was to call them forth in order.

The first that came forth was Meurs, who was no sooner before them than one of them thrust at him with the point of his halberd, repeating the stroke often with intent to kill him; on which the poor man took hold of the weapon and pointing it himself to his heart, cried to the murderer, "Here, soldier, here, right at the heart, right at the heart!" and was instantly slain. The rest met a similar fate; and when the massacre was ended the murderers made a great pit on the back side of the chapel of the prison, wherein they cast the bodies, some of them yet breathing. One called Maufere, lying in the midst of them, being observed to raise himself above his fellow-martyrs, they poured earth upon him until they had stifled him. The blood ran in such abundance out of the prison door, and thence through a channel into a river, that the whole stream was deeply dyed.



The following day, the sanguinary bailiff of Trois caused the king's letters to be published in all corners of the city with sound of trumpet.

Dechampeaux, lord of Bonilli, a counsellor of Orleans, was murdered in the following manner. One called Texier came with a small troop to his house, inviting himself and company to supper with him. Dechampeaux bid them kindly welcome, being ignorant of what had happened at Paris. But supper being ended, Texier bade him deliver his purse, at which Dechampeaux laughed, thinking he was in jest. But the cruel guest, with blasphemous oaths, told him in a few words what had happened in the city of Paris, and what preparations there were among the Roman Catholics of Orleans to root out the protestants there. Dechampeaux finding it in vain to contest with him, gave him money; when, to requite the courtesy and good entertainment he had received, Texier embued his hand in the blood of his virtuous neighbour, a man of as upright a character as was in all the city. It is needless to add that the troop pillaged the house.

On the 26th of August following, the miscreants began the execution about the ramparts in a violent manner. All night was heard nothing but shooting off guns and pistols, forcing open doors and windows, fearful outcries of the massacred, of men, women, and little children, trampling of horses, and rumbling of carts hurrying off dead bodies to and fro; the street resounding with exclamations of protestants blended with horrible blasphemies of their murderers, laughing at their barbarous exploits.

On Wednesday the massacre began more fiercely, and so continued to the end of the week. "Where is now your God?" cried the murderers. "What is become of all your prayers and psalms now? Let your God, whom you call upon, save you if he can." Yea, some of them, who had been professors of the same religion, whilst they were massacring the poor innocents, sung to them in scorn the beginning of the 43rd psalm: "Judge me, O God, and plead my cause." Others, striking them, said, "Sing now, 'Have mercy on me, O God.'" But these execrable outrages by no means damped the courage of the Christians, who died steadfast in the faith. The murderers boasted that in this city they caused eighteen thousand men to perish, a hundred and fifty women, with a great number of children of nine years old and upwards. The manner of their death was, first to shoot them with pistols, then to strip them, and either sink their bodies in the river, or bury them in pits.

At night several of this bloody crew knocked at the door of a doctor of the civil law, called Taillebous; who, opening a casement and understanding that they had somewhat to say to him, came down immediately and opened the door to them. At the first greeting they told him he must die;—whereupon he uttered a prayer to heaven with such zeal and affection that the assassins being astonished and restrained by a secret power, contented themselves with taking his purse, in which were fifteen crowns, and left him to live some short season. The day following, several students resorted to his lodging requesting to see his library, into which having brought them, one asked this book of him, and another that, which he gave them. At length they told him they were

not as yet satisfied, their purpose being to kill him. Prostrating himself on the ground, and having ended his prayer, he desired them to kill him there; but they forced him out of his own house from one place to another, and at length gave him a violent and fatal blow.

A rich burgess of the city, called Nicholas Bougars Sieur de Nove, a man of singular worth and highly esteemed, was at that time dangerously ill. Some of the murderers came into his chamber with a purpose to kill him; but seeing him in that case, spared him: yet, finding there Noel Chaperon, an apothecary, they cut off one of his arms, then drew him into the market-place, where they made sport and butchery of his mangled form. The next day an acquaintance came to the lodgings of Bougars, and as he was entering in he met his mother at the door. He then proceeded into the chamber, bearing the dead body of her son, and stabbing it as he passed along. The wretch then silently wiped his dagger, and, having left the mangled carcass of his innocent victim in the room, coolly walked out for further atrocities.<sup>v</sup>

Francis Stample, a rich merchant, was threatened to have his throat cut if he refused the murderers money; but having none about him, he wrote to his wife to send him his ransom: he had no sooner sealed the letter, but the monsters deprived him of both that and his life, laughing at what they had done. And though they extorted from his widow a considerable sum of money, yet could she not obtain from them the body of her husband.

Among those that confessed the name of Jesus Christ, Francis le Bossu, a merchant, with his two sons, well deserve our notice; for whilst he trampled in the blood of his brethren, he encouraged his children to take their death willingly and patiently, using this speech: "Children, we are not to learn now, that it hath always been the portion of believers to be hated, cruelly used, and devoured by unbelievers, as Christ's silly sheep of ravening wolves. If we suffer with Christ, we shall also reign with him. Let not those drawn swords terrify us, which only serve to cut that thread which ties us to a miserable life, and let loose the soul into endless felicity. We have resided long enough among the wicked, let us now go and live with our God; let us joyfully march after this great company which is gone before us, and let us make way for them that shall follow after." When he saw the murderers come, he clasped his sons in his arms, and they likewise embraced their father; as if the father meant to be a buckler to his children, and as if the children, by the bond of nature, meant to ward off the blows which were coming upon their father, though with the loss of their own lives: thus embracing, all were soon numbered with the dead.

At the conclusion of this furious assault, the monster perpetrators went up and down the city, displaying their white doublets sprinkled with blood; some boasting that they had killed a hundred, some more, some less. The people of Dauphine, of Languedoc, and Provence, were amazed to see so many bodies floating upon the water, some dis-

<sup>v</sup> This barbarous deed reminds us of the enormities practised by some of the Irish Roman Catholics in their massacre of the English Protestants in the reign of Charles I., when every social tie was banished from their remorseless hearts, and the oldest friends were murdered by the hands they had so often pressed in amity and brotherhood.

membered, others fastened together with long poles, others lying on the shore, some having their eyes put out, others their noses ears and hands cut off, stabbed with daggers in every part of their body, some among them having no shape remaining.

Not many months after, when these tragedies were ended, the pope sent cardinal Ursin as legate to the king, who was received with great solemnity at Lyons. On his return from St. John's church, where he had been to hear mass, a great number of persons presented themselves before him at the door, and kneeled down for his absolution. But the legate not knowing the reason of it, one of the leaders told him they were those who had been the actors in the massacre. On which, the cardinal immediately absolved them all by making the sign of the cross.

As soon as the massacre commenced at Paris, a gentleman, named Monsoreau, obtained a passport with letters to murder the protestants of Angiers. Being disappointed of his prey in one place, he came to the lodging of a reverend and learned minister, Mr. John Mason, surnamed de Launay, sieur of Riviere. Meeting his wife at the entrance of the house, he saluted and kissed her, as is the manner in France, especially among the courtiers, and asked her "where her husband was?" She answered that he was walking in his garden, and directed him to the spot.

Monsoreau having lovingly embraced la Riviere, said unto him, "Do you know wherefore I am come? The king hath commanded me to kill you forthwith, and hath given me express charge to do it, as you shall see by his letters." The wretch then shewed him a pistol ready charged. Riviere replied, "I know not wherein I have offended the king; but seeing you seek my life, give me a little time to recommend my spirit into the hands of God." Having made a short prayer, he presented his body to the murderer, who shot him immediately. The minister's wife was soon after drowned, with nine others. Six thousand were also murdered at Rouen in the same deliberate and treacherous manner.

The king of France proposed three things to the prince of Condé: "Either to go to mass, to death, or else perpetual imprisonment; and therefore weigh well with yourself which you like best." The prince answered, "By God's grace I will never choose the first; as for the latter, I refer myself to the king's pleasure."

About three hundred were barbarously murdered at Toulouse. After taking all their goods, their enemies stripped them naked, exposed them to public view for two days, and then threw them in heaps into great pits. There were certain counsellors, who, after they were massacred, were hung up in their long gowns upon a great elm in the court of the palace. The massacre at Bourdeaux was begun and carried on much in the same manner. Many of the ministers found means to escape, hiding themselves in the rocks and marshes, till they had an opportunity to take shipping for England. The house of a counsellor in parliament was forced open, pillaged, and spoiled. His clerk seeing his master about to suffer a cruel death, embraced and comforted him, and being asked whether he were of the same religion, he answered, "Yea, and would die with my master for the same." They were then slain in one another's arms. Du Tour, a deacon of the reformed church, an old

man, who in the days of his ignorance had been a priest in the popish church, being sick in bed, was dragged into the open street, and was asked whether he would go to mass, and thereby save his life? He freely answered, "No, particularly as I am now drawing so near my end, both from age and sickness. I hope I shall not so far forget the eternal salvation of my soul, as through fear of death to prolong this life for a few days; for thus I should buy a short term of life at too dear a rate." On this they slew him instantly.

The poor protestants wandered up and down, not knowing where to save their lives: some were rejected of their own parents and relations, who shut their doors against them, pretending that they knew them not; others were betrayed and delivered up by those to whose trust they had committed themselves: many were saved even by priests and others, from whom they would have expected no security. Some were saved by their very enemies, whose hearts relented at such detestable outrages. All the city was full of terror and horrible threats against them, saying, that the king's commandment was, that he would not have so much as one of them left in his kingdom; and if any one refused to go to mass, that a hole should be digged for him in the earth, in which he should be buried alive.

The judgment of God was manifested upon one of these inhuman murderers called Vincent: he fell dangerously sick, but in the end recovering again, as he thought, told some of his friends that he felt his arms strong enough to handle his cutlass as well as ever. Shortly after he was overtaken by the hand of God, with such a flow of blood from his nose, as could not be restrained nor diverted by any of the remedies that were then used. It was a hideous sight to see him bowing his head over a bason full of blood, which, without ceasing, poured forth from his nose and mouth till he could bleed and breathe no longer. Another was taken with such swelling in all the parts of his body that there was scarcely to be discerned in him the form of a man, and thus he continued till at length he burst asunder, and like a more ancient and royal persecutor, his entrails gushed out, and he perished a spectre of misery.

Thus, during the extreme afflictions of the reformed churches in many parts of France, there were within a few weeks nearly 30,000 put to death; leaving whole cities and almost whole provinces depopulated.

#### ACCOUNT OF SANCERRE DURING THE SIEGE.

Sancerre, in the year 1573, was a place where the faithful fled for refuge. It was soon encompassed with inveterate enemies. The want of provisions was soon felt by the inhabitants, on which they collected together all the asses and mules they had in the city; but these were eaten up in less than a month. They then killed the horses and dogs; and after these were exhausted they seized the cats, moles, mice, and what other animals and vermin they could find. These being eaten they fed on ox and cow-hides, sheep-skins, parchment, old shoes, horse-hoofs, horns, ropes, and leather girdles. Towards the end of June a third part

of the besieged had no bread to eat. Such as could get hemp seed ground it or bruised it in mortars, and made bread of it: they did the same with all sorts of herbs, mingling them with bran. They also eat meal of chaff, nut-shells, excrements of horses and men; and even the offal which lay in the streets.

The 29th of July a poor man and his wife were executed for having eaten parts of a child three years old, which had died of hunger; having prepared other parts to eat at another meal. An old woman who lodged in the house having eaten part of this mournful diet, died in prison within a few hours after. All children under twelve years of age unable to bear the famine, died. It was lamentable to hear the pitiful groans uttered by poor parents, on beholding their languishing and dying infants. A boy ten years old being ready to yield up the ghost, seeing his father and mother weeping over him, said unto them, "Wherefore weep ye thus in seeing me famished to death, mother? I ask you not for bread, I know you have none; but seeing it is God's will I must die this death, let us be thankful for it. Did not the holy man Lazarus die of famine—have I not read it in my bible?" In uttering these with similar speeches, he expired the 30th of July.

That all the people died not of famine was by reason of some horses which were reserved for service, if needs should be, and six cows, which were left to give milk for the sustenance of young infants. These beasts were killed, and their flesh sold for the relief of such as were living, with a little corn, which by stealth some friends brought into the city. A pound of wheat was sold for half-a-crown. Not more than eighty-four persons died by the hand of the enemy, but of the famine more than five hundred perished. Many soldiers, in order to avoid the lingering death of hunger, fled from the city, and chose rather to die by the sword of the enemy; whereof some were mortally maimed, others imprisoned, and the rest put to death. Every hope, in fact, seemed cut off from the city, and death appeared both within and without the walls; and so far was the king of France from relenting at the hapless state of this wretched people, that, enraged at their courage, he swore that if sustained they should eat up one another. But the King of kings ordained it otherwise; for the election of the duke of Anjou to the throne of Poland caused a general pacification, and the protestants once more enjoyed liberty of conscience and freedom from persecution.

## BOOK VI.

CONTAINING FARTHER ACCOUNTS OF THE PERSECUTIONS IN VARIOUS PARTS.

## SECTION I.

ACCOUNT OF THE PERSECUTIONS IN BOHEMIA AND GERMANY  
UNDER THE PAPACY.

THE severity exercised by the Roman catholics over the churches of the Bohemians, induced them to send two ministers and four laymen to Rome, in the year 977, to seek relief from the pope. After some delay their request was granted and their grievances redressed. Two things in particular were permitted them, viz. to have divine service in their own language, and to give the cup in the sacrament to the laity. The disputes, however, soon broke out again, the succeeding popes exerting all their power to fetter their prejudices on the minds of the Bohemians; and the latter with great spirit aiming to preserve their religious liberties. Some friends, zealous of the gospel, applied to Charles, king of Bohemia, A. D. 1375, to call a council for enquiry respecting the abuses which had crept into the church, and to make a thorough reformation. Charles, at a loss how to proceed, sent to the pope for advice; the latter incensed at the affair, only replied, "Punish severely those presumptuous and profane heretics." The king accordingly banished every one who had been concerned in the application, and to shew his zeal for the pope, imposed additional restraints on the religious liberties of the country.

The martyrdom of John Huss and Jerom of Prague—two great men brought to the light of the truth by reading the doctrines of our countryman, John Wickliffe, who, like the morning star of the reformation, first burst from the dark night of popish error, and illuminated the surrounding world—greatly increased the indignation of the believers, and gave animation to their cause. These two distinguished reformers were condemned by order of the council of Constance, when fifty-eight of the principal Bohemian nobility interposed in their favour. Nevertheless they were burnt; and the pope, in conjunction with the council of Constance, ordered the Romish clergy, every where, to excommunicate all who adopted their opinions or pitied their fate. In consequence of these orders great contentions arose between the papists and reformed Bohemians, which produced a violent persecution against the latter. At Prague it was extremely severe, till at length the reformed, driven to desperation, armed themselves, attacked the senate-house, and cast twelve of its members with the speaker out of the windows. The pope hearing of this, came to Florence, and publicly excommunicated the reformed Bohemians, exciting the emperor of Germany, and all other kings, princes, dukes, &c. to take up arms in order to extirpate the whole race; promising, by way of encouragement, full remission of all sins to every one who should kill a Bohemian protestant. The result

of this was a bloody war; for several popish princes undertook the extirpation, or at least expulsion, of the proscribed people: while the Bohemians, arming themselves, prepared to repel the assault in the most vigorous manner. The popish army prevailing against the protestant forces at the battle of Cuttenburgh, they conveyed their prisoners to three deep mines near that town, and threw several hundred into each, where they perished in a miserable manner.

A bigoted popish magistrate, named Pichel, seized twenty-four protestants, among whom was his daughter's husband. On their all confessing themselves of the reformed religion, he sentenced them to be drowned in the river Abbis. On the day of the execution a great concourse of people attended, among whom was Pichel's daughter. Seeing her husband prepared for death, she threw herself at her father's feet, bedewed them with tears, and 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 his death, have a much worthier husband?" "No, Sir," she replied, "my affections are fixed upon him, and death itself shall not dissolve my marriage vow." Pichel, however, continued inflexible, and ordered the prisoners to be tied with their hands and feet behind them, and in that manner thrown into the river. This being put into execution, the young lady watched the opportunity, leaped into the waves, and embracing the body of her husband, both sunk together.

The emperor Ferdinand, whose hatred to the protestants was unlimited, not thinking he had sufficiently oppressed them, instituted a high court of judges, upon the plan of the inquisition, with this difference, that the new court was to remove from place to place, and always to be attended by a body of troops. The greater part of this court consisted of Jesuits, from whose decisions there was no appeal. This bloody tribunal, attended by its ferocious guard, made the tour of Bohemia, and seldom examined or saw a prisoner; but suffered the soldiers to murder the protestants as they pleased, and then to make report of the matter in their own manner and time.

The first who fell a victim to their barbarity was an aged minister, whom they killed as he lay sick in bed. Next day, they robbed and murdered another, and soon after shot a third while preaching in his pulpit. The soldiers abused the daughter of a protestant before his face, and then tortured her father to death. They tied a minister and his wife back to back and burnt them. Another minister they hung upon a cross beam, and making a fire under him, broiled him to death. One gentleman they hacked into small pieces; and filled a young man's mouth with gunpowder, and setting fire to it, blew his head to atoms. But their principal rage was directed against the clergy. They seized a pious protestant minister, whom they tormented daily for a month. They placed him amidst them, derided and mocked him.

They hunted him like a wild beast, till ready to expire with fatigue, they made him run the gantlet, each striking him with a twig, their fists, or with ropes. They scourged him with wires; they tied him up by the heels till the blood started out of his nose and mouth; they hung him up by the arms till they were dislocated, and then had them set again. Burning papers, dipped in oil, were placed to his feet; his flesh was torn with red-hot pincers; he was put to the rack, and mangled by every cruel device. Even boiling lead was poured upon his feet; and, lastly, a knotted cord was twisted about his forehead in such a manner as to force out his eyes. In the midst of these enormities, particular care was taken lest his wounds should mortify, and his sufferings be shortened; till the last day, when forcing out his eyes proved fatal.

At length, winter being far advanced, the high court of judges, with their military ruffians, thought proper to return to Prague; but on their way meeting with a protestant pastor, they could not resist the temptation of feasting their barbarous eyes with a new kind of cruelty. It was to strip him naked, and to cover him alternately with ice and burning coals. This novel mode of tormenting a fellow-creature was immediately put in practice, and the unhappy victim expired beneath the torments, which seemed to delight his inhuman persecutors. Some time after a secret order was issued by the emperor, for apprehending all noblemen and gentlemen who had been principally concerned in supporting the protestant cause, and in nominating Frederic, elector Palatine of the Rhine, to be king of Bohemia. Fifty of these were seized in one night, and brought to the castle of Prague; while the estates of those who were absent were confiscated, themselves made outlaws, and their names fixed upon a gallows as a mark of public ignominy. The court afterwards proceeded to try those who had been apprehended, and two apostate protestants were appointed to examine them. Their examiners asked many unnecessary and impertinent questions, which so exasperated one of the noblemen, that he exclaimed, opening his breast at the same time, "Cut here; search my heart; you shall find nothing but the love of religion and liberty: these were the motives for which I drew my sword, and for these I am willing to die."

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



soldiers, Jesuits, priests, executioners, attendants, and a prodigious concourse of people assembled to see the exit of these devoted martyrs. They were executed in the following order :

I. Lord Schilik, a nobleman about the age of fifty. He possessed great abilities, natural and acquired. On being told that he was to be quartered, and his parts scattered in different places, he smiled with great serenity, and said, "The loss of a sepulchre is but a trifling consideration." A friend stood by, crying, "Courage, my lord." He replied, "I possess the favour of God, which is sufficient to inspire any one with courage: the fear of death does not trouble me. I have faced him in fields of battle to oppose Antichrist." After repeating a short prayer, he told the executioner he was ready, who cut off his right hand and head, and then quartered him. His hand and head were placed upon the high tower of Prague, and his quarters distributed in different parts of the city.

II. Lord Viscount Wincelous, a venerable nobleman, exalted by his piety, who had attained the age of seventy, and was esteemed equally for his learning and hospitality. He was so little affected by the loss of worldly riches, that on his house being broken into, 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 a cause so dangerous as that of attempting to support the elector palatine Frederic against the power of the emperor, he replied, "I acted according to the dictates of my conscience, and, to this day, acknowledge him my king. I am now full of years, and wish to lay down my life, that I may not be witness of the evils which await my country. You have long thirsted for my blood: take it, and God will be my avenger." He then approached the block, stroked his grey beard, and said, "Venerable hairs, the greater honour now attends you; a crown of martyrdom is your portion." Then laying down his head, it was severed from his body, and afterwards placed upon a pole in a conspicuous part of the town.

III. Lord Harant was a gentleman whose natural abilities were much refined and improved by travelling, having visited the principal places in Europe, Asia, and Africa. The accusations against him were, his being a protestant, and having taken an oath of allegiance to Frederic, the elector palatine of the Rhine, as king of Bohemia. When he ascended the scaffold, he said, "I have travelled through many countries, and traversed many barbarous nations, yet have I never found so much cruelty as at home. I have escaped innumerable perils both by sea and land, and have surmounted all to suffer innocently in my native place. My blood is likewise sought by those for whom I and my ancestors have hazarded our lives and fortunes; but, almighty God! forgive them, for they know not what they do." Then approaching the block, he knelt 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 soon given.

IV. Lord Frederic De Bile suffered as a protestant, and an instigator of the war: he met his fate with firmness, and only said, he wished well to the friends whom he left behind, forgave his enemies, denied the authority of the emperor in that country, acknowledged Frederic to be the only true king of Bohemia, and trusted for salvation in the merits of his Redeemer.

V. Lord Henry Otto on first coming upon the scaffold seemed greatly agitated, and said, as if addressing himself to the emperor, "Thou tyrant Ferdinand, thy throne is established in blood; but if you kill my body, and disperse my members, they shall still rise up in judgment against you." He was then silent; and having walked about awhile, recovered his fortitude, and growing calm, said to a gentleman, "A few minutes I was greatly discomposed, but now I feel my spirits revive; God be praised, death no longer appears as the king of terrors, but seems to invite me to participate of some unknown joys." Then kneeling before the block, he said, "Almighty God! to thee I commend my soul, receive it for the sake of Christ, and admit it to the glory of thy presence." The pains of his death must have been severe, the executioner making several strokes before his head was separated from his body.

VI. The earl of Rugenia was distinguished for his great accomplishments and unaffected piety. On the scaffold he said, "We who drew our swords fought only to preserve the liberties of the people, and to keep our consciences sacred. As we were overcome, however, I am better pleased at the sentence of death than if the emperor had given me life; for I find that it pleases God to have his truth defended, not by our swords, but by our blood." He then went boldly on the block, saying, "I shall now soon be with Christ," and was almost instantly launched upon the ocean of eternity and glory.

VII. Sir Gasper Kaplitz was a nobleman eighty-six years of age. On coming to the place of execution, he addressed the principal officer thus: "Behold an unworthy and ancient man, who hath often entreated God to take him out of this wicked world, but could not till now obtain his desire; for God reserved me till these years to be a spectacle to the world, and a sacrifice to himself: therefore God's will be done." An officer told him, that in consideration of his great age, if he would only ask pardon, he would immediately receive it. "Ask pardon!" exclaimed he, "I will ask pardon of God whom I have frequently offended, but not of the emperor whom I never injured. Should I sue for pardon, it might be justly suspected I had committed some crime for which I deserved this fate. No, no; as I die innocent, and with a clear conscience, I would not be separated from these noble companions who have preceded me to heaven: so saying, he cheerfully resigned his neck to the block.

VIII. Procopius Dorzecki said on the scaffold, "We are now under the emperor's judgment; but in time he shall be judged, and we shall

appear as witnesses against him." Then taking a gold medal from his neck, which was struck when the elector Frederic was crowned king, he presented it to one of the officers with these words—"As a dying man I request, that if ever king Frederic be restored to the throne of Bohemia, you will give him this medal. Tell him, for his sake I wore it till death, and that now I willingly lay down my life for God and my king." He then cheerfully submitted to the fatal blow.

IX. Dionysius Zervius was a gentleman fifty-six years of age, and had been educated as a Roman Catholic; but had embraced the reformed religion for some years. Just before his death the Jesuits used their utmost endeavours to make him recant and return to his former faith, but he gave not the least heed to their exhortations. Kneeling down, he said, "They may destroy my body, but cannot injure my soul; that I commend to my Redeemer."

X. Valentine Cockan was a gentleman of great fortune, and eminent for piety and uprightness. His talents and acquirements were of an inferior order; yet his imagination seemed to brighten, and his faculties to improve on death's approach; and just before he was beheaded, he expressed himself with such eloquence, energy and precision, as amazed his hearers. This is one of innumerable instances in which unusual wisdom follows the acquisition of eminent piety.

XI. Tobias Steffick was remarkable for his affability, and upon the approach of death displayed the greatest serenity. A few minutes before he died, he said, "I have received, during the 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, a learned student of physic, who had been accused of speaking 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 several parts of his body exposed on poles.

XIII. Christopher Chober no sooner stepped upon the scaffold, than he said, "I come in the name of God to die for his glory. I have fought the good fight, and finished my course; so, executioner, do your office." On this he instantly received the crown of martyrdom.

XIV. John Shultis was by all who knew him beloved in life, and regretted at his death. The only words he spoke before his martyrdom were, "The righteous seem to die in the eyes of fools, but they only go to rest. Lörd Jesus! thou hast promised that those who come to thee shall not be cast out. Behold, I am come; look on me, pity me, pardon my sins, and receive my soul."

XV. Maximilian Hostialick was celebrated for his learning, piety, and humanity. When he first came on the scaffold he seemed terrified at the approach of death. Soon after he said, "Christ will wash me from my crimes." He then told the officer he should repeat the song of Simeon; at the conclusion of which the executioner might do his duty. He accordingly said, "Lord! now let thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation:" at which words his head, at one blow, was severed from his body.

XVI. John Kutnaur, not having been 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 was father-in-law to Kutnaur, and was ordered to be executed in the same manner. He appeared impatient to be gone, saying, "Every moment delays me from entering into the kingdom of Christ."

XVIII. Nathaniel Wodnianskey, a gentleman, was hanged for having supported the protestant cause, and the election of Frederic to the Bohemian throne. At the gallows the Jesuits used all their persuasions to make him renounce his faith. Finding their attempts unavailing, one of them said, "If you will not abjure your heresy, at least repent of your rebellion." To which Wodnianskey replied, "You take away our lives under a pretended charge of rebellion; and, not content with that, seek to destroy our souls: glut yourselves with blood and be satisfied, but tamper not with our consciences." His son then approached the gallows, and said, "Sir, if life should be offered to you on condition of apostasy, I entreat you to remember Christ." To this the father replied, "It is very acceptable, my son, to be exhorted to constancy by you, but suspect me not; rather endeavour to confirm in their faith your brothers, sisters, and children, and teach them to imitate my constancy." He had no sooner concluded these words than he received his fate with great fortitude.

XIX. Wenceslaus Gisbitzkey, throughout his imprisonment, had great hopes given him, from which his friends became very apprehensive for the safety of his soul. He, however, continued steadfast in his faith, prayed fervently at the gallows, and met his end like a christian hero.

XX. Martin Foster was an unfortunate cripple; the chief accusations against him were his being charitable to heretics, and his advancing money to the elector Frederic. It is supposed, however, that his great wealth was the principal cause of his death; as it no doubt was the ground on which many of the preceding gentlemen and noblemen were cruelly slain.

## SECTION II.

## THE LIFE, SUFFERINGS, AND MARTYRDOM OF JOHN HUSS, WHO WAS BURNT AT CONSTANCE IN GERMANY.

John Huss was a Bohemian, born in the village of Hussenitz about the year 1380. His parents gave him the best education they could bestow, and having acquired a tolerable knowledge of the classics at a private school, he was sent thence to the university of Prague, where the powers of his mind and his diligence in study soon rendered him conspicuous. In 1408 he commenced bachelor of divinity, and was after successively chosen pastor of the church of Bethlehem, in Prague, and dean, and rector of the university. These stations he discharged with great fidelity, and became at length so conspicuous for his preaching and the boldness of his truths, that he soon attracted the notice and excited the malignity of the pope and his creatures. The incident which most provoked the indignation of Huss was a papal bull, which offered remission of sin to all who would join the army of the pope in his contest with the king of Naples, who had invaded the holy see, and threatened destruction to the papal dominion.

The English reformer, Wickliffe, had so kindled the light of reformation, that it began to illumine the darkest corners of popery and ignorance. His doctrines were received in Bohemia with avidity and zeal by great numbers of people; but by none so zealously as John Huss, and his friend and fellow-martyr, Jerome of Prague. The reformists daily increasing, the archbishop of Prague issued a decree to suppress the farther spreading of Wickliffe's writings. This, however, had an effect quite the reverse of what he expected, for it stimulated the converts to greater zeal, and at length almost the whole university united in promoting them. In that renowned institution the influence of Huss was very great, not only on account of his learning, eloquence, and exemplary life; but also on account of some valuable privileges he had obtained from the king in behalf of the Bohemians.

Strongly attached to the doctrines of Wickliffe, Huss strenuously opposed the decree of the archbishop, who, notwithstanding, obtained a bull from the pope, giving him commission to prevent the publishing of Wickliffe's writings in his province. By virtue of this bull the archbishop condemned those writings: he also proceeded against four doctors who had not delivered up some copies, and prohibited them to preach. Against these proceedings Dr. Huss, with some other members of the university, protested, and entered an appeal from the sentence of the archbishop. The pope no sooner heard of this, than he granted a commission to cardinal Colonna, to cite Huss to appear at the court of Rome, to answer accusations laid against him, of preaching both errors and heresies. From this Dr. Huss desired to be excused, and so greatly was he favoured in Bohemia that king Wincseslaus, 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 all to preach the gospel with freedom in their places of worship, according to their own honest convictions.

Three proctors appeared for Dr. Huss before cardinal Colonna. They pleaded an excuse for his absence, and said they were ready to answer in his behalf. But the cardinal declared him contumacious, and accordingly excommunicated him. On this the proctors appealed to the pope, who appointed four cardinals to examine the process: these commissioners confirmed the sentence of the cardinal, and extended the excommunication, not only on Huss, but to all his friends and followers. Huss then appealed from this unjust sentence to a future council, but without success; and, notwithstanding so severe a decree, and an expulsion from his church in Prague, he retired to Hussnitz, his native place, where he continued to promulgate the truth, in his writings as well as his public ministry. It was in this retirement and comparative seclusion that he compiled a treatise, in which he maintained that reading the books of protestants could not be forbidden or prevented. He wrote in defence of Wickliffe's work on the Trinity; and boldly protested against the vices of the pope, the cardinals, and the clergy of those corrupt times. In addition to these he was the author of several other productions, all of which were penned with such strength of argument as greatly facilitated the diffusion of protestant principles.

In England persecution against the protestants had been carried on for some time with relentless cruelty. They now extended to Germany and Bohemia, where Dr. Huss, and Jerome of Prague, were particularly singled out to suffer in the cause of religion. In the month of November, in the year 1414, a general council was assembled at Constance, in Germany, for the purpose of determining a dispute then existing between three persons who contended for the papal throne. These were, John, set up by the Italians; Gregory, by the French; and Benedict, by the Spaniards. The council continued four years, in which the severest laws were enacted to crush the protestants. Pope John was deposed and obliged to fly: more than forty crimes being proved against him; among which were, his attempt to poison his predecessor, his being a gamester, a liar, a murderer, an adulterer, and guilty of unnatural offences.

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

In the latter end of November he set out for Constance, accompanied by two Bohemian noblemen, who were among the most eminent of his disciples, and who followed him through respect and affection. He caused placards to be fixed upon the gates of the churches of Prague, in which he declared, that he went to the council to answer all charges

that might be made against him. He also declared, in all the cities through which he passed, that he was going to vindicate himself at Constance, and invited all his adversaries to be present. On his way he met with every mark of affection and reverence from people of all descriptions. The streets, and even the roads, were thronged with people, whom respect rather than curiosity had brought together. He was ushered into several towns with great acclamations; and he passed through Germany in a kind of triumph. "I thought," he said, "I had been an outcast. I now see my worst friends are in Bohemia."

On arriving at Constance, he immediately took lodgings in a remote part of the city. Soon after there came to him one Stephen Paletz, who was engaged by the clergy at Prague to manage the intended prosecution against him. Paletz was afterwards joined by Michel de Cassis, on the part of the court of Rome. These two declared themselves his accusers, and drew up articles against him, which they presented to the pope and the prelates of the council. Notwithstanding the promise of the emperor, to give him safe conduct to and from Constance, he regarded not his word; but, according to the maxim of the council, that "Faith is not to be kept with heretics," when it was known he was in the city, he was immediately arrested, and committed prisoner to a chamber in the palace. This breach was particularly noticed by one of Huss's friends, who urged the imperial passport: but the pope replied he never granted any such thing, nor was he bound by that of the emperor.

While Huss was under confinement, the council acted the part of inquisitors. They condemned the doctrines of Wickliffe, and in their impotent malice ordered his remains to be dug up and burnt to ashes. While these orders were executing the nobility of Bohemia and Poland used all their interest for Huss; and so far prevailed as to prevent his being condemned unheard, which appeared to have been resolved on by the commissioners appointed to try him. Before his trial took place, his enemies employed a Franciscan friar, to entangle him in his words, and then appear against him. This man of great ingenuity and subtlety, came to him in the character of an idiot, and with seeming sincerity and zeal, requested to be taught his doctrines. But Huss soon detected him, and told him that his manners wore a great semblance of simplicity, but that his questions discovered a depth and design beyond the reach of an idiot. He afterwards found this pretended fool to be Didace, one of the deepest logicians in Lombardy.

At length Huss was brought before the council, when the articles exhibited against him were read: they were upwards of forty in number, and chiefly extracted from his writings. The following extract, forming the eighth article of impeachment, will give a sample of the ground on which this infamous trial was conducted. "An evil and a wicked pope is not the successor of Peter, but of Judas." Answer.—"I wrote this in my treatise, if the pope be humble and meek, neglecting and despising the honour and lucre of the world; if he be a shepherd, taking his name from feeding of the flock of God; if he feed the sheep with the word, and with virtuous example, and that he become even like his flock with his whole heart and mind; if he diligently and carefully labour

and travel for the church, then is he without doubt the true vicar of Christ. But if he walk contrary to these virtues, so much as there is no society between Christ and Belial, and Christ himself saith, 'He that is not with me is against me,' how is he then the true vicar of Christ or Peter, and not rather the vicar of antichrist? Christ called Peter himself, Satan, when he opposed him only in one word, and that with a good affection, even him whom he had chosen his vicar, and specially appointed over his church. Why should not any other then, being more opposed to Christ, be truly called Satan, and consequently antichrist, or at least the principal minister or vicar of antichrist. Infinite testimonies of this matter are found in St. Augustine, St. Jerome, Cyprian, Chrysostome, Bernard, Gregory, Remigius, Ambrose, and all the holy fathers of the Christian church."

On his examination being finished, he was taken from the court, and a resolution was formed by the council, to burn him as a heretic unless he retracted. He was then committed to a filthy prison, where, in the day-time, he was so laden with fetters that he could hardly move: and every night he was fastened by his hands to a ring against the wall. He continued some days in this situation, while many noblemen of Bohemia interceded in his behalf. They drew up a petition for his release, which was presented to the council by several of the most illustrious men of the country; notwithstanding which, so many enemies had Huss in that court, that no attention was paid to it, and the persecuted reformer was compelled to endure all the ignominy and misery inflicted on him. Shortly after the petition was presented, four bishops and two lords were sent by the emperor to the prison, in order to prevail on Huss to make a recantation. But he called God to witness, with tears in his eyes, that he was not conscious of having preached or written any thing against the truth of God, or the faith of his orthodox church. The deputies then represented the great wisdom and authority of the council; to which Huss replied, "Let them send the meanest person of that council, who can convince me by argument from the word of God, and I will submit my judgment to him." This firm and faithful answer had no effect, because he would not take the authority of the council upon trust, in opposition to the plainest reasonings of scripture. The deputies, therefore, finding they could not make any impression on him, departed, greatly astonished at the strength of his resolution.

On the 4th of July he was, for the last time, brought before the council. After a long examination he was desired to abjure, which he refused without the least hesitation. The bishop of Lodi then preached a bloody persecuting sermon, the text of which was, "Let the body of sin be destroyed." The sermon was the usual prologue to a cruel martyrdom; and when it was over his fate was fixed, his vindication rejected and judgment was pronounced. The council censured him for being obstinate and incorrigible, and ordained that he should be degraded from the priesthood, his books publicly burnt, and himself delivered to the secular power. He received the sentence without the least emotion; and at the close of it he kneeled down with his eyes lifted towards heaven, and, with all the magnanimity of a primitive martyr, thus ex-



claimed: "May thine infinite mercy, O my God! pardon this injustice of mine enemies. Thou knowest the iniquity of my accusations: how deformed with crimes I have been represented: how I have been oppressed by worthless witnesses, and a false condemnation: yet, O my God! let that mercy of thine, which no tongue can express, prevail with thee not to avenge my wrongs."

These excellent sentences were received as so many expressions of treason, and only tended to inflame his adversaries. Accordingly, the bishops appointed by the council, stripped him of his priestly garments; degraded him, and put a paper mitre on his head, on which were painted devils, with this inscription: "A ring-leader of heretics." This mockery was received by the heroic martyr with an air of unconcern, and it seemed to give him dignity rather than disgrace. A serenity appeared in his looks, which indicated that his soul had cut off many stages of a tedious journey in her way to the realms of everlasting happiness, and when the bishops urged him yet to recant, he turned to the people, and addressed them thus:—

"These lords and bishops exhort and counsel me, that I should here confess before you all, that I have erred; the which, if it were such as might be done with the infamy and reproach of man only, they might, peradventure, easily persuade me thereunto; but now truly I am in the sight of the Lord my God, without whose great displeasure, and disquietude of mine own conscience, I could by no means do that which they require of me. For I well know that I never taught any of those things which they have falsely alleged against me, but I have always preached, taught, written, and thought contrary thereunto. With what countenance then should I behold the heavens? With what face should I look upon them whom I have taught, whereof there is a great number, if through me it should come to pass that those things, which they have hitherto known to be most certain and sure, should now be made uncertain? Should I by this example astonish or trouble so many souls, so many consciences, endued with the most firm and certain knowledge of the scriptures and gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ and his most pure doctrine, armed against all the assaults of Satan? I will never do it, neither commit any such kind of offence, that I should seem more to esteem this vile carcass appointed unto death, than their health and salvation."

At this most godly speech he was forced again to hear, by the consent of the bishops, that he obstinately and maliciously persevered in his pernicious and wicked errors. The ceremony of degradation being over, the bishops delivered him to the emperor, who put him into the care of the duke of Bavaria. His books were consumed at the gates of the church; and on the 6th of July he was led to the suburbs of Constance to be burnt alive. When he had reached the place of execution, he fell on his knees, sung several portions of the Psalms, looked stedfastly towards heaven, and repeated, "Into thy hands, O Lord! do I commit my spirit: thou hast redeemed me, O most good and faithful God." As soon as the chain was put about him at the stake, he said, with a smiling countenance, "My Lord Jesus Christ was bound with a harder chain than this for my sake, why then should I be ashamed of this old

rusty one?" When the fagots were piled around him, the duke of Bavaria was so officious as to desire him to abjure. His noble reply was, "No, 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, (the name of Huss signifying goose in the Bohemian language,) but in a century you will have a swan whom you can neither roast nor boil." If this were spoken in prophecy, he must have meant Martin Luther, who shone about a hundred years after, and who had a swan for his arms—whether suggested by this circumstance or on account of family descent and heraldry is not known. As soon as the fagots were lighted, the heroic martyr sung a hymn, with so loud and cheerful a voice, that he was heard through all the crackling of the combustibles, and the noise of the multitude. At length his voice was interrupted by the flames, which soon put a period to his mortal life, and wafted his undying spirit, which no fire of earth could subdue or touch, to the regions of everlasting glory.

### SECTION III.

#### ACCOUNT OF THE GENERAL PERSECUTIONS IN GERMANY.

Martin Luther, by unmasking popery, and holding up to the long deluded world its deformity, and by the vigour with which he prosecuted his reforming career, caused the papal throne to shake to its foundation. So terrified was the pope at his rapid success, and the spreading of his truths, that he determined, in order to stop their career, to engage the emperor, Charles V, in his scheme of utterly extirpating all who had embraced the reformation. To accomplish if possible this desirable result, he gave the emperor two hundred thousand crowns in ready money; who was to maintain twelve thousand foot, and five thousand horse, for the space of six months, or during a campaign. He allowed the emperor to receive one half of the revenues of the clergy of the empire during the war; and permitted him to pledge the abbey-lands for five hundred thousand crowns, to assist in carrying on hostilities. Thus prompted and supported, the emperor, with a heart eager from interest and prejudice for the cause, undertook the extirpation of the protestants; and raised a formidable army for his purpose, which he distributed in the states of Germany, Italy, and Spain. Meanwhile the protestant princes were not idle; but formed a powerful confederacy, in order to repel the impending blow. A great army was raised, and the command given to the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse. The imperial forces were commanded by the emperor of Germany in person, and all Europe waited in anxious suspense the event of the war.

At length the armies met, and a desperate engagement ensued, in which the protestants were defeated, and the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse both taken prisoners. This calamitous stroke was succeeded by a horrid persecution, the severities of which were such, that lesser evils might in comparison be accounted happiness. A cave

appeared a palace, wild roots delicacies, and a rock a bed of down. Those who were taken experienced the most dreadful tortures that cruelty could invent; and by their constancy evinced, that a real Christian can encounter every difficulty, and despise every danger in the cause of truth. Among others, Henry Voes and John Esch were apprehended as protestants, and brought to examination: when Voes, answering for himself and his companion, gave the following replies to some questions asked by a priest, who examined them by order of the magistracy.

*Priest.* Were you not both, some years ago, Augustin friars?

*Voes.* Yes.

*Priest.* How came you to quit the bosom of the church of Rome?

*Voes.* On account of her abominations.

*Priest.* What do you believe?

*Voes.* The Old and New Testament.

*Priest.* Do you believe in the writings of the fathers, and the decrees of the councils?

*Voes.* Yes, so far as they accord 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 confession was deemed sufficient; they were both condemned to the flames, and soon after suffered, with the usual fortitude of real Christians.

An eloquent and pious preacher, named Henry Stutphen, was taken out of his bed at night, and compelled to walk barefoot a considerable way, so that his feet were terribly cut. On desiring a horse, his conductors said, in derision, "A horse for a heretic! no, no, heretics may go barefoot." On arriving at the place of his destination, he was condemned to be burnt; and while suffering in the flames, many indignities were offered him by those who attended, who cut and slashed him in a manner the most terrible. Many were murdered at Halle. Middleburg being taken by assault, all the protestants were put to the sword. Great numbers were also burned at Vienna. Peter Spengler, a divine, of the town of Schalet, was thrown into the river and drowned. Wolfgang Scuch and John Huglin, two worthy ministers, were burned. Leonard Keyser, a student of the university of Wirtemberg, and George Carpenter, a Bavarian, were hanged for refusing to renounce protestantism.

Persecution in Germany having been suspended many years, again broke out in 1630, on account of a war between the emperor and the king of Sweden; the latter being a protestant prince, the protestants of Germany in consequence espoused his cause, which greatly exasperated the emperor against them. The imperial army having laid siege to the town of Passewalk, then defended by the Swedes, took it by storm, and committed the most monstrous outrages on the buildings and people. They pulled down the churches, burnt the houses, pillaged the properties, massacred the ministers, put the garrison to the sword, hanged the townsmen, ravished the women, and smothered boys, girls, and infants.

In the year 1631, a most bloody scene transpired at the protestant

city of Magdeburg. The generals Tilly and Pappenheim having taken it by storm, upwards of 20,000 persons, without distinction of rank, sex, or age, were slain during the carnage, and 6,000 drowned in attempting to escape over the river Elbe. After which, the remaining inhabitants were stripped naked, severely scourged, had their ears cropped, and being yoked together like oxen, were turned adrift, or doomed to worse than the toil of beasts. On the popish army taking the town of Hoxter, all the inhabitants with the garrison were put to the sword. When the imperial forces prevailed at Griphenburg, they shut up the senators in the senate-chamber, and, surrounding it by lighted straw, suffocated them. Franhental, notwithstanding it surrendered upon articles of capitulation, suffered as cruelly as other places, and at Heidelberg many were shut up in prison and starved. In fact, to enumerate the various species of cruelty practised by the imperial troops, under count Tilly, would excite disgust and horror. That sanguinary monster, in his progress through Saxony, not only permitted every excess in his soldiers, but actually commanded them to put all their enormities in practice. Some of these are so unparalleled for indecency as well as atrocity, that they cannot with propriety be mentioned. Others, however, not chargeable with the former character, may be mentioned as shocking samples of the proficiency made by the papists of that day in the latter quality.

A band of soldiers, belonging to count Tilly, met with a company of merchants belonging to Basil, who were returning from the great market of Strasburg, and 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 most cowardly insults, leaving them desolate in an exposed part of their route, and compelling their coachman and protector to proceed onward without the power of returning to their relief. In fact, wherever Tilly came, the most horrid barbarities and cruel depredations ensued: famine and conflagration marked his progress. He destroyed all the provisions he could not take with him, and burnt all the towns before he left them; so that murder, poverty, and desolation followed him. In 1532, above 30,000 protestants were, contrary to the treaty of Westphalia, driven from the archbishopric of Saltzburg in the depth of winter, with scarce clothes to cover them, and without provisions. These poor people emigrated to various protestant countries, and settled in places where they could enjoy the exercise of their religion, free from popish superstition and papal despotism. Peace at length, chiefly through the mediation of England, was restored to Germany, and the protestants, for several years, enjoyed the free exercise of their religion.

## BOOK VII.

### SECTION I.

ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE, SUFFERINGS, AND MARTYRDOM OF JEROME OF PRAGUE, WHO WAS BURNT AT CONSTANCE, IN GERMANY, FOR MAINTAINING THE DOCTRINE OF WICKLIFFE.

This hero in the cause of truth was born at Prague, and educated in its university, where he soon became distinguished for his learning and eloquence. Having completed his studies, he travelled over great part of Europe, and visited many of the seats of learning, particularly the universities of Paris, Heidelberg, Cologne, and Oxford. At the latter he became acquainted with the works of Wickliffe, and being a person of uncommon application, he translated many of them into his own language, having with great pains made himself master of the English. On his return to Prague, he openly professed the doctrines of Wickliffe; and finding that they had made considerable progress in Bohemia, from the industry and zeal of Huss, he became his assistant in the great work.

On the 4th of April, A. D. 1415, Jerome went to Constance. This was about three months before the death of Huss. He entered the town privately, and consulting with some of the leaders of his party, was easily convinced that he could render his friend no service. Finding that his arrival at Constance was publicly known, and that the council intended to seize him, he prudently retired, and went to Iberling, an imperial town at a short distance. While here he wrote to the emperor, and avowed his readiness to appear before the council, if he would give a safe-conduct; this, however, was refused. He then applied to the council, but met with an answer equally unfavourable. After this, he caused papers to be put up in all the public places of Constance, particularly on the door of the cardinal's house. In these he professed his willingness to appear at Constance in the defence of his character and doctrine, both which he said had been greatly falsified. He farther declared, that if any error should be proved against him he would retract it; desiring only that the faith of the council might be given for his security.

Receiving no answer to these papers, he set out on his return to Bohemia, previously adopting the precaution to take with him a certificate signed by several of the Bohemian nobility then at Constance, testifying that he had used every prudent means in his power to procure an audience. Notwithstanding this he was seized on his way, without any authority, by an officer belonging to the duke of Sultzbach, who hoped thereby to receive commendations from the council for so acceptable a service. The duke of Sultzbach immediately wrote to the council, informing them what he had done, and asking directions how to proceed with Jerome. The council, after expressing their obligations to the duke, desired him to send the prisoner immediately to Constance. He was accordingly conveyed in irons, and, on his way, was met by the elector palatine, who caused a long chain to be fastened to Jerome, by which he was dragged like a wild beast to the cloister, whence, after some insults and examinations, he was conveyed to a tower, and fastened

to a block with his legs in the stocks. In this manner he remained eleven days and nights, till becoming dangerously ill, they, in order to satiate their malice still farther, relieved him from that painful state. He remained confined till the martyrdom of his friend Huss; after which he was brought forth and threatened with immediate torments and death if he remained obstinate. Terrified at the preparations of pain, in a moment of weakness he forgot his manliness and resolution, abjured his doctrines, and confessed that Huss merited his fate, and that both he and Wickliffe were heretics. In consequence of this his chains were taken off, and this harsh treatment done away. He was, however, still confined, with daily hopes of liberation. But his enemies suspecting his sincerity, another form of recantation was drawn up and proposed to him. He, however, refused to answer this, except in public, and was accordingly brought before the council, when, to the astonishment of his auditors, and to the glory of truth, he renounced his recantation, and requested permission to plead his own cause, which being refused, he thus vented his indignation:

“What barbarity is this? For three hundred and forty days have I been confined in a variety of prisons. There is not a misery, there is not a want, which I have not experienced. To my enemies you have allowed the fullest scope of accusation: to me, you deny the least opportunity of defence. Not an hour will you now indulge me in preparing for my trial. You have swallowed the blackest calumnies against me. You have represented me as a heretic, without knowing my doctrine; as an enemy to the faith, before you knew what faith I professed. You are a general council: in you centre all which 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, 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, the eloquence and force of which are worthy of the best ages, produced no effect on the obdurate foes of Jerome. They proceeded with his charge, which was reduced to five articles—That he was a derider of the papal dignity—an opposer of the pope himself—an enemy to the cardinals—a persecutor of the bishops—and a despiser of Christianity! To these charges Jerome answered with an amazing force of eloquence and strength of argument. “Now, whither shall I turn me? To my accusers? My accusers are as deaf as adders. To you, my judges? You are all prepossessed by the arts of my accusers.” After this speech he was immediately remanded to his prison. The third day from this his trial was brought on, 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 nearly a year shut up in loathsome dungeons, deprived of day-light, and almost starved for want of common necessaries. But his spirit soared above these disadvantages.

The most bigoted of the assembly were unwilling he should be heard, dreading the effects of eloquence in the cause of truth, on the minds of

the most prejudiced. This was such as to excite the envy of the greatest persons of his time. "Jerome," said Gerson, the chancellor of Paris, at his accusation, "when thou wast in Paris, thou wast thyself, by means of thine *eloquence* an angel; and didst trouble the whole university." At length it was carried by the majority, that he should have liberty to proceed in his defence; which he began in such an exalted strain, and continued with such a torrent of elocution, that the obdurate heart was seen to melt, and the mind of superstition seemed to admit a ray of conviction. He began to deduce from history the number of great and virtuous men who had, in their time, been condemned and punished as evil persons, but whom after generations had proved to have deserved honour and reward. 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, and upbraided his late and momentary weakness, which led him to deny himself and forget his glory. He entered on a high encomium on Huss; and declared he was ready to follow him to martyrdom. He then proceeded to defend the doctrines of the English luminary 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 abuses of the clergy he complained; and that 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 sensual and sordid gratification to "the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, and the pride of life," which the apostle expressly declares "are not of the Father, but of the world."

The trial being ended, Jerome received the same sentence as had been passed on his martyred countryman, and was, in the usual style of popish duplicity, delivered over to the civil power; but being a layman he had not to undergo the ceremony of degradation. His persecutors, however, prepared for him a cap of paper, painted with red devils, which being put upon his head, he said, "Our Lord Jesus Christ, when he suffered death for me a most miserable sinner, did wear a crown of thorns upon his head; and I, for his sake, will wear this adorning of derision and blasphemy." Two days they delayed the execution in hopes that he would recant; meanwhile the cardinal of Florence used his utmost endeavours to bring him over: but they all proved ineffectual: Jerome was resolved to seal his doctrine with his blood.

On his way to the place of execution he sung several hymns; and on arriving at the spot, the same where Huss had suffered, he kneeled down and prayed fervently. He embraced the stake with great cheerfulness and resolution; and when the executioner went behind him to set fire to the fagots, he said, "Come here, and kindle it before my eyes; for had I been afraid of it, I had not come here, having had so many opportunities to escape." When the flames began to envelope him, he sung another hymn; and the last words he was heard to say were,

"*Hanc animam in flammis affero, Christe, tibi !*"

"This soul in flames I offer, Christ, to thee!"

He was of a fine and manly form, and possessed a strong and healthy constitution, which served to render his death extremely painful, for he was observed to live an unusual time in the midst of the flames. He, however, sung till his aspiring soul took its flight from its mortal habitation, as in a fiery chariot, which seemed rather sent by God than prepared by man, to convey his blessed spirit from earth to heaven in the sight of a thousand witnesses.

## SECTION II.

### ACCOUNT OF PERSECUTIONS IN THE NETHERLANDS.

The glorious light of the gospel spreading over every part of the continent, and chasing thence the dark night of ignorance, increased the alarm of the pope, who urged the emperor, Charles the fifth, to commence a persecution against the protestants; when many thousands fell martyrs to superstitious malice and barbarous bigotry; among whom were the following:—

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

At Cologne there were two protestant clergymen burnt; a tradesman of Antwerp, named Nicholas, was tied up in a sack, thrown into the river and drowned; and Pistorious, an accomplished scholar and student, was carried to the market of a Dutch village in a fool’s coat, and burnt. A minister of the reformed church was ordered to attend the execution of sixteen protestants, who received sentence to be beheaded. This gentleman performed the important 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 remaining stroke 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, while many of the Roman



Catholics themselves reprobated this piece of treacherous and wanton barbarism.

George Scherter, a minister at Saltzburg, was apprehended and committed to prison for instructing his flock in the truth of the gospel. While in confinement he wrote a confession of his faith; soon after which he was condemned, first to be beheaded, and then to be burnt to ashes, which sentence was accordingly put in execution. Perceval, a learned man of Louviana, was murdered in prison; and Justus Insparg was beheaded merely for having Luther's sermons in his possession. A cutler of Brussels, Giles Telleman, a man of singular humanity and piety, was apprehended as a protestant, and many vain attempts were made by the monks to persuade him to recant. Once, by accident, a fair opportunity of escaping from prison offered itself, but of which he did not avail himself. Being asked the reason, he replied, "I would not do the keepers so much injury, as they must have answered for my absence had I escaped." When he was sentenced to be burnt, he fervently thanked God for granting him an opportunity by martyrdom to glorify his name. Observing at the place of execution a great quantity of fagots, he desired that 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 died with such composure that he hardly seemed sensible of pain.

In Flanders, in the years 1543 and 1544, persecutions raged with great violence. Many protestants were doomed to perpetual imprisonment, others to final banishment: while most were put to death either by hanging, drowning, immuring, burning, the rack, or burying alive. John de Boscane, a zealous protestant, was apprehended in the city of Antwerp on account of his faith. On his trial he undauntedly professed himself to be of the reformed religion, on which he was immediately condemned. The magistrate, however, was afraid to execute the sentence publicly, as Boscane was popular through his great generosity, and almost universally revered for his inoffensive life and exemplary piety. A private execution was therefore determined on, and an order was given to drown him in prison. The executioner accordingly forced him into a large tub; but Boscane struggling, and getting his head above the water, the brutal wretch stabbed him in several places with a dagger till he expired. John de Boisons was about the same time secretly apprehended. In this city the number of protestants, being great, and the prisoner much respected, the magistrates, fearful of an insurrection, ordered him to be beheaded in prison.

In the year 1568 were apprehended at Antwerp, Scoblant, Hues, and Coomans. While under confinement they behaved with great fortitude. In an epistle to some protestant brethren they expressed 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 council 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 comfort-

less 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 alarmed for us, we are happy 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 blest 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." If eloquence of sentiment and language could have obtained remission or respite, these wise and holy men had not suffered: but their foes were as relentless as they were pious and prepared for death.

The first brought to trial was Scoblant, who, persisting in his faith, received sentence of death. On his return to prison, he requested the gaoler not to permit any friar to come near him, saying, "They can do me no good, but may greatly disturb me. I hope my salvation is already sealed in Heaven, and that the blood of Christ, in which I firmly put my trust, hath cleansed me from mine iniquities. I am going to throw off this mantle of clay, to be clad in robes of eternal glory. I hope I may be the last martyr of papal tyranny, and that the blood already spilt will be found sufficient to quench its thirst of cruelty; that the church of Christ may have rest here, as his servants will hereafter." On the day of execution he took a pathetic leave of his fellow-prisoners. At the stake he uttered with great fervency the Lord's prayer, and sung the 40th Psalm: he died commending his soul to God.

A short time after, Hues died in prison; upon which occasion Coomans thus vents his mind to his friends: "I am now deprived of my friends and companions. Scoblant is martyred, and Hues dead, by the visitation of the Lord; yet I am not alone: I have with me the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob; he is my comfort, and shall be my reward." At his trial Hues had freely confessed himself of the reformed religion, and answered with a manly firmness to every charge brought against him, proving his doctrine from the gospel. "And will you die for the same faith?" asked the judge of the surviving brother of this holy band. "I am not only willing to die," replied Coomans, "but also to suffer the utmost stretch of inventive cruelty for it: after which my soul shall receive its confirmation from God himself, in the midst of eternal glory." Being condemned, he went cheerfully to the place of execution, and died with singular christian fortitude and resignation.

Baltazar Gerard, a native of Franche Comté, a bigoted and furious Roman catholic, thinking to advance his fortune and his cause by one desperate act, resolved upon the assassination of the prince of Orange. Having provided himself with fire arms, he watched the prince as he passed through the great hall of his palace to dinner, and demanded a passport. The princess of Orange, observing in his tone of voice and manner something confused and singular, asked who he was, saying, she did not like his countenance. The prince answered, it was one that demanded a passport which he should presently have. Nothing farther transpired till after dinner, when on the return of the prince and princess through the same hall, the assassin, from behind one of the pillars, fired at the prince; the ball entering at the left side, and passing through

the right, wounded in its passage the stomach and vital parts. The prince had only power to say, "Lord, have mercy upon my soul, and upon this poor people," and immediately expired.

The death of this virtuous prince, who was considered the father of his people, spread universal sorrow through the United Provinces. The assassin was immediately taken, and received sentence to be put to death in the most exemplary manner; yet such was his enthusiasm and blindness for his crime, that while suffering for it, he coolly said, "Were I at liberty I would repeat the same." The funeral of the prince of Orange was the grandest ever seen in the Low Countries, and the sorrow for his death perhaps the most sincere that ever attended a royal corpse to the tomb. In different parts of Flanders numbers fell victims to popish jealousy and cruelty. In the city of Valence, in particular, fifty-seven principal inhabitants were butchered in one day, for refusing to embrace the papal superstition; besides great numbers who suffered in confinement, and perished through the hardships of their cruel captivity.

### SECTION III.

#### ACCOUNT OF PERSECUTIONS IN LITHUANIA.

The persecutions of Lithuania began in 1648, and were carried on with great severity by the Cossacs and Tartars. The cruelty of the Cossacs was such that the Tartars at last revolted from it, and rescued some of the intended victims from their hands. The Russian troops, perceiving the devastations which had been made in the country, and its incapability of defence, entered it with a considerable force, and carried ruin wherever they went. Every thing they met with was devoted to destruction. The ministers of the gospel were peculiarly singled out as the objects of their hatred, while every Christian was liable to their barbarity. Lithuania no sooner recovered itself from one persecution, than succeeding enemies again reduced it. The Swedes, the Prussians, and the Courlanders, carried fire and sword through it, and continual calamities for some years attended that unhappy district. It was afterwards attacked by the prince of Transylvania, who had in his army, exclusive of his own people, Hungarians, Moldavians, Servians, and Walachians. These, as far as they penetrated, wasted the country, destroyed the churches, rifled the nobility, burnt the houses, villages, and towns, murdering all classes of the inhabitants without distinction or mercy.

One divine, writing an account of the misfortunes in Lithuania, in the seventeenth century, uses this sympathetic language: "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 through 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 who are left, deprive us of our few churches, banish our preachers, abuse our schoolmasters, treat us with contempt, and oppress us in the most degraded 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 excite the sympathy of our fellow Christians."

In no part have the followers of Christ been exempt from the rage and bitterness of their enemies; and well have they experienced the force of those scripture truths, that "they who will live godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution," and those who are born after the flesh have always been enemies to such as are born after the spirit. Accordingly the protestants of Poland suffered in a dreadful manner. The ministers especially were treated with the most unexampled barbarism: some having their tongues cut out because they had preached the gospel of salvation; others being deprived of their sight on account of having read the Bible; and great numbers were cut to pieces for avowing their resolution not to recant. Several persons were privately put to death by various methods; the most cruel being usually preferred. Women were murdered without the least regard to their sex; and some persecutors went so far as to cut off the heads of sucking babes, and fasten them to the breasts of their unfortunate mothers! Even the habitations of the dead escaped not the malice of these hardened men; for they sacrilegiously exhumed the bodies of many eminent persons, and either cut them to pieces and exposed them to be devoured by birds and beasts, or hung them up in the most conspicuous places for public derision. The city of Lesna particularly suffered at this period: on its being captured the inhabitants were exiled or exterminated without remorse.

#### SECTION IV.

##### ACCOUNT OF PERSECUTIONS IN CHINA.

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

The zeal displayed by these missionaries in the discharge of their undertaking was very great; but Roger and Pasis in a few years returning to Europe, the whole labour devolved upon Ricci. His perseverance was singly proportioned to the arduous task he had in hand. Though disposed to indulge his converts as far as possible, he was reluctant to allow those ceremonies which seemed idolatrous. At length, after eighteen years labour and reflection, he began to soften his opinion, and tolerated all those customs which were ordered by the laws of the empire, but strictly enjoined his converts to omit the rest; and

thus, by not resisting too much, he succeeded in bringing over many Chinese to the truth. In 1630, however, his tranquillity was disturbed by the arrival of some new missionaries; who, being unacquainted with the Chinese customs, manners, and language, and with the limited extent of Ricci's toleration, were astonished when they saw christian converts fall prostrate before Confucius and the tables of their ancestors, and accordingly exclaimed against the inconsistency. This occasioned a warm controversy between Ricci, seconded by his converts, and the new missionaries; and not coming to any agreement, the latter wrote an account of the affair to the pope, and the society for the propagation of the christian faith. They soon pronounced that the ceremonies were idolatrous and intolerable, and the sentence was confirmed by the papal seal. In this both the society and the pope were excusable, the matter having 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 the sacrifices to idols.

The sentence was sent over to China, where it was received with great contempt, and matters remained in the same state for some time. At length a true representation was sent over, explaining that the Chinese customs and ceremonies alluded to were entirely free from idolatry, being merely political, and tending only to the peace and welfare of the empire. The pope finding that he had not weighed the affair with due consideration, sought to extricate himself from the difficulty in which he had been so precipitately entangled; he therefore referred the affair to the inquisition, which immediately reversed the sentence, at the desire of the pope. The christian church, notwithstanding these divisions, flourished in China till the death of the first Tartár emperor, whose successor was a minor. During the minority of the young emperor Cang-hi, the regents and nobles conspired to crush the christian religion. The execution of this design was accordingly begun with expedition, and carried on with severity, so that every christian teacher in China, as well as those who professed the faith, were surprised at the suddenness of the event. John Adam Schall, a German ecclesiastic, and one of the principals of the mission, was thrown into a dungeon in the year 1664, but narrowly escaped with his life, being then in the seventy-fourth year of his age.

In 1665, the ensuing year, the ministers of state publicly and unanimously resolved and decreed—That the christian doctrines were false. That they were dangerous to the interest of the empire. That they should not be practised under pain of death. The result of this decree was a most furious persecution, in which some christians were put to death, many ruined, and all in some manner oppressed. Previous to this the christians had partially suffered; but the decree being general, persecution now spread its ravages over the whole empire wherever its objects were scattered, and a single christian convert could be traced. Four years after the young emperor was declared of age, and took the reins of government upon himself; and one of the first acts of his reign was to stop this persecution, though his attachment to christianity was more than doubtful.

## ACCOUNT OF PERSECUTIONS IN JAPAN.

The first introduction of christianity into the idolatrous empire of Japan took place in the year 1552, when some Portuguese missionaries commenced their endeavours to make converts to the truth of the gospel, and met with a degree of success that amply compensated their labours. They continued to augment the number of their proselytes till the year 1616, when being accused of having concerned themselves in politics, and formed a plan to subvert the government and dethrone the emperor, great jealousies arose and prevailed till 1622, when the court commenced a dreadful persecution against both foreign and native Christians. Such was the rage of this persecution, that during the first four years upwards of ten thousand victims were offered up to the demon of the most cruel superstition that ever degraded and oppressed the world. Death was the consequence of a single avowal of christianity, and all christian churches were shut up by order of government. Many, on a discovery of their religion by spies and informers, suffered martyrdom with great heroism. The persecution continued several years, when the remnant of the Christians with which Japan abounded, retired to the town and castle of Siniabara, in the island of Xinio, where they determined to make a stand, to continue in their faith, and to defend themselves to the very last extremity. To this place the Japanese army followed them, and laid siege to the fortress. The Christians defended themselves with great bravery, and held out against the besiegers three months; but were at length compelled to surrender, when men, women, and children, were indiscriminately murdered. This event took place on the 12th of April, 1638, since which few Christians except the Dutch have been allowed to land in the empire, and even they are obliged to conduct themselves with the greatest caution, and to carry on their commerce, and especially observe their religion, with the utmost circumspection.

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 BOOK VIII.

CONTAINING INTERESTING PARTICULARS OF THE PERSECUTION OF  
PROTESTANTS IN DIFFERENT FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

## SECTION I.

SUMMARY OF PERSECUTIONS AGAINST THE CHRISTIANS  
IN ABYSSINIA.

ABOUT the end of the fifteenth century, some Portuguese missionaries made a voyage to Abyssinia, and began to propagate the Roman catholic doctrines among the people of that interesting country, many of whom already professed the tenets and ceremonies of a purer christianity.

The priests gained such influence at court, that the emperor consented to abolish the established rites of the Ethiopian church, and to admit those of Rome; and soon after consented to receive a patriarch from the pope, and to acknowledge his supremacy. This innovation, however, did not take place without great opposition. Several of the most powerful lords, and a majority of the people who professed the primitive christianity, as at first established in Abyssinia, took up arms in their defence against the emperor. Thus, by the artifices of the court of Rome and its emissaries, the whole empire was thrown into commotion, and a war commenced which was carried on through the reign of many emperors, and which ceased not for above a century and a half. All this time the Roman catholics were strengthened by the power of the court, by means of which conjunction the primitive Christians of Abyssinia were severely persecuted, and multitudes perished by the hands of their inhuman enemies.

There is a striking contrast between the persecutions in Abyssinia and those in Japan, which the careful reader will on no account overlook. In Japan they were catholics who were the victims of pagan cruelty, and suffered under a superstition more gross and cruel than their own. But in Abyssinia the catholics were, as in most other instances which have been detailed, the aggressors; and a purer class of christians than themselves were the sufferers from their malice and policy, their jealousy and barbarity. When we witness the unrelenting and almost universal propensity of catholics to persecute whatever classes of christians may chance or choose to differ from them, we scarcely feel regret that they sometimes are made to drink of the bitter cup they force into the hands of others. A general lesson is, however, here taught to all—that in proportion as worldly and selfish maxims mingle themselves with religion, will that religion be perverted to an engine of mischief and misery, instead of benefit and happiness.

#### SUMMARY OF PERSECUTIONS AGAINST THE CHRISTIANS IN TURKEY.

The arch impostor Mahomet<sup>w</sup> in his early career affected to respect the Christians. But no sooner was his power established, than he displayed himself in his true colours as their determined and sanguinary enemy. This he proved by his persecution of them in his life-time, and by commanding that persecution to be continued by his deluded followers,

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

in his Alcoran, particularly in that part entitled, "The Chapter of the Sword." From him the Turks received their religion, which they still maintain. Mahomet and his descendants, in the space of thirty years, subdued Arabia, Palestine, Phœnicia, Syria, Egypt, and Persia. They soon, however, broke into divisions and wars amongst themselves. But the princes of the Saracens, assuming the title of sultan, continued their rule over Syria, Egypt, and Africa, for the space of about 400 years, when the Saracen king of Persia commenced war against the Saracen sultan of Babylon, and the latter brought to his aid the Turks. These feeling their own strength, soon turned their arms against their masters, and by the valour of Ottomanus, from whom are descended the present family who fill the Turkish throne, they soon subdued them and established their empire.

Constantinople, after having been for many ages an imperial christian city, was invested in the year 1453, by the Turks under Mahomet the second, the ninth of the Ottoman race, and who, before his death, subdued all Greece. His army consisted of 300,000 men, and, after a bloody siege of six weeks, it fell into the hands of the infidels; and the Turks have, to this day, retained possession of it. About fifteen years before this event took place, the city had yielded the liberties of its church to the pope of Rome. A manifest want of patriotism was evinced in the inhabitants, who, instead of bringing forth their treasures to the public service and defence of the place, buried them in vast heaps; inso-much that when Mahomet, suspecting the case, commanded the earth to be dug up. Finding immense hoards, he exclaimed, "How was it that this place lacked ammunition and fortification amongst such abundance of riches?" The Turks in plundering found a crucifix, in the high temple of Sophia, on the head of which they wrote, "This is the God of the Christians," and then carried it by the sound of a trumpet round the city, and exposed it to the contempt of the soldiers, every one of whom was commanded to spit upon it. They no sooner found themselves masters of the city than they began to exercise on its inhabitants the most unremitting barbarities, destroying them by every method of ingenious cruelty. Three days and nights was the city given to spoil, when the soldiers were licensed to commit any enormity. The body of the emperor being found among the slain, Mahomet commanded his head to be stuck on a spear, and carried round the city for the mockery of the soldiers. The savage emperor of the Turks, every day before he rose from his dinner, had 300 nobles slain before his face, and so continued till they were all killed, while he gave up the rest of the inhabitants to the brutal lusts of his troops.\*

\* A story is related by Leonicus Chancoldina respecting the barbarity of this monster, which we cannot forbear to give. While at Constantinople, his general Omar sent him from Methone 500 christian prisoners. Mahomet commanded them to be cut asunder, and cast into the fields. While lying in this state, an ox feeding there appeared affected at the horrid spectacle, and after bellowing some time, ran to one of the dead halves, and lifting it upon his horns, conveyed it to the other part of the body, and placed the severed parts together in order to join them. This was witnessed by some persons, who conveyed the intelligence to Mahomet, who insisted on seeing it himself, and accordingly ordered the parts to be separated, when the animal again performed the same wonderful action, to the utter astonishment of the brutal Turk.



About the year 1521, Solyman the first took Belgrade from the Christians. Two years after, with a fleet of 450 ships, and an army of 300,000 men, he attacked Rhodes, then defended by the knights of Jerusalem. These heroes resisted the infidels till all their buildings were levelled with the ground, their provisions exhausted, and their ammunition spent, when finding no succours from Christian princes, they surrendered, the siege having lasted about six months, in which the Turks suffered prodigiously, no less than 30,000 of them having died by a bloody flux. After this Solyman retook Buda from the Christians, in which place he let loose the reins of cruelty. The inhabitants were cruelly maimed and mutilated; women as well as men suffered the greatest indignity and misery, and even children were cast out into the deserts to starve and perish!

Mad with conquest, Solyman now proceeded westward to Vienna, glutting himself with slaughter on his march, and vainly hoping in a short time to lay all Europe at his feet, and to banish christianity from the earth. Having pitched his tent before the walls of the city, he sent three christian prisoners to terrify the citizens with an account of the strength of his army, while many more, whom he had taken in his march, he had torn asunder by horses. Happily for the Germans, three days only before the arrival of the Turks, the earl palatine Frederic, to whom was assigned the defence of Vienna, had entered it with 14,000 chosen veterans, besides a considerable body of horse. Solyman sent a summons for the city to surrender; but the Germans defying him, he instantly commenced the seige. It has before been observed that the religion of Mahomet promises to all soldiers who die in battle, whatever be their crimes, immediate admission to the joys of paradise. Hence arises that fierce temerity they usually display in fighting. They began with a most tremendous cannonade, and made many attempts to take the city by assault; but the steady valour of the Germans was superior to their enemies. Solyman, filled with indignation at this unusual check to his fortune, determined to exert every power to effect his project: to this end he planted his ordnance before the king's gate, and battered it with such violence that a breach was soon made; whereon the Turks, under cover of the smoke, poured in torrents into the city, and the soldiers began to give up all for lost. But the officers, with admirable presence of mind, causing great acclamations to be made in the city, as if fresh troops had just arrived, their garrison was inspired with fresh courage, while the Turks being seized with a panic, precipitately fled, and in the rush to escape overthrew each other, by which means the city was saved from destruction.

Grown desperate by resistance, Solyman resolved upon another attempt, by undermining the Corinthian gate. Accordingly he set his Illyrians to work, who were expert at this mode of warfare. They succeeded in reaching under ground to the foundations of the tower; but being discovered by the wary citizens, they, with amazing activity and diligence, countermined them; and having prepared a train of gunpowder, even to the trenches of the enemy, they set fire to it, and by that means rendered abortive their attempts, and blew up about 8000 of them, a large majority of whom were destroyed. Foiled in every

attempt, the courage of the Turkish chief degenerated into madness: he ordered his men to scale the walls, in which attempt they were destroyed by thousands, their very numbers serving to their own defeat, till, at length, the valour of his troops fainted; and, dreading the hardihood of their European adversaries, they began to refuse obedience. Sickness also seized their camp, and numbers perished from famine; for German vigilance had found means to cut off their supplies. Captain Rogendorffius, a brave and generous soldier, had in a sally slain about 5000 Turks whom he had perceived from the walls estranged from the camp. Foiled in every attempt, dispirited in his prospects, Solyman at length, after having lost above 80,000 men, resolved to abandon his enterprise. He accordingly put this resolve in execution, and, sending his baggage before him, proceeded homewards with the utmost expedition, thus freeing Europe from the impending terror of universal Mahometanism.

#### PERSECUTIONS AND OPPRESSIONS IN GEORGIA, MINGRELIA, AND THE STATES OF BARBARY.

The Georgians are Christians, and being remarkable for their beauty, the Turks and Persians strove to enslave them by the most ingenious and cruel methods. Instead of taking money for their taxations, they compelled them to deliver up their children for the following motives:— the females for concubines in the seraglios, as maids of honour to sultanas, to be ladies of bashaws, or sold to merchants of different nations, who proportioned their price according to the beauty of the devoted fair; the boys were taken for mutes and eunuchs in the seraglio, as clerks in the offices of state, and for soldiers in the army. Westward of Georgia is Mingrelia, a country likewise inhabited by Christians, who underwent the same persecutions and rigours as the Georgians by the Turks and Persians; their children were torn from them, or they were murdered for refusing to consent to the sale.

In a history like the present it is some relief to find that persecuting cruelty was in no age confined to Christians and pagans: the Mahometans, whenever they had occasion thus to advance the credit of their prophet, and extend the influence of their opinions, did not scruple to adopt every device and inflict every barbarity that depraved minds could stand the chance of turning to a successful account. That community which promised the greatest measure of earthly enjoyment, as the consummation of its system and the recompense of its devotees, with a malignant consistency strove to inflict the greatest sum of earthly misery on such as would not yield to their power, or dared to controvert their licentious creed.

In no part of the globe are Christians so hated, or treated with such severity, as at Algiers. The conduct of the Algerines towards them is marked with extreme perfidy and cruelty. By paying a most exorbitant fine, some are allowed the title of *free* Christians: these are permitted to dress in the fashion of their respective countries; but the christian slaves are obliged to wear a coarse grey suit, a seaman's cap, and often a more marked and degrading badge of slavery.

The following are the various punishments exercised towards them: If they join any of the natives in open rebellion, they are strangled with a bow-string, or hanged on an iron hook. If they speak against Mahomet, they must become Mahometans, or be impaled alive. If they profess Christianity, after having changed to the Mahometan persuasion, they are roasted alive, or thrown from the city walls, and caught upon large sharp hooks, on which they hang till they expire. If they kill a Turk they are burnt. If ever they attempt to escape and are retaken, they 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 through the palm of one hand, and the other through the sole of the opposite foot, where he is left till death relieves him. Other punishments for crimes committed by the Christians are left to the discretion of the judges, who usually decree tortures the most barbarous.<sup>7</sup>

At Tunis, if a Christian is caught in attempting to escape, his limbs are all broken; and if he slay his master, he is fastened to the tail of a horse, and dragged about the streets till he expires. Fez and Morocco conjointly form an empire, and are the most considerable of the Barbary States. There Christian slaves are treated with the greatest rigour; the rich have exorbitant ransoms imposed upon them; the poor are hard worked and half starved, and sometimes they are murdered by royal command or by their task-masters' barbarity. These cruelties, however, have long diminished, and after the example of Algiers, will no doubt soon cease, even without European interference.

## SECTION II.

### ACCOUNT OF PERSECUTIONS IN CALABRIA.

About the 14th century, a great many Waldenses of Pragela and Dauphiny emigrated to Calabria, where, having received permission to settle in some waste lands, they soon, by industrious cultivation, converted several wild and barren spots into beauty and fertility. The nobles of Calabria were highly pleased with their new vassals and tenants, finding them honest, quiet, and industrious; but the priests, filled with jealousy, soon exhibited several negative complaints against them, charging them with not being Roman catholics, not making any of their boys priests, not creating any of their girls nuns, not going to mass, not giving wax tapers to the altars as offerings, not going on pilgrimages, and not bowing to images. To these accusations the Calabrian lords replied, that the people were extremely harmless, giving no offence to the Roman catholics, but cheerfully paying tithes to the priests, whose revenues were considerably increased by their coming into the country, and who, consequently, ought to be the very last persons to make a complaint.

<sup>7</sup> It is gratifying to remark that all cruelties towards Christians in Algiers are now at an end. Lord Exmouth's capture of the city in 1816, put a stop to the barbarous system; and now French colonization affords a pledge that it will never revive.

The Calabrian priesthood being thus silenced, things went on peaceably for a few years, during which the Waldenses formed themselves into two corporate towns, annexing several villages to their jurisdiction. At length they sent to Geneva for two clergymen, one to minister in each town. This being known, intelligence was conveyed to pope Pius the fourth, who determined to exterminate them from Calabria without further delay. To this end cardinal Alexandrino, a man of violent temper and a furious bigot, was sent with two monks to Calabria, where they were to act as inquisitors. These authorized persons came to St. Xist, one of the towns built by the Waldenses, where having assembled the people, they told them that they should receive no injury if they would accept of preachers appointed by the pope; but if they refused they should be deprived both of their property and lives; and that to prove them, mass should be publicly said that afternoon, at which they must attend.

The inhabitants of St. Xist, instead of obeying, fled with their families into the woods, and thus disappointed the cardinal and his coadjutors. Then they proceeded to La Garde, the other town belonging to the Waldenses, where, to avoid a similar dilemma, they ordered the gates to be locked, and all avenues guarded. The same proposals were however made to them as had been made to the people of St. Xist; but with this artifice: the cardinal assured them that the inhabitants of St. Xist had immediately acceded to his proposals, and agreed that the pope should appoint them preachers. This falsehood succeeded; for the people of La Garde thinking what the cardinal had told them to be truth, said they would exactly follow the example of their brethren at St. Xist.

Having thus gained his point by falsehood, he sent for two troops with a view to massacre the people of St. Xist. He commanded the soldiers into the woods, to hunt them down like wild beasts, and gave strict orders to spare neither age nor sex, but to kill all they came near. The troops in obedience entered the woods, and many poor Xistians fell a prey to their ferocity, before the Waldenses were apprized of their design. At length, however, they determined to sell their lives as dear as possible, when several conflicts happened, in which the half-armed Waldenses performed prodigies of valour, and many were slain on both sides. At length, the greater part of the troops being killed in the different rencounters, the remainder were compelled to retreat, which so enraged the cardinal that he wrote to the viceroy of Naples for reinforcements.

The viceroy, in obedience, proclaimed throughout the Neapolitan territories, that all out-laws, deserters, and other proscribed persons, should be freely pardoned for their several offences, on condition of making a campaign against the inhabitants of St. Xist, and of continuing under arms till they were destroyed. On this several persons of desperate fortune came in, and being formed into light companies, were sent to scour the woods, and put to death all they could meet with of the reformed religion. The viceroy himself joined the cardinal, at the head of a body of regular forces, and in conjunction strove completely to accomplish their bloody purpose. Some they caught, and

suspending them upon trees, cut down boughs and burnt them, or left their bodies to be devoured by beasts or birds of prey. Many they shot at a distance; but the greatest number they hunted down by way of sport. A few escaped into caves; where famine destroyed them in their retreat. The inhuman chase was continued till all these people perished.

The inhabitants of St. Xist being exterminated, those of La Garde engaged the attention of the cardinal and viceroy. The fullest protection was offered to them, their families, and their children, if they would embrace the Roman catholic religion. On the contrary, if they refused this mercy, as they insolently termed it, the utmost extremities would be used, and the most cruel death be the certain consequences of refusal. Notwithstanding promises on one side, and menaces on the other, the Waldenses unanimously refused to renounce their religion, or embrace the errors of popery. The cardinal and viceroy were so filled with rage at this, that they ordered thirty of them to be put immediately to the rack, as a terror to the rest. Several of these died under the torture: one Charlin, in particular, was so cruelly used that his body burst, his bowels came out, and he expired in the greatest agonies. These barbarities did not answer the end for which they were intended; for those who survived the torments of the rack, and those who had not felt it, remained equally constant to their faith, and boldly declared, that nothing, either of pain or fear, should ever induce them to renounce their God, or bow down to idols. The effect of this upon the obdurate cardinal was, that he ordered several of them to be stripped naked, and whipped to death with iron rods: some were hewn to pieces with swords; others were thrown from the top of a high tower; and many were covered with pitch and burnt alive.

One of the monks who attended the cardinal discovered a most inhuman and diabolical nature. He requested that he might shed some of the blood of these poor people with his own hands; his request being granted, the barbarous man took a sharp knife, and cut the throats of fourscore men, women, and children. The four principal men of La Garde were hanged, and the clergyman was thrown from the top of his church steeple. He was dreadfully crushed, but not quite killed by the fall. The viceroy being present, said, "Is the dog yet living? Take him up, and cast him to the swine;" and the brutal sentence was actually put in execution. The monsters, in their hellish thirst of cruelty, racked sixty of the women with such severity that the cords pierced their limbs to the bone. They were then remanded to prison, where their wounds mortified, and they died in the most miserable manner. Many others were put to death by various means; and so jealous and arbitrary were those monsters, that if any Roman catholic more compassionate than the rest interceded for any of the reformed, he was immediately apprehended, and sacrificed as a favourer of heretics.

The viceroy being obliged to return to Naples, and the cardinal having been recalled to Rome, the marquis of Butiane was commissioned to complete what they had begun; which he at length effected, by acting with such barbarous rigour, that there was not a single person of the reformed religion left in all Calabria. Thus were great numbers of inoffensive and harmless people deprived of their possessions, robbed of

their property, driven from their homes, and at length murdered by various means, only because they would not sacrifice their consciences to the superstitions of others, embrace doctrines which they abhorred, and attend to teachers whom they could not believe. In the year 1783 a tremendous earthquake happened in Calabria, which quite changed the face of the country, and destroyed between 40 and 50,000 inhabitants. We would not deal damnation on any land; still less on each individual whom we should, in a moment of provocation, deem the foe of God: but not to observe in this awful desolation the retributive justice of the Most High would be a criminal oversight.

### SECTION III.

#### ACCOUNT OF PERSECUTIONS IN THE VALLEYS OF PIEDMONT.

The Waldenses, in consequence of the continued persecutions they met with in France, fled for refuge to various parts of the world; among other places, many of them sought an asylum in the valleys of Piedmont, where they increased and flourished exceedingly for a considerable time. Notwithstanding their harmless behaviour, inoffensive conversation, and punctuality in paying tithes to the Romish clergy, the latter could not be contented, but sought to give them disturbance; and accordingly complained to the archbishop of Turin, that the Waldenses of the valleys of Piedmont were heretics. The clerical reasons for this charge were—that they did not believe in the doctrines of the church of Rome; that they made no offerings or prayers for the dead; that they did not go to mass; and that they neither confessed nor received absolution; neither did they believe in purgatory, or pay money to get the souls of their friends out of it. Upon these self-evident charges, the archbishop ordered a persecution to be commenced, in consequence of which many fell martyrs to the superstitious rage of the monks and priests.

At Turin, one of the reformed had his bowels torn out and placed before his face, 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 were oppressed or put to death, till, wearied with their sufferings, the Waldenses flew to arms in their defence, and formed themselves into regular bodies. Full of revenge at this, the archbishop of Turin procured a number of troops, and sent against them; but in most of the skirmishes the Waldenses were victorious; for they knew, if they were taken, they should not be considered as prisoners of war, but be tortured to death as heretics.

Philip the Seventh was at this time duke of Savoy and supreme lord

of Piedmont. He determined at length to interpose his authority, and stop these bloody wars, which so disturbed his dominions. Unwilling to offend the pope or the archbishop, he nevertheless sent them both messages, importing, that he could not any longer tamely see his dominions over-run with troops, who were commanded by prelates in the place of generals; nor would he suffer his country to be depopulated, while he himself had not been even consulted upon the occasion. The priests, perceiving the determination of the duke, had recourse to their usual artifice, and endeavoured 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 was therefore determined they should be persecuted no longer. The priests then vented the most palpable and absurd falsehoods: they assured the duke that he was mistaken in the Waldenses, for they were a wicked set of people, and highly addicted to intemperance, uncleanness, blasphemy, adultery, incest, and many other abominable crimes; and that they were even monsters in nature, for their children were born in forms which shewed that they were scarcely human beings. But the duke was not so to be imposed upon, though the priests affirmed in the most solemn manner the truth of what they had said. In order to be convinced, Philip sent twelve learned gentlemen into the Piedmontese valleys to examine into the real characters of the people.

These gentlemen, after travelling through all the towns and villages, and conversing with the Waldenses of every rank, returned to the duke, and gave him the most favourable account of them; affirming, before the faces of the priests, that they were harmless, inoffensive, loyal, friendly, industrious, and pious; that they abhorred the crimes of which they were accused; and that should an individual, through his depravity, fall into any of those crimes, he would, by their laws, be punished in the most exemplary manner. With respect to the children, of whom the priests had told the most gross and ridiculous falsities, they were as fine children as could be seen. "And to convince your highness of what we have said," continued one of the gentlemen, "we have brought twelve of the principal male inhabitants, who are come to ask pardon in the name of the rest, for having taken up arms without your leave, though even in their own defence, and to preserve their lives from their merciless enemies. We have likewise brought several women, with children of various ages, that your highness may have an opportunity of judging for yourself." His highness then accepted the apology of the twelve delegates, conversed with the women, and examined the children, and afterwards graciously dismissed them. He then commanded the priests, who had attempted to mislead him, immediately to leave the court; and gave strict orders, that the persecution should cease throughout his dominions."

During the reign of this virtuous prince, the Waldenses enjoyed repose in their retreats; but on his death this happy scene changed, for his successor happened to be a bigoted papist. About the same time, some of the principal Waldenses proposed that their clergy should preach in public, that every one might know the purity of their doctrines; for hitherto they had preached only in private, and to such congregations

as they well knew to consist of none but persons of the reformed religion. As yet they possessed only the New Testament and a few books of the Old, in their own language. Anxious to have the whole of these important treasures of truth and wisdom, they employed a Swiss printer to furnish them with a complete edition in the Waldensian tongue, for which they paid him 1500 crowns of gold.

When tidings of these things reached the ears of the new duke, he was greatly exasperated, and sent a considerable body of troops into the valleys, swearing, that if the people would not conform to the Roman faith, he would have them flayed alive. The commander of the troops soon found the impracticability of conquering them with the number of men then under him: he, therefore, sent word to the duke, that the idea of subjugating the Waldenses with so small a force was ridiculous; that they were better acquainted with the country than any that were with him; that they had secured all the passes, were well armed, and determined to defend themselves; and, with respect to flaying them alive, he said that every skin he tore off would cost him the lives of a dozen of his subjects. Alarmed at this, the duke commanded the troops to return, determining to act by stratagem. He, therefore, ordered rewards for taking any of the Waldenses, who might be found straying from their places of security; and these, when taken, were either flayed alive or burnt.

Pope Paul the Third, a furious bigot, ascending the pontifical chair, immediately solicited the parliament of Turin to persecute the Waldenses, as the most pernicious of all heretics. To this the parliament readily assented, when several were suddenly seized and burnt by their order. Among these was Bartholomew Hector, a bookseller and stationer of Turin. He was brought up a Roman catholic, but some treatises written by the reformed clergy having fallen into his hands, he was fully convinced of their truth, and of the errors of the church of Rome; yet his mind was for some time wavering between fear and duty, when, after some serious consideration, he fully embraced the reformed religion, and was apprehended and burnt.

A consultation was again held by the parliament of Turin, in which it was agreed, that deputies should be sent to the valleys of Piedmont with the following propositions: That if the Waldenses would return to the bosom of the church of Rome, they should enjoy their houses, properties, and lands, and live with their families, without the least molestation. 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. That the pope, the king of France, and the duke of Savoy, approved of, and authorised the proceedings of the parliament of Turin, upon this occasion. That if the Waldenses of Piedmont rejected these propositions, persecution and death should be their reward.

In answer to these hostile articles, the Waldenses made the following noble replies: That no consideration whatever should make them renounce their religion. That they would never consent to entrust their best and most respectable friends to the custody and discretion of their worst enemies. That they valued the approbation of the King of kings



who reigns in Heaven, more than any temporal authority. That their souls were more precious than their bodies, and would receive as they deserved, their supreme regard and care.

As might be conjectured, this spirited and pointed answer greatly exasperated the parliament of Turin; in consequence of which they continued, with more avidity than ever, to secure such Waldenses as fell into their hands, and who were sure to suffer the most cruel deaths. Among these they caught Jeffrey Varnagle, minister of Angrogne, whom they accused as a heretic, and committed to the flames. They soon after solicited from the king of France a considerable body of troops, in order to exterminate the reformed from the valleys of Piedmont; but just as the troops were about to march, the protestant princes of Germany interposed, and threatened to send troops to assist the Waldenses. On this the king of France, not caring to enter into a war, remanded the troops, and sent word to the parliament of Turin, that he could not spare them at present to act in Piedmont. At this those sanguinary senators were greatly disappointed, and through want of power the persecution gradually ceased, and they could only put to death such as they caught by chance, which owing to the caution of the Waldenses were very few.

After a few years tranquillity, they were again disturbed. The pope's Nuncio 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 return to the church of Rome; that such conduct in him awakened suspicion; that he thought him a favourer of those heretics, and should accordingly report the affair to the pope. Roused by this reflection, and fearful of being misrepresented to the pope, the duke determined to banish all suspicion; and to prove his zeal, resolved to let loose the reins of cruelty on the unoffending Waldenses. He issued express orders for all to attend mass regularly on pain of death. This they absolutely refused to do, on which he entered the Piedmontese valleys with a great body of troops, and began a most furious persecution, in which great numbers were hanged, drowned, tied to trees, and pierced with prongs, thrown from precipices, burnt, stabbed, racked to death, worried by dogs, and crucified with their heads downwards. Those who fled had their goods plundered and their houses burnt. When they caught a minister or a schoolmaster, they put them to such exquisite tortures, as are scarcely credible 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.

In this expedition the duke was accompanied by three men who resembled devils. Thomas Incomel, an apostate, brought up in the reformed religion, but who had renounced his faith, embraced the errors of popery, and turned monk. He was a great libertine, given to unnatural crimes, and sordidly solicitous for the plunder of the Waldenses. Corbis, a man of a very ferocious and cruel nature, whose business was to examine the prisoners. The provost of justice, an avaricious wretch, anxious for the execution of the Waldenses, as every execution added to his hoards. These three monsters were unmerciful to the last degree:

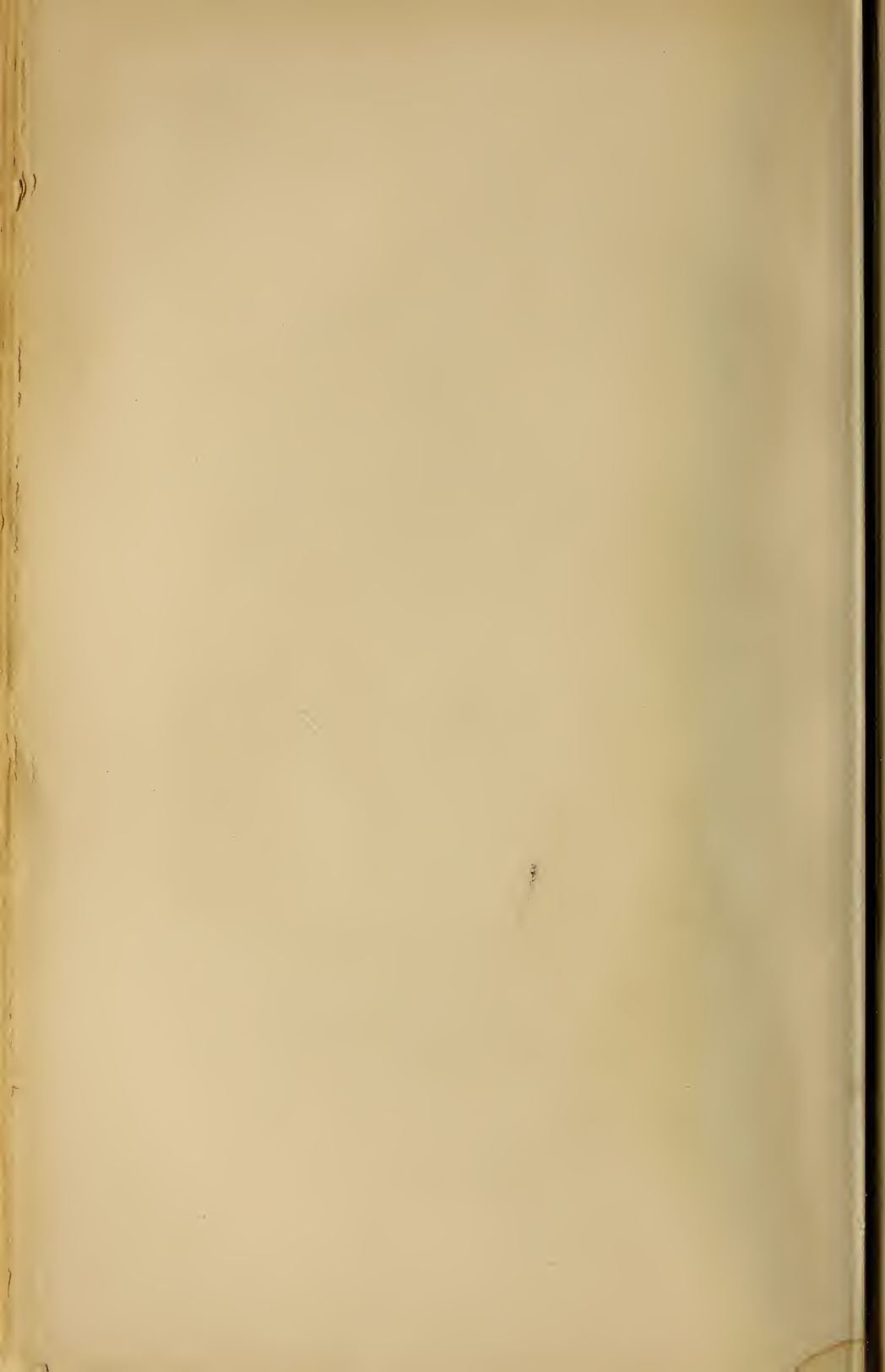
wherever they came, the blood of the innocent was sure to flow. In addition to the cruelties exercised by the duke with these three persons and the army in their different marches, many local barbarities took place. At Pignerol, a town in the valleys, was a monastery, the monks of which finding they might injure the reformed with impunity, began to plunder their houses, and pull down their churches; and not meeting with opposition, they next seized upon the persons of those unhappy people, murdering the men, confining the women, and putting the children to Roman catholic nurses.

In the same manner the Roman catholic inhabitants of the valley of St. Martin did all they could to torment the neighbouring Waldenses; they destroyed their churches, burnt their houses, seized their property, stole their cattle, converted their lands to their own use, committed their ministers to the flames, and drove the people to the woods, where they had nothing to subsist on but wild fruits, or the bark and roots of trees. Some ruffians having seized a minister as he was going to preach, determined to take him to a convenient place, and burn him. His parishioners hearing of his distress, armed themselves, pursued the villains, and seemed determined to rescue their minister. The ruffians finding they could not execute their first intent, stabbed the poor gentleman, and leaving him weltering in his blood, made a precipitate retreat. The astonished parishioners did all they could to recover him, but in vain; for he expired as they were carrying him home.

The monks of Pignerol having a great desire to get into their possession a minister of a town in the valleys called St. Germain, hired a band of ruffians for the purpose of seizing him. These fellows were conducted by a treacherous person, formerly a servant to the clergyman, and who knew a secret way to his house, by which he could lead them without alarming the neighbourhood. The guide knocked at the door, and being asked who was there, answered in his own name. The clergyman, expecting no injury from a person on whom he had heaped favour, immediately opened the door; but perceiving the ruffians, he fled to a back door; but they rushed in, followed, and seized him. They then murdered all his family; after which they proceeded with their captive towards Pignerol, goading him all the way. He was confined a considerable time in prison, and then burnt. The troops of ruffians belonging to the monks, continuing their assaults about the town of St. Germain, murdering and plundering many of the inhabitants, the reformed of Lucerne and Angrogne sent some armed men to the assistance of their brethren. These bodies frequently attacked and routed the ruffians, which so alarmed the monks that they left their monastery of Pignerol for some time, till they could procure regular troops for their protection.

The duke of Savoy, not thinking himself so successful as he imagined he should be, augmented his forces, joined to them the ruffians, and commanded that a general delivery should take place in the prisons, provided the persons released would bear arms, and assist in the extermination of the Waldenses. No sooner were the latter informed of these proceedings than they secured as much of their property as they could, and quitting the valleys, retired to the rocks and caves among





the Alps. The army on reaching their destined places began to plunder and burn the towns and villages wherever they came; but the troops could not force their passes to the Alps, gallantly defended by the Waldenses, who in those attempts always repulsed their enemies; but if any fell into the hands of the troops, they were treated in the most barbarous manner. A soldier having caught one of them, bit his right ear off, saying, "I will carry this member of that wicked heretic with me into my own country, and preserve it as a rarity." He then stabbed the man, and threw him into a ditch.

At one time a party of the troops found a venerable man upwards of an hundred years of age, accompanied by his grand-daughter, a maiden, of about eighteen, in a cave. They murdered the poor old man in a most inhuman manner, and would have violated and murdered the girl had she not quickly escaped. Finding, however, that she was pursued, she fell from a precipice and killed herself. Determined if possible to expel their invaders, the Waldenses entered into a league with the protestant powers in Germany, and with the reformed of Dauphiny and Pragela. These were respectively to furnish bodies of troops; and the Waldenses resolved, when thus reinforced, to quit the mountains of the Alps, where they soon must have perished, as the winter was coming on, and to force the duke's army to evacuate their native valleys.

The duke of Savoy himself, however, was tired of the war, it having cost him great fatigue and anxiety of mind, a vast number of men, and considerable sums of money. It had been much more tedious and bloody than he expected, as well as more expensive than he at first imagined, for he thought the plunder would have discharged the expences of the expedition: but the pope's nuncio, the bishops, monks, and other ecclesiastics, who attended the army and encouraged the war, took the greatest part of the wealth he acquired, under various pretences. For these reasons, and the death of his duchess, of which he had just received intelligence, and fearing that the Waldenses, by the treaties they had entered into, would become too powerful for him, he determined to return to Turin with his army, and to make peace with them. This resolution he put in practice greatly against the will of the ecclesiastics, who by the war both satiated their avarice and their 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. Charles-Emanuel, the duke's son, succeeded to the dominions of Savoy, and fully ratified the peace with the Waldenses, according to the last injunctions of his father, though the priests used all their arts to dissuade him from his noble purpose.

## SECTION IV.

## ACCOUNT OF PERSECUTIONS IN VENICE.

Before the terrors of the inquisitors were known at Venice, a great number of protestants fixed their residence there, and many converts were made by the purity of their doctrines, and the inoffensiveness of their conversation. The pope no sooner learned the great increase of protestantism, than, in the year 1542, he sent inquisitors to Venice to make enquiry into the matter, and apprehend such as they might deem obnoxious. Thus a severe persecution began, and many persons were martyred for serving God with sincerity, and scorning the trappings of superstition. Various were the modes by which the protestants were deprived of life; but one in particular, being both new and singular, we shall describe. As soon as sentence was passed, the prisoner had an iron chain, to which was suspended a great stone, fastened to his body; he was then laid upon a plank, with his face upwards, and rowed between two boats to a certain distance at sea, when the boats separated, and, by the weight of the stone, he was sunk to the bottom.

If any dared deny the jurisdiction of the inquisitors at Venice, they were conveyed to Rome, where, being committed to damp and nauseous prisons, and never called to a hearing, their flesh mortified, and a most miserable death ensued. A citizen of Venice, named Anthony Ricetti, being apprehended as a protestant, was sentenced to be drowned in the manner above described. A few days previous to his execution, his son went to him, and entreated him to recant, that his life might be saved, and himself not left an orphan. To this the father replied, "A good Christian is bound to relinquish not only goods and children, but life itself for the glory of his Redeemer." The nobles of Venice likewise sent him word, that if he would embrace the Roman catholic religion, they would not only grant him life, but redeem a considerable estate which he had mortgaged, and freely present him with it. This, however, he absolutely refused to comply with, sending word that he valued his soul beyond all other considerations. Finding every endeavour to persuade him ineffectual, they ordered the execution of his sentence, and he died commending his soul fervently to his Redeemer. Francis Sega, another Venetian, stedfastly persisting in his faith, was executed, a few days after Recetti, in the same manner.

Francis Spinola, a protestant gentleman of great learning, was apprehended by order of the inquisitors, and carried before their tribunal. A treatise on the Lord's Supper was then put into his hands, and he was asked if he knew the author of it. To which he replied, "I confess myself its author; and solemnly affirm, that there is not a line in it but what is authorized by, and consonant to, the Holy Scriptures." On this confession he was committed close prisoner to a dungeon. After remaining there several days, he was brought to a second examination, when he charged the pope's legate and the inquisitors with being merciless barbarians, and represented the superstition and idolatry of the

church of Rome in so strong a light, that, unable to refute his arguments, they recommitted him to his dungeon. Being brought up a third time, they asked him if he would recant his errors, to which he answered, that the doctrines he maintained were not erroneous, being purely the same as those which Christ and his apostles had taught, and which were handed down to us in the sacred volume. The inquisitors then sentenced him to be drowned, which was executed in the manner already described. He went to death with joy, thinking it unspeakable happiness to be so soon ushered to the world of glory, to dwell with God and the spirits of just men made perfect.

## SECTION V.

### ACCOUNT OF SEVERAL DISTINGUISHED INDIVIDUALS WHO WERE MARTYRED IN ITALY FOR THEIR RELIGION.

John Mollivus was born at Rome of a respectable family. At twelve years old his parents placed him in a monastery of grey friars, where he made so rapid a progress in his studies, that in less than six years he was admitted to priest's orders. He was then sent to Ferrara, where, after six years further study, he was appointed theological reader in the university. Here he began to exert his great talents to disguise the gospel truths, and to varnish over the errors of the church of Rome. Having passed some years here, he removed to the university of Bononia, where he became a professor. At length, happily reading some treatises written by ministers of the reformed religion, he was suddenly struck with the errors of popery, and became in his heart a zealous protestant. He now determined to expound in truth and simplicity St. Paul's epistle to the Romans, in a regular course of sermons; at each of which he was attended by a vast concourse of people. But when the priests learned the tenets of his doctrines, they dispatched an account of him and them to Rome; when the pope sent Cornelius, a monk, to Bononia, to expound the same epistle, according to his own tenets, and to controvert the doctrine of Mollivus. The people, however, found such a disparity between the two preachers, that the audience of Mollivus increased, while Cornelius preached to empty benches. The latter on this wrote of his bad success to the pope, who immediately ordered Mollivus to be apprehended. He was seized accordingly, and kept in close confinement. The bishop of Bononia sent him word, that he must recant or be burnt; but he appealed to Rome, and was in consequence removed thither. Here he begged to have a public trial; but this the pope absolutely denied him, and commanded him to explain his opinions in writing, which accordingly he did under the following 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 for saints; Going on pilgrimages; Extreme unction; Performing service in an unknown tongue. All these topics he treated upon scripture authority. The pope through reasons of policy spared

him for the present; but soon after, in 1553, had him apprehended, and afterwards hanged and his body burnt to ashes.

Francis Gamba, a Lombard and protestant, was apprehended, and condemned to death by the senate of Milan, in the year 1554. At the place of execution, he was presented by a monk with a cross. "My mind," said Gamba, "is so full of the real merits and goodness of Christ that I want not a piece of senseless wood to put me in mind of him." For this expression his tongue was bored through, after which he was committed to the flames. About the same period Algerius, a learned and accomplished student in the university of Padua, embraced the reformed religion, and was zealous in the conversion of others. For these proceedings he was accused of heresy to the pope, and being apprehended, was committed to the prison at Venice, whence he wrote to his converts at Padua the following celebrated and beautiful epistle.

"DEAR FRIENDS,

"I cannot omit this opportunity of letting you know the sincere pleasure I feel in my confinement: to suffer for Christ is delectable indeed; to undergo a little transitory pain in this world for his sake, is cheaply purchasing a reversion of eternal glory, in a life that is everlasting. Hence I have found honey in the entrails of a lion; a paradise in a prison; tranquillity in the house of sorrow; where others weep, I rejoice; where others tremble and faint, I find strength and courage. The Almighty alone confers these favours on me; be his the glory and the praise.

"How different do I find myself from what I was before I embraced the truth in its purity: I was then dark, doubtful, and in dread; I am now enlightened, certain, and full of joy. He that was far from me is present with me; he comforts my spirit, heals my griefs, strengthens my mind, refreshes my heart, and fortifies my soul. Learn, therefore, how merciful and amiable the Lord is, who supports his servants under temptations, expels their sorrows, lightens their afflictions, and even visits them with his glorious presence in the gloom of a dismal dungeon.

"Your sincere friend,

"ALGERIUS."

The pope being informed of Algerius's great learning and abilities, sent for him to Rome, and tried by every means to win him to his purpose. But finding his endeavours hopeless, he ordered him to be burnt. John Alloysius, a protestant teacher, having come from Geneva to preach in Calabria, was there apprehended, carried to Rome, and burnt by order of the pope: and at Massina, James Bovellus was burnt for the same offence.

In the year 1560, pope Pius the Fourth commenced a general persecution of the protestants throughout the Italian states, when great numbers of every age, sex, and condition, suffered martyrdom. Concerning the cruelties practised upon this occasion, a learned and humane Roman catholic thus speaks in a letter to a nobleman:

"I cannot, my lord, forbear disclosing my sentiments with respect to the persecution now carrying on. I think it cruel and unnecessary. I



tremble at the manner of putting to death, as it resembles more the slaughter of calves and sheep, than the execution of human beings. I will relate to your lordship a dreadful scene, of which I was myself an eye-witness. Seventy protestants were cooped up in one filthy dungeon together; the executioner went in among them, picked out one from among the rest, blindfolded him, led him out to an open place before the prison, and cut his throat with the greatest composure. He then calmly walked into the prison again, bloody as he was, and with the knife in his hands selected another, and dispatched him in the same manner; and this, my lord, he repeated till the whole number were put to death. I leave it to your lordship's feelings to judge of my sensations upon the occasion; my tears now wash the paper upon which I give you the recital. Another thing I must mention, the patience with which they met death: they seemed all resignation and piety, fervently praying to God, and cheerfully encountering their fate. I cannot reflect without shuddering, how the executioner held the bloody knife between his teeth: what a dreadful figure he appeared, all covered with blood, and with what unconcern he executed his barbarous office!"

The following remarkable incident, and fatal in its conclusion, took place at Rome. A young Englishman happened to be one day passing by a church, when the procession of the host was coming out. A bishop carried the host, which the young man perceiving, he snatched it from him, threw it upon the ground, and trampling it under his feet exclaimed, "Ye wretched idolaters, who neglect the true God to adore a morsel of bread!" The people would have instantly torn him to pieces upon the spot; but the priests having persuaded them to let him abide by the sentence of the pope, they restrained their fury.

As soon as the affair was made known to the pope, he ordered the prisoner to be burnt immediately; but a cardinal, more refined in cruelty dissuaded him from this, saying, it was better to torture him, in order that they might find out if he had been instigated by any particular person to commit so atrocious an act. This was accordingly approved, and he was tortured with unusual severity: but they could only get these words from him, "It was the will of God that I should do what I did." The pope therefore sentenced him to be led naked to the middle, through the streets of Rome, by the executioner—to wear the image of the devil upon his head—to have his breeches painted with the representation of flames—to have his right hand cut off—and after being carried about thus in procession, to be burnt.

On hearing this sentence, he implored God to give him strength and fortitude to go through it. As he passed through the streets he was greatly derided by the people, to whom he said some severe things respecting the Romish superstition. But a cardinal who attended the procession, over-hearing him, ordered him to be gagged. When he came to the church-door where he trampled on the host, the hangman cut off his right hand, and fixed it on a pole. Then two tormentors, with flaming torches, scorched and burnt his flesh all the rest of the way. At the place of execution he kissed the chains that were to bind him to the stake. A monk presenting the figure of a saint to him, he struck it aside, and then being fastened to the stake, the fagots were lighted, and he was burnt to ashes.

## SECTION VI.

## SUMMARY OF PERSECUTIONS IN THE MARQUISATE OF SALUZZO

The marquise of Saluzzo is situated on the south side of the valleys of Piedmont, and in the year 1561 was principally inhabited by protestants, when the marquess began a prosecution against them at the instigation of the pope. He commenced by banishing the ministers; if any of whom refused to leave their flocks they were imprisoned and severely tortured: he did not, however, proceed to put any to death. A little time after, the marquise fell into the possession of the duke of Savoy, who sent circular letters to all the towns and villages, that he expected the people should all go to mass. Upon this the inhabitants of Saluzzo returned the following submissive, yet manly address for answer—

“MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS,

“We humbly entreat your permission to continue in the practice of the religion we have always professed, and our fathers professed before us. In this we shall acquit our consciences, without offending any person, 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.”

This letter for a time seemed to pacify the duke, who did not interrupt them at present; but at length he sent them word, that they must either conform to his commands, 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. Their petitions however were vain, and they were given to understand that the edict was peremptory. Some, under the impulse of fear or worldly interest, were weak enough to go to mass, in order to avoid banishment, and preserve their property; others removed with 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 marquise in haste; while some, who unhappily stayed behind, were seized, plundered, and put to death.

## SECTION VII.

FARTHER ACCOUNT OF PERSECUTIONS IN THE VALLEYS OF  
PIEDMONT IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

Pope Clement the Eighth sent missionaries into the valleys of Piedmont, with a view to induce the protestants to renounce their religion. These missionaries erected monasteries in several parts of the valleys, and soon became very troublesome to the reformed, to whom the monasteries appeared not only as fortresses to awe them, but as sanctuaries for all such to fly to as had injured them in any degree. The insolence and tyranny of these missionaries increasing, the protestants petitioned the duke of Savoy for protection. But instead of gaining redress, the duke published a decree, in which he declared, that one witness should be sufficient in a court of law against a protestant; and that any witness who convicted a protestant of any crime whatever should be entitled to a hundred crowns as a reward. In consequence of this, as may be imagined, many protestants fell martyrs to perjury and avarice; for several papists would swear anything against them for the sake of the reward, and then fly to their own priests for absolution from their false oaths. These missionaries, moreover, endeavoured to get the books of the protestants into their power, in order to burn them; the former wrote to the duke of Savoy, who for the heinous crime of not surrendering their bibles, prayer-books, and religious treatises, sent a number of troops to be quartered on them, which occasioned the ruin of many families.

To encourage, as much as possible, the apostasy of the protestants, the duke published a proclamation, 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 faith, shall enjoy an exemption from all and every tax for the space of five years, commencing from the day of their conversion." He likewise established a court, called the council for extirpating the heretics. This court was to enter into enquiries concerning the ancient privileges of the protestant churches, and the decrees which had been, from time to time, made in favour of them. But the investigation was carried on with the most decided partiality. After this, the duke published several successive edicts, prohibiting the protestants from acting as schoolmasters or tutors; from teaching any art, science, or language; from holding any places of profit, trust, or honour: and finally, commanding them to attend mass. This last was the sure signal for a persecution, and which of consequence soon followed.

One of the first who attracted the notice of the papists, was Mr. Sebastian Basan, a zealous protestant, who was seized by the missionaries, confined, tormented fifteen months, and then committed to the flames. Before the persecution commenced, the missionaries employed kidnappers to steal away the children of the protestants, that they might privately be brought up Roman catholics; but now they took away the children by open force, and if the wretched parents resisted, they were

immediately murdered. The duke of Savoy, in order to inspire the persecution, called a general assembly of the Roman catholic nobility and gentry, whence issued a solemn edict against the reformed, containing many heads, and including several reasons for extirpating them, among which the following were the principal: "for the preservation of the papal authority; that the church livings may be all under one mode of government; to make an union among all parties; in honour of all the saints, and of the ceremonies of the church of Rome."

This was followed by a most cruel order, published on January 25, A. D. 1655, under the sanction of the duke, 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, Fenile, and Bricherassio, shall, within three days after the publication thereof, 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, Angrogno, Villaro, Rorata, 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 turn Roman catholics." The suddenness of the order affected all, and things which would have been scarcely noticed at another time, now appeared in the most conspicuous light. Neither women nor children, neither mothers nor infants, were objects of pity on this order for sudden removal, for all were included in the command; and to add to the distress, the winter was remarkably severe.

Notwithstanding this, the papists drove them from their habitations at the time appointed, without even sufficient clothes to cover them; and many perished in the mountains through the severity of the season, or want of food. Those who remained behind after the publication of the decree, were murdered by the popish inhabitants, or shot by the troops. 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 impetuous fury. Exclusive of the duke of Savoy's troops, and the Roman catholic inhabitants, there were several regiments of French auxiliaries, some companies belonging to the Irish brigades, and several bands formed of outlaws, smugglers, and prisoners, who had been promised pardon and liberty in this world, and absolution in the next, for assisting to exterminate the protestants from Piedmont. This armed multitude being encouraged by the bishops and monks, fell upon the protestants in a most furious manner. All now was horror and despair; blood stained the floors of the houses, dead bodies bestrewed the streets, and groans and cries shocked the ears of humanity from every quarter. Some armed themselves, and skirmished with the troops; and many with their families fled to the mountains. In one village the wretches vented their cruelty on one hundred and fifty women and

children after the men had fled, beheading the women, and dashing out the brains of the children."

Sarah Rostignole des Vignes, a woman sixty years of age, being seized by some soldiers, they ordered her to say a prayer to some saints; which she refusing, they first stabbed and then beheaded her. Martha Constantine, a beautiful young woman, was barbarously abused and killed. Parts of their bodies were even cooked for food, and served up for soldiers who were ignorant what was before them. 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 a brutal deception on their deluded comrades.

Peter Simonds, a protestant, about eighty years of age, was bound, 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 mid-way, so that he languished for several days till he perished of hunger. Esay Garcino, refusing to renounce his religion, the soldiers cut him into small pieces, saying, in ridicule, they had minced him. A woman, named Armand, had her limbs separated from each other, and then the respective parts were hung upon a hedge. Several men, women, and children, were flung from the rocks, and dashed to pieces. Among others was Magdalen Bertino, a protestant woman of La Torre, who was bound and thrown down one of the precipices. Mary Raymondet, of the same town, had her flesh mangled 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 into her body, and the other end being fixed in the ground, she was left in that manner to perish. Jacob Perin the elder, of the church of Villaro, with David, his brother, were flayed alive.

Giovanni Andrea Michialin, an inhabitant of La Torre, with four of his children, was apprehended; three of them were killed before his eyes, the soldiers asking him, at the death of every child, if he would renounce, which he constantly refused. One of the soldiers then took up the last and youngest by the legs, and putting the same question to the father, he replied as before, when the inhuman brute dashed out the child's brains. The father, however, at the same moment started from them, and fled: the soldiers fired after him, but missed him; and he escaped to the Alps, and there remained concealed. Giovanni Pelanchion, on refusing to abjure his oath, was fastened to the tail of a mule, and dragged through the streets of Lucerne, amidst the acclamations of an inhuman mob, who kept stoning him, and crying out, "He is possessed of the devil." They then took him to the river side, struck off his head, and left that and his body unburied upon the bank.

Peter Fontaine had a beautiful child ten years of age, named Magdalene, who was violated and murdered by the soldiers. Another girl, of about the same age, they roasted alive at Villa Nova; and a poor woman, hearing the soldiers were coming towards her house, snatched up the cradle in which her infant son was asleep, and fled towards the woods. The soldiers, however, saw and pursued her, when she light-

ened 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 abused and then slaughtered her. Jacobo Michelino, chief elder of the church of Bobbio, and several other protestants, were hung up by hooks fixed to their bodies, and left to expire. Giovanni Rostagnal, a venerable protestant, upwards of fourscore years of age, had his features mangled, and was otherwise injured by sharp weapons, till he bled to death. Daniel Saleagio 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 atoms.

Jacob Birone, a schoolmaster of Rorata, for refusing to change his religion, was stripped naked; and after having been exposed, had the nails of his toes and fingers torn off with hot pincers, and holes bored through his hands with the point of a dagger. He next had a cord tied round his middle, and was led through the streets with a soldier on each side of him. At every turning the soldier on his right-hand side cut a gash in his flesh, and the soldier on his left-hand side struck him with a bludgeon, both saying, at the same instant, "Will you go to mass? Will you go to mass?" He still replied in the negative to these interrogatories, and being at length taken to the bridge, they cut off his head on the balustrade, and threw both that and his body into the river. Paul Garnier, a protestant beloved for his piety, had his eyes put out, was then flayed alive, and being divided into four parts, his quarters were placed on four of the principal houses of Lucerne. He bore all his sufferings with the most exemplary patience, praised God as long as he could speak, and plainly evinced the courage arising from a confidence in God. Daniel Cardon, of Rocappiata, being apprehended by some soldiers, they cut off his head. Two poor old blind women, of St. Giovanni, were burnt alive. A widow of La Torre, with her daughter, was driven into the river, and stoned to death there. Paul Giles, on attempting to run away from some soldiers, was shot in the neck: they then mutilated and stabbed him, and gave his carcass to the dogs.

Some of the Irish troops having taken eleven men of Garcigliana, prisoners, they heated a furnace and forced them into it. Michael Gonet, a man about 90 years old, was also burnt to death. Baptista Oudri, another old man, was stabbed. Bartholomew Frasche had his heels pierced, through which ropes being put, he was dragged to the gaol, where, in consequence of his wound mortifying, he soon died. Magdalene de la Peire, being pursued by the soldiers and taken, was cast down a precipice and dashed to pieces. Margaret Revella and Mary Pravillerin, two very old women, were burnt alive. Michael Bellino, and Anne Bocharno, were beheaded. Joseph Chairret and Paul Carniero were flayed alive.

Cypryania Bustia being asked "if he would renounce his religion, and turn Roman catholic," he replied, "I would rather renounce life, or turn dog:" to which a priest answered, "for that expression you shall both renounce life, and be given to the dogs." They, accordingly, dragged him to prison, where they confined him till he perished of

hunger, after which they threw his corpse into the street before the prison, and it was devoured by dogs. Joseph Pont was severed in two. Margaret Soretta was stoned to death. Antonio Bertina had his head cleft asunder. Daniel Maria, and all his family, being ill of a fever, several ruffians broke into his house, telling him they were practical physicians, and would give them all present ease; which they did, by murdering him and his whole family. Three infant children of a protestant, named Peter Fine, were buried in the snow. An elderly widow, named Judith, was beheaded.

Lucy, the wife of Peter Besson, who lived in one of the villages of the Piedmontese valleys, being in an advanced state of pregnancy, determined, if possible, to escape from such dreadful scenes as every where surrounded her: she accordingly took two young children, one in each hand, and set off towards the Alps. But on the third day of the journey she was taken in labour among the mountains, and delivered of an infant, who perished through the inclemency of the weather, as did the other two children; for all three were found dead by her side, and herself just expiring, by the person to whom she related the above circumstances.

Francis Gross, son of a worthy clergyman, was treated in a manner which, if possible, surpasses in cruelty the worst instance which has been mentioned. It is too heart-sickening to be detailed, and was aggravated to the most inhuman extent by his wife being compelled to witness his extreme sufferings. The torture was not at last suspended but through the weariness of those who inflicted it. The Sieur Thomas Margher fled to a cave, where being discovered, the soldiers shut up the mouth, and he perished with famine. Judith Revelin, with seven children, were barbarously murdered in their beds. Jacob Roseno was commanded to pray to the saints, which he refusing, the soldiers beat him violently with bludgeons to make him comply, but being steady to his faith, they fired at him, and lodged many balls in his body. While in the agonies of death, they cried to him, "Will you pray to the saints?" To which he answered, "No!" when one of the soldiers, with a broad sword, clave his head asunder, and put an end to his sufferings.

A young woman, named Susanna Ciacquin, being assaulted by a soldier, 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 immediately fell upon her with their swords, and cut her to atoms. Giovanni Pullius, being apprehended as a protestant, was ordered by the marquis of Pianessa to be executed in a place near the convent. When brought to the gallows, several monks attended to persuade him to renounce his religion. But 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 represented to him 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 dependent on his protection." Finding the inflexibility of this poor man, the monks

commanded the executioner to perform his office, when he launched the martyr into the world of glory.

Paul Clement, an elder of the church of Rossana, being apprehended by the monks of a neighbouring monastery, was carried to the market-place of that town, where some protestants had just been executed. On beholding the dead bodies, he said calmly, "You may kill the body, but you cannot injure the soul of a true believer: with respect to the dreadful spectacles which you have here shewn me, you may rest assured that God's vengeance will overtake the murderers of those poor people, and punish them for the innocent blood they have spilt." The monks were so exasperated at this reply, that they ordered him to be hung up directly; and while he was hanging, the soldiers amused themselves by shooting at the body.

Daniel Rambaut, of Villaro, the father of a numerous family, was seized, and, with several others, committed to the gaol of Paysana. Here he was visited by several priests, who, with continual importunities, strove to persuade him to turn papist: but this he peremptorily refused, and the priests finding his resolution, 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:—The real presence in the host.—Transubstantiation.—Purgatory.—The pope's infallibility.—That masses said for the dead will release souls from purgatory—That praying to saints will procure the remission of sins. To these proposals Rambaut replied, that neither his religion, his understanding, nor his conscience, would suffer him to subscribe to any of these articles; "For," said he, "to believe the real presence in the host, is a shocking union of blasphemy and idolatry. To fancy the words of consecration perform what the papists call transubstantiation, by converting the wafer and wine into the identical body and blood of Christ, which was crucified, and which afterwards ascended into heaven, is too gross an absurdity for even a child to believe; and nothing but the most blind superstition could make the Roman catholics put a confidence in anything so ridiculous. The doctrine of purgatory is more inconsistent and absurd than a fairy tale. The infallibility of the pope is an impossibility, and he arrogantly lays claim to what can belong to God only, as a perfect being. Saying masses for the dead is ridiculous, and only meant to keep up a belief in the fable of purgatory, as the fate of all is finally decided in the departure of the soul from the body. 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." Filled with rage at these answers, the priests determined to shake his resolutions by the most cruel method imaginable: they inflicted daily tortures on his most susceptible limbs, and then deprived him of one limb after another so gradually as to reduce him to the utmost agony; when finding that he bore his sufferings with unconquerable fortitude, and maintained his faith with steadfast resolution, they stabbed him to the heart and gave his body to be devoured by dogs.

Peter Gabriola, a protestant gentleman, of considerable eminence, being seized by a troop of soldiers, and refusing to renounce his religion,



they hung several bags of gunpowder about his body, and then caused them to explode. Anthony, the son of Samuel Catieris, a poor dumb lad, and extremely inoffensive, was cut to pieces by a party of the troops; and soon after the same ruffians entered the house of Peter Moniriat, and cut off the legs of the whole family, leaving them to bleed to death. Daniel Benech being apprehended, had his nose slit, and his ears cut off; after which, he was divided into quarters, and each quarter hung upon a tree; Mary Monino had her jaw-bones broken, and was left to languish till she was starved to death. Mary Pelanchion, a handsome widow, of the town of Villaro, was seized by a party of the Irish brigades, who having beat her cruelly, and otherwise abused her, dragged her to a high bridge which crossed the river, hung her by the legs from an arch with her head downwards towards the water, and then going into boats they shot at her till she died. Mary Nigrino, and her daughter, a poor idiot, were cut to pieces in the woods, and their bodies left to be devoured by beasts. Susanna Bales, a widow of Villaro, was immured and starved to death.

Susanna Calvio, running away from some soldiers, and hiding herself in a barn, they set fire to the place, by which she was burnt to death. Daniel Bertino, a child, was burnt. Paul Armand was cut to pieces. Daniel Michialino had his tongue plucked out. Andreo Bertino, a lame and very old man, was mangled in a most shocking manner. But to enumerate any but the most remarkable cases is impossible, without rendering the volume almost an entire catalogue of names distinguished only by the undeserved sufferings of those who bore them.

A protestant lady, named Constantia Bellione, was apprehended on account of her faith, and asked by a priest if she would renounce the devil and go to mass; to which she replied, "I was brought up in a religion by which I was always taught to renounce the devil; but should I comply with your desire, and go to mass, I should be sure to meet him there in a variety of shapes." The priest was highly incensed at this, and told her to recant, or she should suffer cruelly. She, however, boldly answered, that she valued not any sufferings he could inflict, and in spite of them all she would keep her faith inviolate. The priest then ordered flesh to be cut from several parts of her body. This she bore with the most singular patience, only saying to the priest, "What horrid and lasting torments will you suffer in hell, for the trifling and temporary pains which I now endure!" Exasperated at this expression, 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 dispatched. Judith Mandon, a young woman, for the same offence, was fastened to a stake, and sticks thrown at her from a distance, in imitation of the custom practised on Shrove-Tuesday of throwing at cocks. By this inhuman proceeding, her limbs were beat and mangled in a most terrible manner. At last one of the bludgeons striking her head, she was at once freed from her pains and her life.

Paul Genre and David Paglia, each with his son, attempting to escape to the Alps, were pursued and overtaken by the soldiers in a large plain. Here their foes hunted them for their diversion, goading them with their swords, and making them run about till they dropped with fatigue.

When they found that their spirits were exhausted, and that they could not afford them any more barbarous sport by running, the soldiers hacked them to pieces, and left their mangled fragments on the spot. Michael Greve, a young man of Bobbio, was apprehended in the town of La Torre, and being led to the bridge, was thrown into the river. Being, however, an expert swimmer, 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 sunk and was drowned. David Baridona was apprehended at Villaro, and carried to La Torre, where refusing to renounce his religion, he was tormented by brimstone matches being fastened to his hands and feet, and set fire to, and afterwards, by having his flesh plucked off with red hot pincers, till he expired. Giovanni Barolina, with his wife, were thrown into a pool of stagnant water, and compelled, by means of pitchforks and stones, to immerse their heads till they were suffocated with the stench.

A number of soldiers assaulted the house of Joseph Garniero, and before they entered, fired in at the window, to give notice of their approach. Mrs. Garniero was at that instant suckling her child, and one of the balls entered her breast. On finding their intentions, she begged them to spare the life of the infant, which they promised to do, and sent it immediately to a Roman catholic nurse. They then seized the husband and hanged him at his own door, and having shot the wife through the head, left her body weltering in its blood.

Isaiah Mandon, a pious protestant, in the wane of life, fled from his merciless persecutors to a cleft in a rock, where he suffered the most dreadful hardships. In the midst of winter he was forced to lay on the bare stone, without any covering; his food was the roots he could pluck up near his miserable habitation; and the only way by which he could quench his thirst was to put snow in his mouth till it melted. Here, however, some of the soldiers found him, and after beating him unmercifully, they drove him towards Lucerne, goading him all the way with the points of their swords. Being exceedingly weakened by his manner of living, and exhausted by the blows he had received, he fell down in the road. They again beat him to make him proceed; till on his knees, he implored them to put him out of his misery. This they at last agreed to do; and one of them shot him through the head, saying "There, heretic, take thy request."

Mary Revel, a protestant, received a shot in her back while walking along the street, which brought her to the ground; 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, near at hand, fired a volley of shot at her, and in an instant put an end to her miseries. To screen themselves from danger, a number of men, women, and children, fled to a large cave, where they continued for some weeks in safety, two of the men going when it was necessary, by stealth, to procure provisions. They were, however, one day watched, by which the cave was discovered, and, soon after, a troop of catholic soldiers appeared before it. Many of these were neighbours, and intimate acquaintances, and some even

relations to those in the cave. The protestants, therefore, came out, and implored them, by the ties of hospitality, and especially by those of blood and neighbourhood, not to murder them. But, fulfilling the words of the Lord, "the father shall be divided against the son, and the son against the father," the papists, blinded by bigotry, told them they could not shew any mercy to heretics, and therefore bade them all prepare to die. Hearing this, and knowing the obduracy of their enemies, the protestants fell prostrate, lifted their hearts to heaven, and patiently awaited their fate, which the papists soon decided, by cutting them to pieces.

The blood of the faithful being almost exhausted in the towns and villages of Piedmont, there remained but one place that had stood aloof from the general slaughter. This was the little commonalty of Roras, which stood upon an eminence. Of this the earl of Christophe, one of the duke of Savoy's officers, determined if possible to make himself master; with that view he detached three hundred men to surprise it. The inhabitants, however, had intelligence of the approach of these troops, and captain Joshua Gianavel, a brave protestant officer, put himself at the head of a small body of the citizens, and waited in ambuscade to attack the enemy in a narrow passage, the only place by which the town could be approached. As soon as the troops appeared and had entered the passage, the protestants commenced a 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 rest, receiving a continual fire, and not seeing any to whom they might attribute and return it, made a precipitate retreat.

The members of this little community immediately sent a memorial to the marquis of Pianessa, a general officer of the duke, stating, that they were sorry to be under the necessity of taking up arms; but that the secret approach of a body of troops, without any previous notice sent of the purpose of their coming, had greatly alarmed them; that as it was their custom never to suffer any of the military to enter their territory, 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, to delude and surprise the protestants of Roras, sent them word that he was perfectly satisfied with their behaviour, for they had done right, and even rendered a service to their country, as the men who had attempted to pass the defile were not his troops, but a band of desperate robbers, who had, for some time, infested those parts, and been a terror to the neighbouring country. To give a greater colour to his treachery, he published a proclamation to the same purpose, expressive of thanks to the citizens of Roras.

The very day after, however, this treacherous nobleman sent 500 men to possess themselves of the town, while the people, as he thought, were lulled into security by his artifice.

Captain Gianavel was not thus to be deceived; he, therefore, laid a second ambuscade for the troops, and compelled them to retire with greater loss and disgrace than before. Foiled in two attempts, the san-

guinary marquess determined on a third, which should be still more formidable; but still to delude the brave citizens, he published another proclamation, disowning any knowledge of the second attempt. He soon after sent 700 chosen men upon the expedition, who, in spite of the fire from the protestants, forced the defile, entered Roras, and began to murder every person they met with, without distinction of sex or age. Captain Gianavel, at the head of his friends, though he had lost the defile, determined to dispute the passage through a fortified pass, that led to the richest and best part of the town. Here he succeeded, by keeping up a continual fire, which did great execution, his men being all complete marksmen. The catholic commander was astonished and dismayed at this opposition, as he imagined that he had surmounted all difficulties. He, however, strove to force the pass, but being able to bring up only twelve men in front at a time, and the protestants being secured by a breast-work, he saw all his hopes frustrated.

Enraged at the loss of so many troops, and fearful of disgrace if he persisted in attempting what appeared impracticable, he thought it wiser to retreat. Unwilling, however, to withdraw his men by the defile at which he had entered, on account of the danger, he endeavoured to retreat towards Villaro, by another pass called Piampra, which, though hard of access, was easy of descent. Here, however, he again felt the determined bravery of captain Gianavel, who having posted his little band here, greatly annoyed the troops as they passed, and even pursued their rear till they entered the open country. The marquis Pianessa, finding all these attempts baffled, and that every artifice he used was only a signal to the inhabitants of Roras, resolved to act openly; and therefore proclaimed, that ample rewards should be given to any who would bear arms against the obdurate heretics of Roras, and that any officer who would exterminate them should be honoured accordingly.

Captain Mario, a bigoted Roman catholic, and a desperate ruffian, stimulated by this, resolved to undertake the enterprise. He therefore obtained leave to raise a regiment in the towns of Lucerne, Borges, Famolas, Bobbio, Cavos, and Bagnal. In these places he levied a regiment of 1000 men. With this he resolved to attempt gaining the summit of a rock, whence he could pour his men into the town without opposition or difficulty. But the protestants, aware of his design, suffered his troops to gain almost the summit of the rock, without appearing in sight: when they made a most furious attack upon them; one party keeping up a well-directed and constant fire, and another party rolling down stones of a great weight. Thus were they suddenly stopped in their career. Many were killed by the musquetry, and more by the stones, which beat them down the precipices. Several fell sacrifices to their own fears, for by attempting a precipitate retreat, they fell and were dashed to pieces; and captain Mario himself, having fallen from a craggy place into a river at the foot of a rock, was taken up senseless, and remained ill of the bruises a long time; and at length fell into a decline at Lucerne, where he died. After this another body of troops from the camp at Villaro made an attempt upon Roras, but were likewise defeated, and compelled to retreat again to their camp. Captain

Gianavel, for each of these signal victories, made a suitable discourse to his men, kneeling down with them to return thanks to the Almighty for his providential protection; and concluded with the 11th Psalm.

The marquis of Pianessa, now enraged to the highest degree at being thus foiled by such a handful of men, determined on their expulsion, or destruction. To this end, he ordered all the catholic militia of Piedmont to be called out and disciplined. To these he joined eight thousand regular troops, and dividing the whole into three distinct bodies, he planned that number of formidable attacks to be made at once, unless the people of Roras, to whom he sent an account of his great preparations, would comply with the following conditions:—To ask pardon for taking up arms. To pay the expences of all the expeditions sent against them. To acknowledge the infallibility of the pope. To attend mass. To pray to the saints. To deliver up their ministers and school-masters. To observe confession. To pay loans for the delivery of souls from purgatory. Above all, to give up captain Gianavel and the elders of their church at discretion. The brave and magnanimous inhabitants, indignant at these proposals, answered, that sooner than comply with them they would suffer their estates to be seized; their houses to be burnt; and themselves to be murdered.

Swelling with rage at this, the marquis sent them the following laconic letter:—"You shall have your request, for the troops sent against you have strict injunctions to plunder, burn, and kill.

“PIANESSA.”

The three armies were accordingly put in motion, and the attacks ordered as follows: the first by the rocks of Villaro; the second by the pass of Bagnol; and the third by the defile of Lucerne. As might be expected, from the superiority of numbers, the troops gained the rocks, pass, and defile, entered the town, and commenced the most horrid depredations. Men they hanged, burnt, and racked to death, or cut to pieces; women they crucified, drowned, or threw from the precipice; and children they tossed upon spears, or dashed out their brains. On the first day of their gaining the town, one hundred and twenty-six suffered by these and other barbarous methods. Agreeably to the orders of the marquis, their estates were plundered and their houses burnt. Several protestants, however, made their escape, under the conduct of the brave Gianavel, whose wife and children were unfortunately made prisoners, and sent to Turin under a strong guard.

The marquis thinking to conquer at least the mind of Gianavel, wrote him a letter, and released a protestant prisoner, that he might carry it to him. The contents were, that if the captain would embrace the Roman catholic religion, he should be indemnified for all his losses since the commencement of the war, his wife and children should be immediately released, and himself honourably promoted in the duke of Savoy's army; but if he refused to accede to the proposals made to him, his wife and children should be put to death; and so large a reward should be given to take him, dead or alive, that even some of his own confidential friends should, from the greatness of the sum, be tempted to betray him.

To this, Gianavel returned the following answer :

“MY LORD MARQUIS,

“There is no torment so great, or death so cruel, that I would not prefer to the abjuration of my religion; so that promises lose their effects, and menaces only strengthen me in my faith. With respect to my wife and children, my lord, nothing can be more afflicting to me than the thought of their confinement, or be more dreadful to my imagination than their suffering a violent death. I keenly feel all the tender sensations of a husband and a parent; I would suffer any torment to rescue them; I would die to preserve them. But having said thus much, my lord, I assure you that the purchase of their lives must not be the price of my salvation. You have them in your power it is true; but my consolation is, that your power is only a temporary authority over their bodies: you may destroy the mortal part, but their immortal souls are out of your reach, and will live hereafter, to bear testimony against you for your cruelties. I therefore recommend them and myself to God, and pray for a reformation in your heart.

“JOSHUA GIANAVEL.”

Gianavel now, with his followers, retired to the Alps, where, being afterwards joined by several protestant officers, with a considerable number of fugitive protestants, they resolved to defend themselves, and made several successful attacks upon the Roman catholic towns and forces; carrying terror by the valour of their exploits, and the boldness of their enterprises.

## SECTION VIII.

### ACCOUNT OF THE PERSECUTIONS OF MICHAEL DE MOLINOS, A NATIVE OF SPAIN.

Michael de Molinos, by birth a Spaniard, and of a rich and honourable family, entered at an early age into priest's orders, but would accept of no preferment in the church. His talents were of a very superior class, and he dedicated them to the service of his fellow-creatures without any view of self-interest. His life was uniformly pious; nor did he assume those austerities so common among the religious orders of the Romish church. Being of a contemplative turn, he pursued the track of the mystical divines, and having acquired great reputation in Spain, he became desirous of propagating his mode of devotion, and, accordingly, left his own country, and settled at Rome. Here he soon connected himself with some of the most distinguished among the literati, who, approving of his religious maxims, assisted him in promoting them. His followers soon augmented to a considerable number, and, from the peculiarity of their doctrines, were distinguished by the name of Quietists.

In 1675, he published a book, entitled, *Il Guida Spirituale*, which soon became known, and was read with great avidity, both in Italy and Spain. His fame was now blazed abroad, and friends flowed in upon him. Letters were written to him from numbers of people, and

a correspondence was settled between him and those who approved of his system, 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; but those who attached themselves to him with the greatest sincerity, were some of the fathers of the Oratory, the most eminent of whom were Coloredi, Ciceri, and Petrucci. Many of the cardinals also courted his friendship. Among others was the cardinal d'Estrées, a man of great learning, who conversed with him daily. Molinos opened his mind to this favourite without reserve; which led to a correspondence between Molinos and some of the most distinguished characters in France, of which the cardinal was a native.

The reputation of Molinos now began to alarm the Jesuits and Dominicans, who determined to put a stop to the progress of this new system of opinions. They, therefore, began to decry the author of it; and as heresy is an imputation that makes the strongest impression at Rome, Molinos and his followers were stigmatized as heretics. Books were also written by the Jesuits against him and his opinions. These Molinos answered with becoming spirit, which increased his popularity; while his disputes occasioned such a disturbance in Rome, that the affair was noticed by the inquisition. Molinos and his book, and father Petrucci, who had written some treatises and letters on the same subject, were brought under severe examination; and the Jesuits were considered as the accusers. In the course of the examination both Molinos and Petrucci acquitted themselves so ably, that their books were again approved, and the answers which the Jesuits had written were censured as scandalous and unbecoming.

Petrucci, on this occasion, was so highly approved, that he was soon after made bishop of Jesis. Their books were now esteemed more than ever, their system was more followed, and its importance as well as novelty contributed to raise the credit, and increase the number of their disciples. Thus the great reputation acquired by Molinos and Petrucci, occasioned a daily increase of the Quietists. All who were thought sincerely devout, or at least affected so to be, were reckoned among the number. These persons, in proportion as their zeal increased in their frequent and serious devotions, appeared less careful about the exterior parts of the church ceremonies. They were not so assiduous at mass, nor so earnest to procure it to be said for their friends; nor were they so frequent either in processions, or at confession, or any other outward observances.

Notwithstanding the approbation expressed for Molinos's book by the inquisition had checked the open hostility of his enemies, they were still inveterate against him in their hearts, and determined if possible to ruin him. They therefore secretly insinuated that he had ill designs, and was an enemy to christianity: that under pretence of raising men to a sublime strain of devotion, he intended to erase from their minds a sense of the mysteries of religion. Because he was a Spaniard, they gave out that he was descended from a Jewish or Mahometan race, and that he might carry in his blood, or in his first education, some seeds of those doctrines he had since cultivated with no less art than zeal. Thus finding himself attacked with such unrelenting malice, Molinos took

every necessary precaution to prevent its effect upon the public mind. He wrote a treatise, entitled, "Frequent and Daily Communion," which was warmly approved by some of the most learned of the Romish clergy. This, with his *Spiritual Guide*, was printed in the year 1675, and in the preface to it he declared, that he had not written it with any design to engage in matters of controversy, but by the earnest solicitations of many pious people.

The Jesuits having again failed in their attempt to crush his influence at Rome, applied to the court of France, where they so far succeeded, that an order was sent to cardinal d'Estrées, commanding him to prosecute Molinos with all possible rigour. The cardinal, notwithstanding his attachment to Molinos, resolved to sacrifice friendship to interest. Finding, however, there was not sufficient matter for an immediate accusation against him, he determined to supply that defect himself. He went to the inquisitors, and informed them of several particulars relative both to Molinos and Petrucci, who, with several of their friends, were put into the inquisitorial court.

On being brought before the judges, about the beginning of the year 1684, Petrucci answered the respective questions put to him with so much judgment and temper, that he was soon dismissed: but with regard to Molinos, though the inquisitors had not any just accusation against him, yet they strained every nerve to find him guilty of heresy. They first objected to his holding a correspondence in different parts of Europe; but of this he was acquitted, as the matter of that correspondence could not be made criminal. They then directed their attention to some suspicious papers found in his chamber; but he so clearly explained their meaning, that nothing could be made of them to his prejudice. At length cardinal d'Estrées, after producing the order sent him by the king of France for prosecuting Molinos, said he could convince the court of his heresy. He then proceeded to pervert the meaning of some passages in Molinos's books and papers, and related many false and aggravating circumstances relative to the prisoner. He acknowledged he had lived with him under the appearance of friendship, but that it was only to discover his principles and intentions; that he 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 became master of all his secrets. In consequence of this evidence, Molinos was closely confined for some time, during which period all was quiet, and his followers prosecuted their course without interruption. But, at the instigation of the Jesuits, a storm suddenly broke out upon them with most inveterate fury. The count Vespiniiani and his lady, Don Paulo Rocchi, confessor to the prince Borghese, and some of his family, with several others, to the amount of seventy persons, among whom were many highly esteemed both for their learning and piety, were put into the inquisition. The accusation laid against the clergy was, their neglecting to say the breviary; the rest were accused of going to communion without first attending confession, and neglecting all the exterior parts of religion. The countess said, on her examination before the inquisitors, that she had never revealed her



method of devotion to any mortal but her confessor, without whose treachery it was impossible they should know it. That, therefore, it was time to give over going to confession if priests thus abused it, betraying the most secret thoughts entrusted to them; and that, for the future, she would only make her confession to God. From this spirited speech, and the 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 had said might lessen the credit of confession. They were therefore both discharged; but bound to appear whenever they should be called upon.

Such was the inveteracy of the Jesuits against the Quietists, that within the space of a month upwards of 200 persons, besides those already mentioned, were put into the inquisition; and that method of devotion which had passed in Italy as the most elevated to which mortals could aspire, was deemed heretical, and the chief promoters of it confined in wretched dungeons. To extirpate Quietism, the inquisitors sent a circular letter to cardinal Cibo, as the chief minister, to suppress 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 prayers 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 that none of the new sect should be suffered to have direction of the nunneries. Orders were likewise given to proceed criminally against those who should be found guilty of such abominable errors.

A strict enquiry was made after this into all the nunneries in Rome; when most of their directors and confessors were discovered to be engaged in the new pursuits. It was found that the Carmelites, the nuns of the Conception, and those of several other convents, wholly devoted themselves to prayer and contemplation; and that, instead of their beads, and other ceremonies before saints and 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 to do so. Information of this being given to the inquisition, orders were sent that all books written in the same strain with those of Molinos and Petrucci should be sequestered, and that the people universally should be compelled to return to their original form of worship.

Little effect was produced by the circular letter sent to cardinal Cibo, 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 through most of the principal towns in Italy. This gave great uneasiness to the inquisitors, who adopted every method they could 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.

In the mean time, Molinos suffered great indignities from the officers

of the inquisition; and the only comfort he received was being sometimes visited by father Petrucci. Yet though he had lived in the highest reputation at 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. Most of his followers, who had been placed in the inquisition, having abjured his system, were dismissed; but a harder fate awaited their leader. When he had lain a considerable time in prison, he was brought again before the inquisitors, to answer to a number of articles exhibited against him from his writings. As soon as he appeared in court, a chain was put round his body, and a wax-light in his hand, when two friars read aloud the articles of accusation. Molinos answered each with great steadiness and resolution; but notwithstanding his arguments defeated the force of all that was alleged against him, he was found guilty of heresy, and condemned to imprisonment for life.

Having left the court he was attended by a priest, who had borne him the greatest respect. On his arrival at the prison, he entered the cell with great tranquillity; and on taking leave of the priest thus addressed him: "Adieu, father; we shall meet again at the day of judgment, and then it will appear on which side the truth is, whether on mine or on yours." While in confinement he was several times tortured in the most cruel manner, till at length the severity of the punishments overpowered his strength and his existence. His followers were so affected by his melancholy dissolution, that the greater part of them soon abjured his principles; and by the assiduity of the Jesuits, Quietism was totally extirpated.

## SECTION IX.

### ACCOUNT OF THE MARTYRDOM OF JOHN CALAS, OF TOULOUSE IN THE YEAR 1761.

By this interesting story, the truth of which is not only certified in historical records, but the event is still fresh in the memory of several persons, natives of Toulouse, we have ample proofs, if any were requisite, that the abominable spirit of popish persecution will always prevail wherever that religion has an ascendancy. The shocking act took place in a polished age; and hence it proves, that neither experience nor improvement can root out the inveterate prejudices of the Roman catholics, or render them less cruel, or exorable, to the protestants.

John Calas was a merchant, of the city of Toulouse, where he had settled and lived in good repute: he had married an English woman of French extraction. He and his wife were both protestants, and had five sons whom they educated in the same religion; but Lewis, one of the sons, became a Roman catholic, having been converted by a popish servant, who had lived in the family above thirty years. The father, however, did not express any resentment on the occasion, but kept the servant in the family, and settled an annuity upon the son. In October 1761, the family consisted of John Calas and his wife, one woman servant, Mark Anthony Calas the eldest son, and Peter Calas

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

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

In a short time Anthony returned, having bought the cheese, and La Vaisse also coming back about the same time, the family and their guest sat down to supper, in a room up one pair of stairs ; the whole company consisting of Calas the father and his wife, Anthony and Peter Calas the sons, and La Vaisse the guest ; no other person being in the house, except the maid-servant, who has been mentioned already. This was about seven o'clock : the supper was not long ; but before it was over, or, according to the French expression, "when they came to the desert," Anthony left the table, and went into the kitchen, which was on the same floor, as he was accustomed. 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 enquiry after Anthony, continued in conversation together till between nine and ten o'clock, when La Vaisse took his leave, and Peter, who had fallen asleep, was awakened to attend him to the door.

There was on the ground floor of the house a shop and a warehouse ; which were divided from each other by a pair of folding-doors. When

Peter Calas and La Vaisse came down stairs into the shop, they were extremely shocked to see Anthony hanging in his shirt, from a bar which he had laid across the top of the two folding-doors, having half opened them for that purpose. On discovering this horrid spectacle, they shrieked out, which brought down Calas the father, the mother being seized with a terror which kept her trembling in the passage above. The unhappy old man rushed forward, and taking the body in his arms, the bar, to which the rope that suspended him was fastened, slipped off from the folding door of the warehouse, and fell down. Having placed the body on the ground, he loosed and took off the cord in an agony of grief and anguish not to be expressed, weeping, trembling, and deploring himself and his child. The two young men, his second son and La Vaisse, who had not had presence of mind to attempt taking down the body, were standing by, confounded with amazement and horror. Meanwhile the mother, hearing the confused cries and complaints of her husband, and finding no one come to her, summoned resolution to go down stairs. At the bottom she saw La Vaisse, and hastily demanded what was the matter. This question roused Calas in a moment, and instead of answering her, he urged her to return to her room, to which, with much reluctance, she consented; but the conflict of her mind being such as could not be long borne, she sent down the maid to know what was the matter. When the maid discovered what had happened, she continued below, either because she feared to carry an account of it to her mistress, or because she busied herself in doing some good office to her master, who was still embracing the body of his son, and bathing it with his tears. The mother again went down and mixed in the scene, with such emotions as it must naturally produce. In the mean time Peter had sent for La Moire, a surgeon in the neighbourhood. La Moire was not at home, but his apprentice, named Grosse, came instantly. Upon examination, he found the body quite dead; and on taking off the neckcloth, which was of black taffata, he saw the mark of the cord, and immediately pronounced that the deceased had been strangled. This particular had not been told, for the poor old man, when Peter was going for La Moire, cried out, "Save at least the honour of my family; do not go and spread a report that your brother has made away with himself."

A crowd of people was by this time gathered about the house, and one Casing, with another friend or two of the family, had come in. Some of those who were in the street had heard the cries and exclamations of the father, the mother, the brother, and his friend, before they knew what was the matter; and having by some means heard that Anthony Calas was suddenly dead, and that the surgeon, who had examined the body, declared he had been strangled, they took it into their heads he had been murdered; and as the family were protestants, they presently supposed that the young man was about to change his religion, and had been put to death for that reason. The cries they had heard they fancied were those of the deceased, while he was resisting the violence that was offered him. The tumult in the street increased every moment: some said that Anthony Calas was to have abjured the next day; others, that protestants are bound by their religion to strangle

their children when they are inclined to become catholics; others, who had found out that La Vaisse was in the house when the accident happened, confidently affirmed that the protestants, at their last assembly, appointed a person to be their common executioner upon these occasions and that La Vaisse was the man, who, in consequence of the office to which he had been appointed, had come to the house of Calas to hang his son.

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

The chief magistrate, notwithstanding these appearances, thought proper to agree with the opinion of the mob, and took it into his head that old Calas had sent for La Vaisse, telling him he had a son to be strangled; that La Vaisse had come to perform the office of executioner; and that he had received assistance from the father and brother. On account of these notions the magistrate ordered the body of the deceased to be carried to the town-house, with the clothes. The father and son were thrown into a dark dungeon; and the mother, La Vaisse, the maid and Casing, were imprisoned in one that admitted the light. The next day, what is called the process verbal was taken at the town-house, instead of the spot where the body was found, as the law directs; but was dated at Calas's house to conceal the irregularity. This process is somewhat like the coroner's inquest in England: witnesses are examined, and the magistrate makes his report, which is the same there as the verdict of the coroner's jury here. The witnesses examined were the physician and surgeon, who proved Anthony Calas to have been strangled. The surgeon having been ordered to examine the stomach of the deceased, deposed that the food which was found there had been taken four hours before his death. Finding that no proof of the murder could be procured, the magistrate had recourse to a monitory, or general information, in which the crime was taken for granted, and all persons were required to give such testimony against it as they were able, particularizing the points to which they were to speak. The recital was that La Vaisse was commissioned by the protestants to be their executioner in ordinary, when any of their children were to be put to death for changing their religion: it said also, that when the protestants thus kill their children, they compel them to kneel, and one of the interrogatories was, whether any person had seen Anthony Calas kneel before his

father when he strangled him: it added that Anthony Calas died a Roman catholic, and required evidence of his catholicism.

These ridiculous opinions being adopted and published by the principal magistrate of a considerable city, the church of Geneva thought itself obliged to send an attestation of its abhorrence of opinions so abominable and absurd, and of its astonishment that the family, or any protestants, should be suspected of such opinions by persons whose rank and office required them to have more knowledge and better judgment.

However, before this monitory was published, the mob had got a notion, that Anthony Calas was the next day to have entered into the fraternity of the White Penitents. The magistrate immediately adopted this opinion without the least examination, and ordered Anthony's body to be buried in the middle of St. Stephen's church, which was accordingly done; forty priests, and all the white penitents, assisting in the funeral procession.

A short time after the interment of the deceased, the white penitents performed a solemn service for him in their chapel: the church was hung with white, and a tomb was raised in the centre, on the top of which was placed a human skeleton, holding in one hand a paper, on which was written, "Abjuration of heresy," and in the other a palm, the emblem of martyrdom. The Franciscans performed a service of the same kind for him the next day; and it is easy to imagine how much the minds of the people were inflamed by this strange folly of their magistrates and priests.

The magistrates continued the prosecution with unrelenting severity; and though the grief and distraction of the family, when he first came to the house, were alone sufficient to have convinced any reasonable being that they were not the authors of the event which they deplored, yet having publicly attested that they were guilty in his monitory, without proof, and no proof coming in, he thought fit to condemn the unhappy father, mother, brother, friend, and servant, to the torture, and put them all into irons on the 18th of November. Casing was enlarged upon evidence that he was not in Calas's house till after Anthony was dead. From these dreadful proceedings the sufferers appealed to the parliament, which immediately took cognizance of the affair, and annulled the sentence of the magistrate as irregular; but the prosecution still continued.

So soon as the trial came on, the public executioner, who had been taken to Calas's house, and shewn the folding-doors and the bar, deposed that it was impossible Anthony should have hanged himself as was declared. Another witness swore, that he looked through the key-hole of the door into a room, where he saw men running hastily to and fro. A third swore, that his wife had told him a woman named Maundril had told her, that a certain woman unknown had asserted she heard the cries of Anthony Calas at the further end of the city. From this ridiculous evidence the majority of the parliament were of opinion that the prisoners were guilty, and therefore ordered them to be tried by the criminal court of Toulouse.

There was among those who presided at the trial one La Borde, who had zealously opposed the popular prejudices; and though it was mani-

fest to demonstration that the prisoners were either all innocent or all guilty, he voted that the father should first suffer the torture, ordinary and extraordinary, to discover his accomplices, and be then broken alive upon the wheel; to receive the last stroke when he had endured two hours, and then to be burnt to ashes. In this opinion he had the concurrence of six others; three were for the torture alone; two were of opinion that they should endeavour to ascertain upon the spot whether Anthony could hang himself or not; and one voted to acquit the prisoner. After long debate the majority were for the torture and wheel, and probably condemned the father by way of experiment, to know whether he was guilty or not, hoping he would in the agony confess the crime, and accuse the other prisoners, whose fate remained suspended. It is, however, certain that if they had evidence against the father to justify the sentence pronounced against him, that very evidence would have justified the same sentence against the rest; and that they could not righteously condemn him, as the rest were in the house together when Anthony died. All concurred in declaring he hanged himself, that the persons accused could have had no motive to do such an act, nor could one have put him to death by violence without the knowledge of the rest.

However, poor Calas, who was sixty-eight years of age, 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 who saw him. Father Bourges and father Coldagues, the two Dominicans, who attended him in his last moments, wished their latter end might be like his, and declared that they thought him, not only wholly innocent of the crime laid to his charge, but an exemplary instance of true christian patience, charity, and fortitude.

He gave but a single shriek, and that not very violent, when he received the first stroke; after that he uttered no complaint. Being at length placed on the wheel, to wait for the moment which was to end his life and his misery together, he expressed himself with an humble hope of a happy immortality, and a compassionate regard for the judges who had condemned him. When he saw the executioner prepared to give him the last stroke, he made a fresh declaration of his innocence to father Bourges; but while the words were yet in his mouth, the magistrate, the author of this catastrophe, and who came upon the scaffold to gratify his desire of being a witness to the punishment and death, ran up to him and bawled out, "Wretch, there are the fagots which are to reduce your body to ashes; speak the truth." M. Calas made no reply, but turned his head a little aside, and that moment the executioner did his office. Donat Calas, a boy of fifteen years of age, and the youngest son of the unfortunate victim, was apprenticed to a merchant at Nismes, when he heard of the dreadful punishment by which seven prejudiced judges of Toulouse had put his worthy father to death. He was an amiable and serious youth, and nothing could exceed his grief at the event, except the resignation he evinced on finding with what innocence as well as fortitude his holy parent suffered death.

So violent was the popular outcry against this family in Languedoc,

that every one expected to see the children broke upon the wheel, and the mother burnt alive. Even the attorney-general expected it. So weak, it is said, had been the defence made by this innocent family, oppressed by misfortunes, and terrified at the sight of lighted piles, racks, and wheels. Donat Calas was made to dread sharing the fate of the rest of his family, and advised to fly into Switzerland: he found a gentleman who at first could only pity and relieve him, without daring to judge of the rigour exercised against his parents and brothers. Shortly after, one of the brothers, who was only banished, likewise threw himself into the arms of the same person, who, for more than a month, took every possible precaution to be assured of the innocence of this family. When he was once convinced, he thought himself obliged in conscience to employ his friends, his purse, his pen, and his credit, to repair the fatal mistake of the seven judges of Toulouse, and to have the proceedings revised by the king's counsel. The revision lasted three years, and it is well known what honour Messrs. de Gaosne and Baquancourt acquired by defending and reporting this memorable cause. Fifty masters of the Court of Requests unanimously declared the whole family of Calas innocent, and recommended them to the benevolent justice of his majesty. The duke de Choiseul, who never let slip an opportunity of signaling the greatness of his character, not only assisted them with money, but obtained for them a gratuity of 36,000 livres from the king.

The arrêt which justified the family of Calas, and changed their fate, was signed on the 9th of March 1765. The 9th of March 1762, was the day on which the innocent and virtuous father of that family had been executed. All Paris ran in crowds to see the family come out of prison, and clapped their hands for joy, while the tears streamed down their cheeks. Such a scene had never before been witnessed. There are some few aged persons now living in the south of France who were spectators, when children, of the sight, and it is a subject on which they love to discourse, and on which they are more eloquent than on any other.

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\* \* It may be proper here to add that the chief contents of the following book—Book IX.—are to be attributed, not to Fox, or to any who assisted him in his original compilation, or who edited the early republications of his work. They are the compilation of the editor of the edition of 1806—the Rev. J. Milner, who acknowledges to have “prepared them from the works of Dr. Burnet and numerous other learned writers on Ecclesiastical History.” To the editor of the present edition, however, they are indebted for the correctness with which they now appear, and for several interesting additions the reader will observe them to have received.



## BOOK IX.

Containing a History of the Reformation, and the circumstances which preceded it, from the time of Wickliffe to the reign of Mary, including a summary of events connected with Christian Martyrdom, previous and subsequent to the reign of William the Conqueror.

## SECTION I.

PARTICULARS OF THE ASCENDANCY OF THE POPES THROUGHOUT CHRISTENDOM, FROM THE TIME OF WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR, TO THAT OF WICKLIFFE.

IN a preceding part of our volume we traced the influence of popery over the continent and in our own kingdom, down to the reign of the vicious and monkish king Edgar, who was so great a patron of the religion of the popes, that he is said to have built as many monasteries for them as there are Sundays in the year. Ediner reports that they were forty-eight in number; but perhaps he does not include the nunneries. It is certain that from this period till the reformation was attempted by Wickliffe, the abominations of these arch and unchristian rulers increased with rapid strides, till at length all the sovereigns of Europe were compelled to do them the most servile homage. It was in the reign of Edgar that monks were first made spiritual ministers, though contrary to the old decrees and customs of the church, and in the time of this sovereign they were allowed to marry, there being no law forbidding them to do so till the reign of pope Hildebrand, otherwise called Gregory VII.

There are many curious facts relating to king Edgar, mentioned by the early writers, some of which we shall quote, because they are not to be found in our principal, if in any of our histories of England. He was the successor of Alfred, and though he imitated that great sovereign in some praise-worthy actions, yet he committed many horrid crimes, which have stained his name with infamy. His decree by which he compelled Ludwallus, prince of Wales, to furnish 300 wolves as a yearly tribute, is well known, by which, in the course of four years, the wolves were exterminated from England, and he also set many other notable examples, which it would be well for all nations if modern princes were to imitate. But in his religion he was superstitious to the greatest degree, and consequently cruel to those towards whom he had any dislike or antipathy. William of Malmsbury, and various other writers, report of him that about the thirteenth year of his reign, being at Chester, eight petty or under kings came and did homage to him. The first was the king of Scots, called Kinadius, Macolinus of Cumberland, Muckus or Mascusinus king of Monia and other Islands, and the kings of Wales, the names of whom were Dunewaldus, Sifresh, Huwall, Jacob, Ulkell, and Juchel. All these, after they had given their fidelity to Edgar, the

next day entered with him on the river Dee; where sitting in a boat, he took the helm, and caused the eight kings to row him up and down the river, to and from the church of St. John, to his palace, in token that he was master and lord of so many provinces; and on this occasion he is reported to have said, "*Tunc demum posse successores suos gloriari, se Reges Angliæ esse, cum tanta prærogativa honorum fruere.*" Undoubtedly he would have spoken much better, had he said with St. Paul, "*Absit mihi gloriari, nisi in Cruce Domini nostri Jesu Christi.*"

To trace the numerous disgusting innovations upon the religion of Christ, during the space of three hundred years and upwards, or rather from the time of king Edgar to the appearance of Wickliffe, would be the province of a writer on church history, besides which, it would be incompatible with our limits. Suffice it to say, that there was scarcely a war or civil broil in which this country was engaged, which did not originate in the artifices of popes, monks, and friars. It is true that they sometimes fell victims to their own machinations; for, from the year 1004, many popes were successively poisoned. Several died unnatural deaths: for example, pope Sylvester was cut to pieces by his own people, through the superstitious fears he had impressed upon their minds. Several of his successors used all manner of infamous means to gain the ascendancy, and their reigns were but short. Pope Benedict, who succeeded John XXI. thought proper to resist the emperor Henry III. the son of Conrad, and place in his room Peter, king of Hungary; but afterwards being alarmed lest Henry should prevail in battle, he sold his seat to Gratianus, called Gregory VI., for 1500*l.* At this time there were three popes in Rome, all striving against each other for the supreme power, viz. Benedict IX. Sylvester III. and Gregory VI. On which Henry, the emperor, coming to that city, displaced the three at once, and appointed Clement the second, enacting that there should no bishop of Rome henceforth be chosen but by the consent and confirmation of his imperial law. Though this law was both agreeable and necessary for public tranquillity, yet the cardinals would not suffer it long to stand, but strove to subvert it by subtlety and open violence. In the time of Clement, the Romans made an oath to the emperor concerning the election of the bishops, to intermeddle no farther, but as the assent of the emperor should go; but the emperor departing thence into Germany again, they forgot their oath, and within nine months after poisoned the bishop. This fact, some impute to Stephen his successor, called Damasus II. Some impute it to Brazutus, who is reported by some historians to have poisoned six popes, viz. Clement II. Damasus II. Leo IX. Victor II. Stephen IX. and Nicholas II.

Clement was succeeded by Damasus II. neither by consent of the people, nor of the emperor, but by force and invasion; and he also within twenty-three days being poisoned, much contention and striving began in Rome about the papal seat. Whereupon the Romans, through the counsel of the cardinals, sent to the emperor desiring him to give them a bishop. He gave them one whose name was Bruno, an Alman, and bishop of Cullen, afterwards called Leo IX. This pope was poisoned by Brazutus, in the first year of his popedom. After his death Theophylactus made an effort to be pope, but Hildebrand, to

defeat him, went to the emperor, and persuaded him to assign another bishop, a German, who ascended the papal chair under the title of Victor II. The second year of his papacy, or little more, he also followed his predecessors, being poisoned by Brazutus, through the instigation of Hildebrand and his master.

At this time the church and the clergy of Rome began to wrest from the emperor's hands the election of the pope; electing Stephen IX. contrary to their oath, and the emperor's assignment. From this period, indeed, their ascendancy was so great, that the most powerful sovereigns of Europe were obliged to do them homage, and it was in the time of pope Nicholas, who succeeded Stephen, A. D. 1059, that the synod of Sutrium was broken up by this pope, who came to Rome and established the dreaded *Concilium Lateranum*, or Council of the Lateran. In this council was first promulgated the terrible sentence of excommunication mentioned in the decrees, and beginning *In nomine Domini nostri*. The effect was that he undermined the emperor's jurisdiction, and transferred to a few cardinals, and certain catholic persons, the full authority of filling the pontiff chair. Then, against all such as crept into the seat of Peter by money, or favour, without the full consent of the cardinals, he thundered terrible blasts of excommunication, accursing them and their children with the anger of Almighty God; giving authority and power to cardinals, with the clergy and laity, to depose all such persons, and call a council-general, wheresoever they would, against them.

In the council of Lateran, under pope Nicholas II., Berengarius Andegavensis, an archdeacon, was driven to the recantation of his doctrine, denying the real substance of Christ's holy body and blood to be in the sacrament, otherwise than sacramentally and in mystery. In the same council also was invented the doctrine and term of transubstantiation.

Nicholas however only reigned three years and a half, and then drank of Brazutus's cup, like his predecessors. At the beginning of his reign or somewhat before, about the year of our Lord 1057, Henry the fourth was made emperor, being but a child, and reigned fifty years; but not without great molestation and much disquietness; for in the course of time, when Hildebrand came to the popedom, he had the audacity to excommunicate him, and absolve all his subjects from their oath of allegiance to him. On this all his nobles, through fear of the pope's curse, deserted him; and the emperor dreading the consequences that would ensue, though a brave man, found it necessary to make his submission. He accordingly repaired to the city of Canosus, where the pope then was, and went barefooted with his wife and child to the gate, where he from morning to night, fasting all the day, most humbly desired absolution, craving to be let in to the bishop. But no ingress being given him he continued three days together in his condition: at length answer came that the pope's majesty had yet no leisure to talk with him. The emperor, moved that he was not let into the city, patient and with an humble mind stopped without the walls, with no little distress; for it was a sharp winter, and the ground was frozen. At length his request was granted through the entreating of Matilda, the pope's paramour, and of Arelaus, earl of Sebaudia, and the abbot of Cluniak. On the fourth day being

let in, as a token of his repentance he yielded to the pope's hands his crown, with all other imperial ornaments, and confessed himself unworthy of the empire, if ever he did against the pope hereafter, as he had done before, desiring for that time to be absolved and forgiven. The pope answered that he would neither forgive him, nor release the bond of his excommunication, but upon condition that he should be content to stand to his arbitrement in the council, and to take such penance as he should enjoin him; also that he should be ready to appear in what place or time the pope should appoint him. Moreover, that he, being content to take the pope judge of his cause, should answer in the council to all objections and accusations laid against him, and that he should never seek any revenge; that he should stand to the pope's mind and pleasure whether to have his kingdom restored, or to lose it. Finally, that before the trial of his cause, he should neither use his kingly ornaments, sceptre nor crown; nor usurp authority to govern, nor exact any oath of allegiance from his subjects. These things being promised to the bishop by an oath, and put in writing, the emperor was released from excommunication.

After the death of Hildebrand came pope Victor, who was set up by Matilda and the duke of Normandy, with the faction and retinue of Hildebrand. But his papal authority was brief, for being poisoned, it is said in his chalice, he reigned only one year and a half. Notwithstanding, the imitation and example of Hildebrand continued in them that followed. And as the kings of Israel followed the steps of Jeroboam till the time of their desolation; so for the greatest part all popes followed the steps and proceedings of Hildebrand, their spiritual Jeroboam, in maintaining false worship, and chiefly in upholding the dignity of the see against all rightful authority, and the lawful kingdom of Christ. In the time of Victor began the order of the monks of the Charter-house, through the means of one Hugo, bishop of Gracianople, and of Bruno, bishop of Cologne.

In the time of pope Honorius the second, a christian preacher named Arnulphus was martyred at Rome. Some say he was archbishop of Lugdun, as Hugo, Platina, Sabellicus. Tritemius says he was a priest, whose history, as he describes it, we will briefly give in English:— About this time, in the days of Honorius the second, one Arnulphus, a priest, a man zealous and of great devotion, and a worthy preacher, came to Rome, and in his preaching rebuked the dissolute and lascivious looseness and incontinency, avarice and immoderate pride of the clergy, provoking all to follow Christ and his apostles rather in their poverty and pureness of life. Thus this man was well accepted, and highly liked of the nobility of Rome, for a true disciple of Christ; but by the cardinals and clergy he was no less hated than favoured by the other, inso-much that privily in the night they took him and destroyed him. His martyrdom is said to have been revealed to him before from God by an angel, he being in the desert, when he was sent forth to preach; whereupon he said unto them publicly, “I know ye seek my life, and know you will take me away privily: but why? Because I preach to you the truth, and blame your pride, stoutness, avarice, incontinency, with your unmeasurable greediness in getting and heaping up riches; therefore





KING JOHN RESIGNING HIS CROWN TO THE POPE'S LEGATE.

SEE PAGE 283.

you are displeased with me. I take heaven and earth to witness, that I have preached unto you that which I was commanded of the Lord. But you contemn me and your Creator, who by his only Son hath redeemed you. And no marvel if you seek my death, being a sinful person, preaching unto you the truth, when if St. Peter were here this day and rebuked your vices which so multiply above all measure, you would not spare him." And as he was expressing this, with a loud voice he said moreover: "For my part I am not afraid to suffer death for the truth's sake: but this I say unto you, that God will look upon your iniquities, and will be revenged. You, being full of all impurity, play the blind guides to the people committed unto you, leading them the way to hell." Thus the hatred of the clergy being incensed against him for preaching truth, they conspired against him, and laying wait for him, took him and drowned him. Sabellicus and Platana say they hanged him.

We shall close our accounts of the ascendancy of the popes with one more remarkable fact of history. In the time of pope Innocent, king John of England, alarmed at the offence he had given to the see of Rome, and fearful of the invasion which the infamy of that see had excited against him, entreated for peace with the pope, and promised to do whatever he should command him. On this the pope sent his legate Pandulph to the king at Canterbury, where he waited their coming, and on the 13th day of May the king received them, making them an oath, "That of and for all things wherein he stood accursed, he would make ample restitution and satisfaction; and the lords and barons of England who were with the king attending the legate sware in like manner, that if the king would not accomplish in every thing the oath which he had taken, then they would cause him to hold and confirm the same whether he would or not."

Then the king himself submitted to the court of Rome and the pope, and gave up his dominions and realms of England and Ireland from him and from his heirs for evermore. With this condition, that the king and his heirs should take again these dominions of the pope to farm, paying for them yearly to the court of Rome 1000 marks of silver. Then the king took the crown from his head, kneeling down in the presence of all his lords and barons of England to Pandulph, the pope's chief legate, saying, "Here I resign the crown of the realm of England to the pope's hands, Innocent the third, and put me wholly in his mercy and ordinance." Then Pandulph took the crown of king John, and kept it five days as a possession of the realms of England and Ireland. This humiliating ceremony took place, some say at the Ewell monastery between Canterbury and Dover; others, at the monastery of St. John, then standing in all its glory at the extreme point of Dover, opposite the coast of France. The latter is the more probable, as it was the greater establishment; and more likely from its situation and celebrity to be chosen as the scene of this papal parade and disgraceful royal resignation.

It was not to be expected that after this submission the king was freed from popish influence; on the contrary, he was surrounded by monks in the interest of foreign countries, who did every thing they could to degrade and dishonour him. He died in the year 1216, after

an imbecile reign of eighteen years, and historians differ as to the manner of his death, some asserting that he died of an inflammation, others of a flux, while the fact generally believed is, that he was poisoned, as we shall presently shew.

It is recorded in the chronicle of William Caxton, called *Fructus Temporum*, that a monk named Simon, being much offended with a talk that the king had at his table, concerning Ludovic the French king's son, began to speculate how he most speedily might destroy him. First he counselled with his abbot, shewing him the whole matter, and what he was minded to do. He alleged for himself the prophecy of Caiaphas, saying — "It is better that one man die, than all the people should perish." "I am well contented," he added, "to lose my life, and so become a martyr, that I may utterly destroy this tyrant." With that the abbot wept for gladness, and much commended his fervent zeal. The monk then being absolved by the abbot for doing this act, went secretly into a garden near at hand, and finding there a venomous toad, he so pricked him and pressed him with his pen-knife, that he made him vomit all the poison that was within him. This done, he conveyed it into a cup of wine, and with a smiling and flattering countenance said thus to the king — "If it should like your princely majesty, here is such a cup of wine as ye never drank better before in all your life-time: I trust this draught shall make all England glad." With that the king drank a great draught thereof, pledging him. The monk soon after went to the farmery, and there is reported to have perished by a dreadful death. However, he had continually from thenceforth three monks to sing mass for his soul, confirmed by their general chapter.

The king within a short space after feeling great pain in his body, asked for Simon the monk; and answer was made that he had departed this life. "Then God have mercy upon me," answered the king; "I suspected as much, after he had said that all England should be glad." In Gisburne, we find, that dissenting from others he says that the king was poisoned with a dish of pears, which the monk had prepared for him on purpose; and asking the king whether he would taste of his fruit, and being bid to bring them in, did so. At the bringing in whereof the king doubting some poison, demanded of the monk what he had brought. He said, some fruit, and that very good, the best that ever he did taste. "Eat," said the king; and he took one of the pears which he knew, and did eat. Being bid to take another, he ate that also, and so likewise a third. Then the king, refraining no longer, took one of the other pears, and was poisoned.

Equally vindictive were the different popes towards the other christian sovereigns of Europe, but particularly those of Germany, one of whom, the valiant emperor Frederic, was compelled to submit to be stepped on by the feet of pope Alexander, and dared not make any resistance. In England, however, a spirit of resentment broke out in various reigns, in consequence of the papal oppressions, which continued with more or less violence till the exertions of the great Wickliffe, about whom we shall speak in the following section. Previous, however, to this time, there were several martyrdoms of religious men in England, though the cruelties inflicted on them did not arise so much from their sacred cha-



acter, as from the political motives which caused the invasions and insurrections. The massacre of the monks of Bangor, A. D. 856, was a dreadful instance of barbarity under the Saxon government. These monks were in most respects different from those who bear the name at present. Though catholics, they were generally pious and holy men.

The Danes landing in different parts of Britain, both in England and Scotland, in the eighth century, were at first repulsed; but in A. D. 857, a party of them landed near Southampton, and not only robbed the people, but murdered the clergy and burnt the churches. These barbarians penetrated into the centre of England, and took up their quarters at Nottingham in 868; but the English, under their king Ethelfred, drove them from those posts, and obliged them to retire into Northumberland. In the year 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, transixed his body with arrows, and then beheaded him. They burnt many of the churches, and among the rest that belonging to the Caldees at St. Andrew's, in Fifeshire, Scotland. The piety of this order of men made them objects of abhorrence to the Danes, who, wherever they went, singled out their priests for destruction, of whom no less than 200 were massacred in Scotland. Similar scenes took place in that part of Ireland now called Leinster; there the Danes murdered and burnt the priests alive in their own churches; they carried destruction wherever they went, sparing neither age nor sex; but the clergy were the most obnoxious to them, because they exposed their idolatry, and persuaded the people to have nothing to do with them. These Danish incursions and cruelties continued with greater or less force till the conquest, when new scenes arrested the public attention, and the pious ministers and members of the christian church had to contend with new enemies.

## SECTION II.

### HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH MARTYROLOGY AND REFORMATION, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF WICKLIFFE AND HIS DOCTRINES.

The first serious attempts made in England towards the reformation of the church, took place in the reign of Edward III. about A. D. 1350, when the morning star of that glorious day arose in our hemisphere—**JOHN WICKLIFFE**. He was public reader of divinity in the university of Oxford, and, by the learned of his day, was accounted most deeply versed in theology and all kinds of philosophy. This even his adversaries allowed. Walden, his bitterest enemy, writing to pope Martin, says, that he was astonished at his most strong arguments, with the places of authority which he had gathered, with the vehemency and force of his reasons. At his appearing, the greatest darkness pervaded the church. Little but the name of Christ remained among the Christians, while his true and lively doctrine was as far unknown unto the

most part, as his name was common unto all men. As touching faith, consolation, the end and use of the law, the office of Christ, of our impotency and weakness, of the Holy Ghost, of the greatness and strength of sin, of true works, grace, and free justification by faith, wherein consisteth and resteth the sum and matter of our profession, there was scarcely the mention of a word. Scripture, learning, and divinity, were known but to a few, and in the schools only, and there it was turned and converted almost entirely into sophistry. Instead of Peter and Paul, men occupied their time in studying Aquinas and Scotus, and the master of sentences. The world leaving and forsaking the lively power of God's spiritual word and doctrine, was altogether led and blinded with outward ceremonies and human traditions, wherein the whole scope, in a manner, of all christian perfection did consist and depend. In these was all the hope of obtaining salvation fully fixed: hereunto all things were attributed. Scarcely any other thing was seen in the temples or churches, taught or spoken of in sermons, or finally intended or gone about in their whole life, but only heaping up of certain shadowed ceremonies upon ceremonies; and the people were taught to worship no other thing but that which they saw, and almost all they saw they worshipped.

The christian faith was at that time counted none other thing but that every man should know that Christ once suffered, that is to say, that all men should know and understand that thing which the devils themselves also knew. Hypocrisy was substituted for holiness. All men were so addicted to outward shews, that even they which professed the most absolute and singular knowledge of the scriptures, scarcely understood any other thing. And this did evidently appear, not only in the common sort of doctors and teachers, but also in the very heads of the church; whose whole religion and piety consisted in observing days, meats, and raiment, and such like rhetorical circumstances, as of place, time, person, &c. Hence sprang so many sorts and fashions of vestures and garments; so many differences of colours and meats, with so many pilgrimages to several places, as though St. James at Compostella could do that which Christ could not do at Canterbury; or else that God were not of like power and strength in every place, or could not be found but as being sought for by running hither and thither. Then the holiness of the whole year was put off unto the Lent season. No country or land was counted holy, but only Palestine, where Christ had walked himself with his human feet. Such was the blindness of that time, that men strove and fought for the material cross at Jerusalem, as it had been for the chief strength of our faith. The Romish champions never ceased, by writings, admonishing and counselling, yea, and by quarrelling, to move and stir up princes to war and battle, even as though the faith and belief of the gospel were of small force or little effect without that wooden appendage. This was the cause of the expedition of king Richard unto Jerusalem; who being taken in the journey, and delivered unto the emperor, could scarcely be ransomed home again for thirty thousand marks.

Wickliffe boldly published his belief with regard to the several articles of religion, in which he differed from the common doctrine. Pope

Gregory XI. hearing this, condemned some of his tenets, and commanded the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishop of London, to oblige him to subscribe the condemnation of them; and in case of refusal to summon him to Rome. This commission could not easily be executed, Wickliffe having great friends, the chief of whom was John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, who enjoyed very great power, and was resolved to protect him. The archbishop holding a synod at St. Paul's, Wickliffe appeared, accompanied by the duke of Lancaster and lord Percy, marshal of England, when a dispute arising whether Wickliffe should answer sitting or standing, the duke of Lancaster proceeded to threats, and gave the bishop very hard words. The people present thinking the bishop in danger, sided with him, so that the duke and the earl-marshal thought it prudent to retire, and to take Wickliffe with them.

Soon after this an insurrection ensued, some incendiaries spreading a report that the duke of Lancaster had persuaded the king to take away the privileges of the city of London; which fired the people to such a degree that they broke open the Marshalsea, and freed all the prisoners; and not contented with this, a number of them went to the duke's palace in the Savoy, when missing his person, they plundered his house, and dragged his armour and weapons through the streets. For this outrage the duke of Lancaster caused the lord mayor and aldermen to be turned out, imagining that they had not used their authority to quell the mutineers. After this, the bishops meeting a second time, Wickliffe explained to them his sentiments with regard to the sacrament of the eucharist, in opposition to the belief of the Romanists; for which the bishops only enjoined him silence, not daring at that time to go to greater lengths.

A circumstance remarkably providential occurred at this period, which greatly tended to facilitate the cause of truth. This was a wide schism in the church of Rome. After the death of pope Gregory XI., who, in the midst of his anxiety to crush Wickliffe and his doctrines, was removed from his mortal career, the rise of the schism took place. Urban VI., who succeeded to the papal chair, was so proud and insolent to his cardinals, to dukes, princes, and queens, and so determined to advance his nephews and kindred, to the injury of princes, that the greatest number of his cardinals and courtiers gradually shrunk from him, and set up another French pope against him, named Clement, who reigned eleven years. After him Benedictus XIII. was elected, who reigned twenty-six years. On the contrary side, Urban VI. succeeded Boniface IX. Innocentius VIII. Gregory XII. Alexander V. and John XIII. Concerning this miserable schism, it would require another Iliad to comprehend in order all its circumstances and tragical parts; what trouble in the whole church, what parts taking in every country, what apprehending and imprisoning of priests and prelates taken by land and sea, and what shedding of blood followed in consequence. Otho, duke of Brunswick and prince of Tarentum, were taken and murdered. Joan his wife, queen of Jerusalem and Sicilia, who before had sent to pope Urban, in addition to other gifts at his coronation, 40,000 ducats in pure gold, was by the said Urban committed to

prison, and there strangled. Cardinals were racked without mercy, and tormented on gibbets, rather than instantly put to death. Battles were fought between the two popes, whereof 5000 on the one side were slain, besides the number of them which were taken prisoners. The cardinals were beheaded on one day, after long torments. The bishop of Aquilonensis, being suspected by pope Urban for not riding faster with the pope, his horse not being good, was slain by the pope sending his soldiers to cut him in pieces. Thus did these demons in human form continue to torment one another for the space of thirty-nine years, until the council of Constance somewhat appeased their wrath.

Wickliffe paid less regard to the injunctions of the bishops than to his duty to God, continued to promulgate his doctrines, and gradually to unveil the truth to the eyes of men. He wrote several works, which, as may be supposed, gave great alarm and offence to the existing clergy. But by the protection of the duke of Lancaster, he was secure from their malice. He translated the Bible into English, which, amidst the ignorance of the time, had the effect of the sun breaking forth in a dark night. To this Bible he prefixed a bold preface, wherein he reflected on the bad lives of the clergy, and condemned the worship of saints, images, and the corporeal presence of Christ in the sacrament: but what offended his enemies most was, his exhorting all people to read the Scriptures, in which testimonies against those corruptions appeared so strongly, that the only way to prevent their being blazoned to the world was not to permit the sacred writings to be translated or known.

About the same time fell a dissension in England between the people and the nobility, which did not a little disturb the common-wealth. In this tumult Simon of Sudbury, archbishop of Canterbury, was taken by the people and beheaded. In his place succeeded William Courtenay, who was no less diligent than his predecessor had been, in doing his utmost to root out heretics. Notwithstanding this formidable opposition Wickliffe's sect increased privily, and daily grew to greater force, until the time that William Barton, vice-chancellor of Oxford, had the whole rule of that university, who, calling together eight monastical doctors, and four others, with the consent of the rest of his affinity, put the common seal of the university to an edict, declaring unto every man, and threatening them under a grievous penalty, that none should hereafter associate themselves with any of Wickliffe's favourers. Unto Wickliffe himself he threatened the greater excommunication, and farther imprisonment, unless after three days canonical admonition or warning he did repent and amend; which when Wickliffe understood, forsaking the pope and all the clergy, he thought to appeal unto the king: but the duke of Lancaster interposing forbade him; whereby, being beset with troubles and vexations, as it were in the midst of the waves, he was forced again to make confession of his doctrine; in which confession, to avoid the rigour of things, he by qualifying his assertions, mitigated the severity he would otherwise have met with.

In consequence of Wickliffe's translation of the Bible and of his preface, his followers greatly multiplied. Many of them, indeed, were not men of learning; but being wrought upon by the conviction of plain reason, this determined them in their persuasion. In a short time

his doctrines made great progress, being not only espoused by vast numbers of the students of Oxford, but also by the great men at court, particularly by the duke of Lancaster and lord Percy, together with several young and well educated gentlemen. Hence Wickliffe may be considered as the great founder of the reformation in this kingdom. He was of Merton college in Oxford, where he took his doctor's degree, and became so eminent for his fine genius and great learning, that Simon Islip, archbishop of Canterbury, having founded Canterbury college, now Christ Church, in Oxford, appointed him rector: which employment he filled with universal approbation, till the death of the archbishop. Langhalm, successor to Islip, being desirous of favouring the monks, and introducing them into the college, attempted to remove Wickliffe, and to put one Woodhall, a monk, in his room. But the fellows of the college would never consent to this, they loving their old rector; but this affair being afterwards carried to Rome, Wickliffe was deprived in favour of Woodhall. However, this no ways lessened the reputation of the reformer, every one perceiving it was a general affair, and that the monks did not so much strike at Wickliffe's person, as at all the secular priests who were members of the college. And indeed, they were all turned out to make room for the monks. Shortly after he was presented to the living of Lutterworth, in the county of Leicester, and he there published, in his sermons and writings, certain opinions, which were judged new, because contrary to the received doctrine of those days. It must be observed, that his most bitter enemies never charged him with any immorality. This great man was left in quiet at Lutterworth till his death, which happened December 31, 1385. But after his body had lain in the grave forty-one years, his bones were taken up by decree of the synod of Constance, publicly burnt, and his ashes thrown into the river near the town. This condemnation of his doctrine did not prevent its spreading all over the kingdom, and with such success, that, according to Spelman, two men could not be found together, and one not a Lollard or Wickliffite.

The following are among the articles of Wickliffe which were condemned as heretical: The substance of material bread and wine doth remain in the sacrament of the altar after the consecration—The accidents do not remain without the subjects in the same sacrament, after the consecration—Christ is not in the sacrament of the altar truly and really, in his proper and corporeal person—If a bishop or a priest be in deadly sin, he doth not ordain, consecrate, nor baptize—If a man be duly and truly contrite and penitent, all exterior and outer confession is but superfluous and unprofitable unto him—It is not found or established by the gospel that Christ did make or ordain mass—If the pope be a reprobate and evil man, and consequently a member of the devil, he hath no power by any manner of means given unto him over faithful Christians—Since the time of Urban VI. there is none to be received for pope, but every man is to live after the manner of the Greeks, under his own law—It is against the Scripture, that ecclesiastical ministers should have any temporal possessions—No prelate ought to excommunicate any man except he knew him first to be excommunicate of God—He who doth so

excommunicate any man, is thereby himself either a heretic or excommunicated—All such who leave off preaching or hearing the word of God, or preaching of the gospel for fear of excommunication, they are already excommunicated, and in the day of judgment shall be counted as traitors unto God—It is lawful for any man, either deacon or priest, to preach the word of God without authority or licence of the apostolic see or any other of his catholics—So long as a man is in deadly sin, he is neither bishop nor prelate in the church of God.

Wickliffe had written divers works, which in the year 1410 were burnt at Oxford, the abbot of Shrewsbury being then commissary. And not only in England, but in Bohemia likewise, his books were set on fire by one Subinicus, archbishop of Prague, who made diligent inquisition for all the reformer had written. The number of the volumes composed and transcribed, said to have been destroyed, were most excellently and richly adorned with bosses of gold, and embellished coverings, being about the number of two hundred. But among all that he wrote no piece is more interesting for its size than the following letter, which he addressed to pope Urban VI. in the year 1382.

“ Verily I do rejoice to open and declare unto every man the faith which I do hold, and specially unto the bishop of Rome; the which forasmuch as I do suppose to be sound and true, he will most willingly confirm my said faith, or, if it be erroneous, amend the same.

“ First, I suppose that the gospel of Christ is the whole body of God’s law; and that Christ which did give that same law himself, I believe to be a very man, and in that point, to exceed the law of the gospel, and all other parts of the scripture. Again, I do give and hold the bishop of Rome, forso much as he is the vicar of Christ here in earth, to be bound most of all other men unto that law of the gospel. For the greatness among Christ’s disciples did not consist in worldly dignity or honours, but in the near and exact following of Christ in his life and manners: whereupon I do gather out of the heart of the law of the Lord, that Christ for the time of his pilgrimage here was a most poor man, abjecting and casting off all worldly rule and honour, as appeareth by the gospel of St. Matthew, the eighth chapter, and the second of the Corinthians, the eighth chapter.

“ Hereby I do fully gather, that no faithful man ought to follow either the pope himself, or any of the holy men, but in such points as they have followed the Lord Jesus Christ. For Peter and the sons of Zebedee, by desiring worldly honour, contrary to the following of Christ’s steps, did offend, and therefore in those errors they ought not to be followed.

“ Hereof I do gather, as a counsel, that the pope ought to leave unto the secular power all temporal dominion and rule, and thereunto effectually to move and exhort his whole clergy; for so did Christ, and especially by his apostles. Wherefore if I have erred in any of these points, I will most humbly submit myself unto correction, even by death if necessity so require; and if I could labour according to my will or desire in mine own person, I would surely present myself before the bishop of Rome; but the Lord hath otherwise visited me to the contrary, and hath taught me rather to obey God than man. Forsomuch then as

God hath given unto the pope just and true evangelical instincts, we ought to pray that they be not extinguished by any subtle or crafty device.

“And that the pope and cardinals be not moved to do any thing contrary unto the law of the Lord. Wherefore let us pray unto our God, that he will so stir up our pope Urban VI. as he began, that he with his clergy may follow the Lord Jesus Christ in life and manners; and that they may teach the people effectually; and that they likewise may faithfully follow them in the same. And let us specially pray, that our pope may be preserved from all malign and evil counsel, which we do know that evil and envious men of his household would give him. And seeing the Lord will not suffer us to be tempted above our power, much less then will he require of any creature to do that thing which they are not able; forsomuch as that is the plain condition and manner of antichrist.”

In the council of the Lateran, a decree was made with regard to heretics, which required all magistrates to extirpate them upon pain of forfeiture and deposition. The canons of this council being received in England, the prosecution of heretics became a part of the common law; and a writ, styled *de heretico comburendo*, was issued under king Henry IV. for burning them upon their conviction; after which special statutes were made, which commenced under Richard II., about the year 1390. The first made was assented to only by the lords; but the king sanctioned it without the concurrence of the commons. Yet the utmost extent of the severity in this was, that writs should be issued to the laws of the church. It appears that those heretics were, at this time, very numerous, that they wore a peculiar habit, preached in churches and many other places against the existing faith, and refused to pay obedience to ecclesiastical censures.

On the accession of Henry IV. to the crown in 1399, as he owed it in a great measure to the clergy, he passed an act against all who should presume to preach without the bishop's licence, or against the established church. It was enacted that all transgressors of this kind should be imprisoned, and be brought to trial within three months. If upon conviction they offered to abjure, and were not relapsed, they were to be imprisoned and fined at pleasure; but if they refused to abjure, or were relapsed, they were to be delivered over to the secular arm; and the magistrates were to burn them in some public place. About this time William Sautre, parish priest of St. Osith in London, being condemned as a relapse, and degraded by Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, a writ was issued, wherein burning is called the common punishment, and referred to the customs of other nations. This was the first example of that cruel punishment in this kingdom.

The clergy, alarmed lest the doctrines of Wickliffe should ultimately become established, used every exertion in their power to check them. In the reign of Richard II. the bishops obtained a general licence to imprison heretics without being obliged to procure a special order from court, which however the house of commons caused to be revoked. But as the fear of imprisonment could not check the evil dreaded by the bishops, Henry IV., whose particular object was to win the affection of the clergy, earnestly recommended to parliament the concerns of the church,

How reluctant soever the house of commons might be to prosecute the Lollards, the credit of the court, and the cabals of the clergy, at last obtained a most detestable act, for burning obstinate heretics; which bloody statute was not repealed till the year 1677. It was immediately after the passing of this statute that the ecclesiastical court condemned William Sautre to the flames.

Notwithstanding the opposition of the popish clergy, Wickliffe's doctrine continued to spread in Henry the IVth's reign, even to such a degree, that the majority of the house of commons were inclined to it; whence they presented two petitions to the king, one against the clergy, the other in favour of the Lollards. The first set forth, that the clergy made ill use of their wealth, and consumed their income in a manner quite different from the intent of the donors; that their revenues were excessive, and consequently it would be necessary to lessen them; that so many estates might easily be seized as would provide for one hundred and fifty earls at the rate of three thousand marks a year each, one thousand five hundred barons at one hundred marks each, six thousand two hundred knights at forty marks, and one hundred hospitals; that by this means the safety of the kingdom might be better provided for, the poor better maintained, and the clergy more devoted to their duty. In the second petition the commons prayed, that the statute passed against the Lollards in the second year of this reign might be repealed, or qualified with some restrictions. As it was the king's interest to please the clergy, he answered the commons very sharply, that he neither could nor would consent to their petitions. And with regard to the Lollards, he declared that he wished the heretics were extirpated out of the land. To prove the truth of this, he signed a warrant for burning a man in humble life, but of strong mind and sound piety, named Thomas Badly.

This individual was a layman, and by trade a tailor. He was arraigned in the year 1409 before the bishop of Worcester, and convicted of heresy. On his examination he said, that it was impossible any priest could make the body of Christ sacramentally, nor would he believe it unless he saw manifestly the corporeal body of the Lord to be handled by the priest at the altar; that it was ridiculous to imagine that at the supper, Christ held in his own hand his own body and divided it among his disciples, and yet remaining whole. "I believe," said he, "the Omnipotent God in trinity; but if every consecrated host at the altar be Christ's body, there must then be in England no less than 20,000 gods." After this he was brought before the archbishop of Canterbury at St. Paul's church, and again examined in presence of a great number of bishops, the duke of York, and several of the first nobility. Great pains were used to make him recant; but he courageously answered that he would still abide by his former opinions, which no power should force him to forego. On this the archbishop of Canterbury ratified the sentence given by the bishop of Worcester. When the king had signed the warrant for his death, he was brought to Smithfield,<sup>z</sup> and there

<sup>z</sup> It will not be uninteresting to our city readers, to be informed, that that part of Smithfield where a large board is erected, containing the laws and regulations of the cattle-market, is the very spot on which our protestant forefathers suffered for the cause of Christ. There many an English martyr's body mingled with dust, and from thence ascended many a soul to inherit everlasting glory.



being put into an empty tub, was bound with iron chains fastened to a stake, and had dry wood piled around him. As he was thus standing before the wood was lighted, it happened that the prince, the king's eldest son, came near the spot; who acting the part of the good Samaritan, began to endeavour to save the life of him whom the hypocritical Levites and Pharisees sought to put to death. He admonished and counselled him, that having respect to himself he should speedily withdraw out of these dangerous labyrinths of opinions, adding oftentimes threatenings, the which might have daunted any man. Also Courtenay, at that time chancellor of Oxford, preached unto him, and urged upon him the faith of the holy church.

In the mean time the prior of St. Bartholomew's, in Smithfield, brought with all the solemnity the sacrament of Christ's body, with twelve torches borne before, and shewed the host to the poor man at the stake. He then demanded of him how he believed in it; he answered, that he knew well it was hallowed bread, but not God's body. Then was the tun put over him, and fire applied to it. On feeling the fire, he cried, "Mercy!"—calling likewise upon the Lord—when the prince immediately commanded to take away the tun, and quench the fire. He then asked him if he would forsake heresy, and take the faith of holy church, which, if he would do, he should have goods enough, promising him also a yearly pension out of the king's treasury. But this valiant champion of Christ, neglecting the prince's fair words, as also contemning all men's devices, refused the offer of worldly promises, being more inflamed with the spirit of God, than with any earthly desire. Wherefore, as he continued immovable in his former mind, the prince commanded him to be put again into the tun, and that he should not afterward look for any grace or favour. As he could be allured by no reward, so he was nothing at all abashed at their torments, but, as a valiant soldier of Christ, he persevered invincibly till his body was reduced to ashes, and his soul rose triumphant unto God who gave it.

At the commencement of the reign of Henry V. about 1413, a pretended conspiracy, evidently of priestly contrivance, was said to be discovered of Sir John Oldcastle, and some others of the followers of Wickliffe. Many of these were condemned, both for high treason and heresy; they were first hanged, and afterwards burnt. A law followed, enacting that all Lollards should forfeit their whole possessions in fee simple, with their goods and chattels; and all sheriffs and magistrates, from the lord chancellor to the meanest officer, were required to take an oath to destroy them and their heresies, and to assist the ordinaries in the suppression of them. The clergy made an ill use of this law, and vexed every one who any ways offended them, with imprisonment; upon which the judges interposing, they examined the grounds of such commitments, and, as they saw cause, either bailed or discharged the prisoners; and took upon them to declare what opinions were heresies by law, and what were not. Thus the people flew for protection to the judges, and found more mercy from the common lawyers, than from those who ought to have been the pastors of their souls.

The persecutions of the Lollards in the reign of Henry V. were owing to the cruel instigations of the clergy, as that monarch was naturally averse to cruelty. It is supposed, that the chief cause of the

violent hatred which the clergy bore to the Lollards, was, that they had endeavoured to strip them of part of their revenues. However this might be, they thought that the most effectual way to check the progress of Wickliffe's doctrine, would be to attack the then chief protector of it, Sir John Oldcastle, baron of Cobham; and to persuade the king that the Lollards were engaged in conspiracies to overturn the throne and state. It was even reported that they intended to murder the king, together with the princes his brothers, with most of the lords spiritual and temporal, in hopes that the confusion which must necessarily arise in the kingdom, after such a massacre, would prove favourable to their religion. Upon this a false rumour was spread, that Sir John Oldcastle had got together 20,000 men in St. Giles's in the Fields, a place then overgrown with bushes. The king himself went thither at midnight, and finding no more than fourscore or a hundred persons, who were privately met upon a religious account, he fell upon them and killed many, it is supposed before he knew of the purpose of their meeting. Some of them being afterwards examined, were prevailed upon merely by promises or threats, to confess whatever their enemies desired; and these accused Sir John Oldcastle.

The king hereupon thought him guilty; and in that belief set a thousand marks upon his head, with a promise of perpetual exemption from taxes to any town which should secure him. Sir John was apprehended and imprisoned in the Tower; but escaping from thence he fled into Wales, where he long concealed himself. But being afterwards seized in Powisland, in North Wales, by John Grey, Lord Powis, he was brought to London, to the great joy of the clergy, who were highly incensed against him, and resolved to sacrifice him to strike a terror into the rest of the Lollards. Sir John was of a very good family, had been sheriff of Hertfordshire under Henry IV. and summoned to parliament among the barons of the realm in that reign. He had been sent beyond sea with the earl of Arundel, to assist the duke of Burgundy against the French. In a word, he was a man of extraordinary merit, notwithstanding which he was condemned to be hanged up by the waist with a chain, and burnt alive. This most barbarous sentence was executed amidst the curses and imprecations of the priests and monks, who used their utmost endeavours to prevent the people from praying for him. Such was the tragical end of Sir John Oldcastle, baron of Cobham, who left the world with a resolution and constancy, which answered perfectly to the brave spirit he had ever maintained in the cause of truth and of his God. This was the first noble blood shed by popish cruelty in England.

Not satisfied with his single death, the clergy got the parliament to make fresh statutes against the Lollards: they never ceasing, with amazing eagerness, to require their blood. It was enacted, among other things, that whoever read the scriptures in English, should forfeit land, chattels, goods, and life, and be condemned as heretics to God, enemies to the crown, and traitors to the kingdom; that they should not have the benefit of any sanctuary; and that, if they continued obstinate, or relapsed after being pardoned, they should first be hanged for treason against the king, and then burned for heresy against God.

The act was no sooner passed, than a violent persecution was raised against the Lollards: several of them were burnt alive, some fled the kingdom, and others abjured their religion, to escape the torments prepared for them. From this picture of the horrid barbarities exercised in those times, we may justly bless those we live in, when nothing of that sort is practised, but when all are permitted to obey the dictates of their own conscience, and openly profess their respective religions, provided they do not disturb the tranquillity of the kingdom. The most likely means of preserving the nation in this security is for every cruel statute to be expunged, and for the power and virtue of Christian truth to be trusted with the sole defence of our orthodoxy and our lives.

The following is the confession of the virtuous and Christian martyr whose death we have just described; which, from its clearness and simplicity, is well worthy of remembrance. He commences with the apostle's creed.

"I believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth: and in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord, who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried, went down to hell, the third day arose again from death, ascended up to Heaven, sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty; and from thence shall come again to judge the quick and the dead. I believe in the Holy Ghost, the universal holy church, the communion of saints, the forgiveness of sins, the uprising of the flesh, and everlasting life. Amen.

"For a more large declaration of this my faith in the catholic church, I stedfastly believe, that there is but one God Almighty, in and of whose godhead are these three persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and that those three persons are the self-same God Almighty. I believe also, that the second person in this most blessed trinity, in most convenient time appointed thereunto before, took flesh and blood of the most blessed virgin Mary, for the safeguard and redemption of the universal kind of man, which was before lost in Adam's offence. Moreover, I believe, that the same Jesus Christ our Lord, thus being both God and man, is the only head of the whole christian church, and that all those that have been or shall be saved, be members of this most holy church. Whereof the first sort be now in Heaven, and they are the saints from hence departed. These, as they were here conversant, conformed always their lives to the most holy laws and pure examples of Christ, renouncing Satan, the world, and the flesh, with all their concupiscence and evils. The other sort are here upon earth, and called the church militant. For day and night they contend against crafty assaults of the devil, the flattering prosperities of the world, and the rebellious filthiness of the flesh."

As touching the power and authority of the keys, the archbishops, bishops, and other prelates, he said, that the pope is very antichrist, that is, the head; that the archbishops, bishops, and other prelates, be his members, and that the friars be his tail. The which pope, archbishops, and bishops, a man ought not to obey, but so far forth as they were followers of Christ and of Peter, in their life, manners, and con-

versation, and that he is the successor of Peter which is best and purest in life and manners. "These men," said he, on his examination, to the people who stood about him, "which judge and would condemn me, will seduce you all and themselves, and will lead you unto hell; therefore take heed of them."

### SECTION III.

#### HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION IN THE REIGN OF KING HENRY VIII.

The reader will, doubtless, attend to the transactions recorded in this reign with peculiar interest. It was at this period that God, through the instrumentality of the king, liberated our happy country from the papal yoke, when England became an independent as well as protestant kingdom, and the ascendancy of the papal power over this island was preparing to be scattered to the four winds, never more to be able to recover its settlement in a region so adverse to its character and claims.

The wars between the houses of York and Lancaster had produced such fatal revolutions, and cast England into such frequent convulsions, that the nation with great joy hailed the accession of Henry VII. to the throne, who being himself descended from the house of Lancaster, by his marriage with the heiress of the house of York, freed them from the fear of any more wars by new pretenders. But the covetousness of his temper, the severity of his ministers, his ill conduct in the matter of Britagne, and his jealousy of the house of York, made him so generally odious to his people, that his life was little respected, and his death as little lamented. Henry VIII. succeeded, with all the advantages he could have desired. His disgracing Empson and Dudley, the cruel ministers of his father's designs for filling his coffers, his appointing restitution to be made of the sums that had been unjustly exacted of the people under covert of the king's prerogative, made the nation conclude they should hereafter live secure, under the protection of such a prince, and that the violent remedies of parliamentary judgments should be no more necessary, except as in this case, to confirm what had been done before in the ordinary courts of justice.

Either from the magnificence of his own temper, or the observation he had made of the ill effects of his father's parsimony, the new king distributed his rewards and largesses with an unmeasured bounty; so that he quickly exhausted the two millions which his father had treasured up, and emptied a coffer which he had left the fullest in christendom: but till the ill effects of this appeared, it raised in his court and subjects the greatest hopes possible of a prince, whose first actions shewed an equal mixture of justice and generosity.

The king had been educated with more than ordinary care: learning being then in its dawning, after a night of long and gross ignorance, his father had given orders that both his elder brother and he should be well instructed; not with any design to make him archbishop of Can-

terbury, for he had made small progress in theological and ecclesiastical lore, when his brother prince Arthur died, being then but eleven years old. The learning then most in credit among the clergy was the scholastic divinity, which, by a shew of subtlety, recommended itself to curious persons; and being very suitable to a vain and contentious temper, agreed best with Henry's disposition. Further, being likely to draw the most flattery, it became the chief subject of his studies, in which he grew not only to be eminent for a prince, but he might really have passed for a learned man had his quality been never so mean. He delighted in the purity of the Latin tongue, understood philosophy, and was so great a master in music that he composed better than many professors of the art. He was a bountiful patron to all learned men, more particularly to Erasmus and Polydore Virgil, and delighted much in those returns which hungry scholars make to liberal princes; for he loved flattery out of measure, and he had enough of it to have surfeited a man of any modesty; for all the world, both at home and abroad, contended who should exceed most indecently in setting out his praises. The clergy carried it; for as he had merited most at their hands, both by espousing the interests of the papacy, and by his entering the lists with Luther,<sup>a</sup> so those that hoped to be advanced by these arts, were as little ashamed in magnifying him out of measure, as he was in receiving their gross commendations.

One of the most conspicuous men of this, or perhaps of any other age, was Cardinal Wolsey. He was of mean extraction, but possessed great parts, and had a wonderful dexterity in insinuating himself into men's favours. He had but a little time been introduced to the king before he obtained an entire ascendancy over him, and the direction of all his affairs, and for fifteen years continued to be the most absolute favourite ever known in England. He saw the king was much set on his pleasures, and had a great aversion to business, and the other counsellors being unwilling to bear the load of affairs, were unwelcome to him, by pressing the king to govern by his own counsels; but he knew the methods of favourites better, and so was not only easy, but assistant to the king in his pleasures, and undertook to free him from the trouble of government, and to give him leisure to follow his appetites. This was the chief cause of that unbounded influence which Wolsey so soon acquired over a sovereign quite as ambitious as himself. The accidental circumstance of another and baser passion predominating in the king's heart over pure ambition, gave the crafty Wolsey an opening, which he did not for a moment neglect, of entering on a career which in different directions gratified equally both minister and monarch.

Wolsey soon became master of all the offices at home and treaties abroad, so that all affairs went as he directed them. He it seems became soon obnoxious to parliaments, and therefore tried but one during his ministry, where the supply was granted so scantily, that afterwards he

<sup>a</sup> It was for his writing against Luther, in defence of papacy, that the pope bestowed upon him the title of DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, which the British monarchs have, absurdly enough, retained to this day. Nothing can be said against the kingly office being "set for the defence of the gospel;" but to call a man, whatever be his infidelity and immorality, by this name, is indeed a monstrous anomaly.

chose rather to raise money by loans and benevolences, than by the free gift of the people in parliament. He in time became so scandalous for his ill life, that he grew to be a disgrace to his profession; for he not only served the king, but also shared with him in his pleasures, and became a prey to distempers of a sensual life. He was first made bishop of Tournay in Flanders, then of Lincoln, after that he was promoted to the see of York, and had both the abbey of St. Albans and the bishopric of Bath and Wells in commendam; the last he afterwards exchanged for Durham, and upon Fox's death, he quitted Durham that he might take Winchester; and besides all this, the king by a special grant, gave him power to dispose of all the ecclesiastical preferments in England; so that in effect he was the pope of this reforming country, as was said anciently of an archbishop of Canterbury, and no doubt but he copied skilfully enough those patterns that were set him at Rome. Being made a cardinal, and setting up a legatine court, he found it fit for his ambition to have the great seal likewise, that there might be no clashing between those two jurisdictions. He had, in one word, all the qualities necessary for a great minister, and all the vices common to a great favourite.

The manner of promotion to bishoprics and abbeys was then the same that had taken place ever since the investitures by the ring and staff were taken out of the hands of princes. Upon a vacancy the king seized on all the temporalities, and granted a licence for an election, with a special recommendation of the person; which being returned, the royal assent was given, and it was sent to Rome, that bulls might be issued, and then the bishop elect was consecrated: after that he came to the king and renounced every clause in the bulls that was contrary to the king's prerogative, or to the law, and swore fealty; and then were the temporalities restored. Nor could bulls be sued out at Rome without a licence under the great seal; so that the kings of England had reserved the power to themselves of promoting to ecclesiastical benefices, notwithstanding all the invasions the popes had made on their temporal authority.

The immunity of churchmen for crimes committed by them, till they were first degraded by the spirituality, occasioned the only contest that occurred in the beginning of this reign between the secular and ecclesiastical courts. Henry VII. had passed a law, that convicted clerks should be burnt in the hand. A temporary law was also made in the beginning of his reign, that murderers and robbers, not being bishops, priests, nor deacons, should be denied the benefit of the clergy: but this was to last only to the next parliament, and so being not continued by it, the act determined. The abbot of Winchelsea preached severely against it, as being contrary to the laws of God, and the liberties of the holy church, and said that all who assented to it had fallen under ecclesiastical censure. Afterwards he published a book to prove that all clerks, even of the lower orders, were sacred, and could not be judged by the temporal courts. This being done in parliament, the temporal lords and the commons addressed the king, desiring him to repress the insolence of the clergy. Accordingly a public hearing was appointed before his majesty and all the judges. Dr. Standish, a Franciscan,

argued against the immunity, and proved that the judging clerks had in all times been practised in England; and that it was necessary for the peace and safety of mankind that all criminals should be punished. The abbot argued on the other side and said, it was contrary to a decree of the church, and was a sin in itself. Standish answered, that all decrees were not observed: for notwithstanding the decree for residence, bishops did not reside at their cathedrals. And since no decree was binding till it was received, this concerning immunity, which was never received in England, did not bind. After they had fully argued the matter, the laity were of opinion that the friar had the best of the argument; and therefore moved the king that the bishops might be ordered to make him preach a recantation sermon. But they refused to do it, and said they were bound by their oaths to maintain his opinion. Standish was upon this much hated by the clergy, but the matter was allowed to fall; yet the clergy carried the point, for the law was not continued.

Not long after this, an accident occurred that drew great consequences after it. Richard Hunne, a merchant in London, was sued by his parish priest for a mortuary in the legate's court; on this, his friends advised him to sue the priest in the temporal court for a præmunire for bringing the king's subjects before a foreign and illegal bar. This incensed the clergy so much that they contrived his destruction. Accordingly, hearing that he had Wickcliffe's Bible in his house, he was upon that put into the bishop's prison for heresy; but being examined upon sundry articles, he confessed some things, and submitted himself to mercy. On this they ought, according to the law, to have enjoined him penance and discharged him, it being his first crime: but he could not be prevailed on to let his suit fall in the temporal court; so one night his neck was broken with an iron chain, and he was wounded in other parts of his body, and then knit up in his own girdle, and it was given out that he had hanged himself; but the coroner's inquest by examining the body, and by several other evidences, particularly by the confession of the sumner, gave their verdict, that he was murdered by the bishop's chancellor, Dr. Horsey, the sumner, and the bell-ringer. The spiritual court proceeded against the dead body, and charged Hunne with all the heresy in Wickcliffe's preface to the Bible, because that was found in his possession: thus he was condemned as a heretic, and his body was burnt.

The indignation of the people was raised to the highest pitch against this action, in which they implicated the whole body of the clergy, whom they esteemed no longer their pastors, but barbarous murderers. The rage went so high that the bishop of London complained he was not safe in his own house. The bishops, the chancellor, and the sumner were indicted as principals in the murder. In parliament an act passed restoring Hunne's children; but the commons sent up a bill concerning his murder, which, however, was laid aside by the lords, where the clergy were the majority. The clergy looked on the opposition that Standish had made in the point of their immunities, as that which gave the rise to Hunne's first suit; and the convocation cited him to answer for his conduct; but he claimed the king's protection, since he had done nothing, but only pleaded in the king's name. The clergy pretended they did

not prosecute him for his pleading, but for some of his divinity lectures, contrary to the liberty of the church, which the king was bound to maintain by his coronation oath: but the temporal lords, the judges, and commons, prayed the king also to maintain the laws according to his coronation oath, and to give Standish his protection. The king upon this being in great perplexity, required Veysy, afterwards of bishop of Exeter, to declare upon his conscience and allegiance the truth in that matter. His opinion was against the immunity; so another public hearing being appointed, Standish was accused for teaching—that the inferior orders were not sacred; that their exemption was not founded on a divine right, but that the laity might punish them; that the canons of the church did not bind till they were received; and that the study of the canon law was useless. Of these opinions he denied some, and justified others. Veysy being required to give his opinion, alleged—that the laws of the church did only oblige where they were received; as the law of the celibate of the clergy, received in the West, did not bind the Greek churches that never received it, so the exemption of the clerks not being received did not bind in England. The judges gave their opinion next, which was—that those who prosecuted Standish were all in a præmunire. So the court broke up. But in another hearing, in the presence of the greatest part of both houses of parliament, the cardinal said in the name of the clergy—that though they intended to do nothing against the king's prerogative, yet the trying of clerks seemed to be contrary to the liberty of the church, which they were bound by their oaths to maintain. So they prayed that the matter might be referred to the pope.

The king said, that he thought Standish had answered them fully: the bishop of Winchester replied he would not stand to his opinion at his peril. Standish upon that asked, "What can one poor friar do against all the clergy of England?" The archbishop of Canterbury answered, "Some of the fathers of the church have suffered martyrdom upon that account;" but the chief-justice replied, "Many holy kings have maintained that law, and many holy bishops have obeyed it." In conclusion, the king declared, that he would maintain his rights, and would not submit them to the decrees of the church, otherwise than as his ancestors had done. Horsey was appointed to be brought to his trial for Hunne's murder, and upon his pleading not guilty, no evidence was to be brought, and so he was to be discharged. The discontent of the people greatly increased at this, and very much disposed them to all that was done afterwards, for pulling down the ecclesiastical tyranny in this country, and dissolving the establishment by which it was chiefly sustained.

This was the first disturbance in this king's reign, till the suit for his divorce commenced. In all other points he was constantly in the pope's interests, who sent him the common compliments of roses, and such other trifles, by which that see had treated princes so long as children. But no compliment wrought so much on the king's vanity, as the title of "Defender of the Faith," sent him by pope Leo upon the book which he wrote against Luther concerning the sacraments.

It will now be proper to consider the rapid progress of the doctrines



of the reformation among the people. From the days of Wickliffe there were many that differed from the national faith. He wrote many books that gave great offence to the clergy, yet being powerfully supported by the duke of Lancaster, they could not have their revenge during his life; but, as we have seen, he was after his death condemned, and his body was raised and burnt. The Bible which he translated into English, with the preface which he set before it, produced the greatest effects. In these he reflected on the ill lives of the clergy, and condemned the worship of saints and images, and the corporeal presence of Christ in the sacrament; but the most criminal part in the eyes of the papists was, exhorting all people to read the Scriptures.

Perhaps there cannot be a stronger proof of the depravity of the Roman catholic religion, or its perversion of truth, than denying to the laity the use of the sacred volume.—“To the law and to the testimony,” saith the prophet; “if they speak not according to this, it is because there is no light in them.” “Search the Scriptures,” saith the Lord. “These were more noble than those of Thessalonica, in that they received the word with all readiness of mind, and searched the Scriptures daily, to see whether these things were so,” remarks the writer of the Acts of the Apostles.

The following article respecting Wickliffe and his followers, appeared in the 16th volume of the Monthly Magazine, and may be appropriately introduced in this place.

Wickliffe, the celebrated priest and reformer in the end of Edward III.'s reign, was not educated at Cambridge, but at Oxford; in which university, being a man of distinguished learning, he possessed considerable authority and influence: but his doctrines soon made their way among all ranks of people; and Cambridge, as may be supposed, was not behindhand in giving them a hearing; many of its members were foremost among Wickliffe's advocates, but as the Lollards, his followers, did not form themselves into societies or churches, they were obliged to maintain their opinions privately, and in the hearing only of their particular confidants; for besides the decree passed in the fourth council of Lateran, that all heretics should be delivered over to the civil magistrate to be burned, there were particular laws made in Richard II. and Henry IV.'s reign, which put them from under the king's protection, and left them at the mercy of the spiritual courts. We are not therefore to expect, under these circumstances, that Wickliffe's doctrines should be much agitated publicly at Cambridge. This, however, we collect, that about the year 1401, archbishop Arundel, with his commissioners, visited Cambridge; the archbishop personally, the collective body of the university in congregation, his commissioners every private college. One article of their inquiries was, whether there were any members suspected of Lollardism, or any other heretical pravity? and ten years after, Peter Hartford was, according to Dr. Fuller in his history of Cambridge, ordered to abjure Wickliffe's opinions in full congregation; and about twenty years after this, several Lollards of Chesterton were obliged to abjure. One of the opinions of the latter heretics will appear very singular, which was that priests were incarnate devils. They had, no doubt, poor creatures, been too painfully scorched with church disci-

pline, and were too likely to become fuel for some future flame of their kindling.

The testimonies of this great man against those corruptions were such, that there was no way to deal with them but if possible to silence him. His followers were not men of letters, but being wrought on by the easy conviction of plain common sense, were quite determined in their persuasions. They did not form themselves into a body, but were contented to hold their opinions secretly, and did not spread them, but to their particular confidants. The clergy sought them out every where, and delivered them after conviction to the secular arm, that is, to the flames of martyrdom, the odium of which, by this fiction, they sought to avoid.

The canons of the council of the Lateran being received in England, the proceedings against heretics grew to be a part of the common law, and a writ for burning them was issued upon their conviction without reserve.

In the beginning of this reign, there were several persons brought into the bishops' courts for heresy, before Warham. Forty-eight were accused: but of these, forty-three abjured, twenty-seven men, and sixteen women, most of them inhabitants of Tenterden. Five of them, four men and one woman, were condemned; some as obstinate heretics, and others as relapses: and against the common ties of nature, the woman's husband, and her two sons, were suborned witnesses against her. Upon their conviction, a certificate was made by the archbishop to the chancery: upon which, since there is no pardon upon record, the writs for burning them must have gone out in course, and the execution of them is little to be doubted. The articles objected to them were, that they believed that in the eucharist there was nothing but material bread; that the sacraments of baptism, confirmation, confession, matrimony, and extreme unction, were neither necessary nor profitable; that priests had no more power than laymen; that pilgrimages were not meritorious; that the money and labour they required were spent in vain; that images ought not to be worshipped; that they were only stocks and stones; that prayers ought not to be made to saints, but only to God; that there was no virtue in holy water or holy bread. By this it will appear, that many in this nation were prepared to receive those doctrines, which were afterwards preached by the reformers, even before Luther commenced his more determined and successful career.

The rise and progress of the reformation under him are well known: the scandalous extolling of indulgences gave the first occasion to all that followed between him and the church of Rome; in which, had not the corruptions and cruelties of the clergy been so visible and scandalous, so small a matter could never have produced such a revolution. Even he himself did not expect so great a matter to be immediately kindled by this little fire.

The bishops were grossly ignorant; they seldom resided in their dioceses, except it was to riot at high festivals; and all the effect their residence could have was to corrupt others by their ill example. They followed the courts of princes, and aspired to the greatest offices. The abbots and monks were almost wholly given up to luxury and idleness;

and their unmarried state gave infinite scandal to the world; for it appeared that restraining them from having wives of their own, made them conclude that they had a right to all other men's. The inferior clergy were no better; and not having places of retreat to conceal their vices, as the monks had, they became more public and shameless. In short, all ranks of churchmen were so generally despised and hated, that the world was very apt to be possessed with prejudice against their doctrines, for the sake of the men; and the worship of God was so defiled with gross superstition, that the people were easily convinced the church stood in great need of reformation. This was much increased when the books of the fathers began to be read, in which the difference between the former and latter ages of the church very evidently appeared. They found that a blind superstition came first in the room of true piety; and when by its means the wealth and interest of the clergy were highly advanced, the popes had upon that established their tyranny; under which, not only meaner people, but even crowned heads had long groaned. All these things concurred to make way for the advancement of the reformation: while the books of the Germans being brought into England and translated, many were prevailed on by them. Upon this, a hot persecution was vigorously set on foot, to such a degree that six men and women were burnt at Coventry in passion-week, only for teaching their children the creed, the Lord's prayer, and the ten commandments in English. Great numbers were every where brought into the bishops' courts; of whom some were burnt, while the greater part fearfully abjured.

The king laid hold of this occasion to become the champion of the church, and wrote against Luther in the manner already described. His book, besides the title of "Defender of the Faith," drew upon him all that flattery could invent to extol it; whilst Luther, not daunted with such an antagonist, answered it, and treated Henry as much below the respect due to a king, as his flatterers had raised him above it. Tindal's translation of the New Testament, with some notes added to it, drew a severe condemnation from the clergy; there being nothing in which they were more concerned than to keep the people unacquainted with that book. Thus much may serve to shew the condition of affairs in England both in church and state, when the process of the king's divorce was first set on foot. This incident, so replete with consequences the most important to the reformation, shall now be laid before the reader with somewhat of particular detail.

Henry VII. had entered into a firm alliance with Ferdinand of Spain, and agreed to a match between his eldest son prince Arthur, and Katharine the Infanta of Spain. She came into England and was married in November; but on the second of the following April the prince died, leaving the throne as well as the lady open to his brother. Arthur and Katharine had lodged and even slept together, to carry on the farce of marriage; but such was their youth, and the feebleness of the young prince, that beyond this farce no effect detrimental to Henry's hopes, or of service to the nation, could be expected. The king, being unwilling to restore so great a portion as two hundred thousand ducats, which the princess brought as her dowery, proposed a

second match for her with his younger son Henry. Warham objected to it as unlawful; but Fox, bishop of Winchester, was for it, and the opinion of the pope's authority was then so well established, that it was thought a dispensation from Rome was sufficient to remove all objections. Accordingly one was obtained, grounded upon a desire of the two young persons to marry together for preserving peace between the crowns of England and Spain.

The pope was then at war with Lewis XII. of France, and would refuse nothing to the king of England, being perhaps not unwilling that princes should contract such marriages, since the lawfulness of their issue depending on the pope's dispensation, they would be thereby obliged in interest to support that authority. Upon this a marriage followed, the prince being yet under age; but the same day in which he came to be of age, he did, by his father's orders, make a protestation that he retracted and annulled the contract. His father, at his death, charged his son to break it off entirely, being perhaps apprehensive of such a return of confusion upon a controverted succession to the crown, as had occurred during the wars between the houses of York and Lancaster; but the son being then eighteen years of age, married her and she bore him two children who died soon after they were born; and another, Mary, afterwards queen of England. After this Katharine contracted some diseases that made her unacceptable to the king; who, at the same time beginning or pretending to have some scruples of conscience with regard to the lawfulness of his marriage, determined to have the affair investigated.

He seemed to lay the greatest weight on the prohibition in the Levitical law of marrying the brother's wife, and being conversant in the writings of Thomas Aquinas, he found that he and the other schoolmen looked on those laws as moral, and for ever binding; and consequently the pope's dispensation was of no force, since his authority went not so far as to dispense with the laws of God.<sup>b</sup> All the bishops of England, Fisher of Rochester only excepted, declared under their hands and seals that they judged the marriage unlawful. The ill consequences of wars that might follow upon a doubtful title to the crown, were also much considered. It is not certain that the king's affections for any other gave rise to all this. It is possible that, conceiving himself on the point of being freed of his former marriage, he gave a free scope to his affections, which settled on Anne Boleyn.

This lady was born in the year 1507, and at seven years of age was sent to France, where she remained twelve years, and then returned to England. She was much admired in both courts, was more beautiful than graceful, and more cheerful than discreet. She wanted none of

<sup>b</sup> This was one of the firmest, as it was one of the first steps laid for advancing to a glorious reformation on scriptural principles; and was infinitely preferable as an argument to all the reasonings afterwards introduced, and exalted to the rank of infallible axioms, when this, alas! became slighted and forgotten. Hitherto and afterwards, it was assumed that no papal decree could err; but in a happy moment of sudden light it is here seen and confessed that edicts of the pope may run contrary to the law of God, and thus be undoubtedly wrong. Would to heaven that this principle were considered by protestant as well as popish bishops, and carried by all people into their confidence in episcopal measures.

the charms of wit or person, and must have had extraordinary attractions, since she could so long manage such a king's affection; for it is evident that in the long course of seven years' courtship she kept him at a due distance.

Knight, then secretary of state, was sent to Rome to prepare the pope to grant a dispensation from the former marriage. He made application to the pope in the most secret manner he could, and had a very favourable answer: for the pope promised frankly to dissolve the marriage; but another promise being exacted of him in the emperor's name, not to proceed in that affair, he was reduced to great straits, being then at the emperor's mercy, while he had no mind to lose the king of England; he therefore studied to gain time, and promised that if the latter would have a little patience, he should not only have that which he asked, but every thing that was in his power to grant. The chief cardinal, indeed, made some scruples concerning the bull that was demanded, till he had raised his price, and got a great present; then the pope signed both a commission for Wolsey to try the cause, and judge in it, and also a dispensation, and put them into Knight's hands; but with tears prayed him that there might be no proceedings upon them, till the emperor was incapable of executing his revenge upon him; and whenever that was done he would own this act of justice which he did in the king's favour.

The pope was at this time displeas'd with Cardinal Wolsey; for he understood that during his captivity, he had been in an intrigue to get himself chosen vicar of the papacy, and was to have sat at Avignon, which might have produced a new schism. Staphileus, dean of the Rota, being then in England, was wrought on by the promise of a bishopric, and a recommendation to a cardinal's hat, to promote the king's affair. By him the cardinal wrote to the pope, in a most earnest strain, for a dispatch of this business; and he desired, that an indifferent and tractable cardinal might be sent over, with a full commission to join with him, and to judge the matter; proposing to the king's ambassadors Campegio as the fittest man. Wolsey, in several letters to Cassali, who was in great favour with the pontiff, offered to take the blame on his own soul, if the pope would grant this bull; and with an earnestness, as hearty and warm as can be expressed in words, he pressed the thing, and added, that if the pope continued inexorable, he perceived the king would proceed another way.

These entreaties had such effect that Campegio was declared legate, and ordered to go to England, and join in commission with Wolsey for judging this matter. He accordingly set out from Rome, and carried with him a decretal bull for annulling the marriage, which he was authorized to shew to the king and Wolsey; but was required not to give it out of his hands to either of them. In fact the divorce was trusted to his authority. In October he arrived in England, and after the usual compliments were over, he first advised the king to give up the prosecution of his suit; and then counselled the queen, in the pope's name, to enter into a religious life, and make vows: but both were in vain; and he, by affecting an impartiality, almost lost his ground on either side. But he in great measure pacified the king when he shewed him the bull he had brought over for annulling the marriage; yet he would not part

with it either to the king or the cardinal; upon which, great instances were made at Rome, that Campegio might be ordered to shew it to some of the king's counsellors, and to go on and end the business, otherwise Wolsey would be ruined, and England lost. All this however did not prevail on the pope, who knew it was intended to get the bull out of Campegio's hands, and then the king would leave him to the emperor's indignation: but though he positively refused to grant that, yet he said he left the legates in England free to judge as they saw cause, and promised that he would confirm their sentence.

The affair proceeding very slowly, ambassadors were dispatched to Rome with new propositions for a speedy termination. On this, the pope gave new assurances, that though he would not grant a bull, by which the divorce should be immediately his own act, yet he would confirm the legate's sentence. Just after he granted this boon, the pope was taken suddenly ill, upon which the Imperialists began to prepare for a conclave; but Farnese, and the cardinal of Mantua, opposed them, and seemed to favour Wolsey; whom, as his correspondents wrote to him, they revered as a Deity. Upon this he dispatched a courier to Gardiner, then on his way to Rome, with large directions how to manage the election. It was reckoned, that the king of France, joining heartily with the king of England, the matter might be set at rest. There were only six cardinals wanting to make the election sure; and besides sums of money, and other rewards, which were to be distributed among them, he was to give them assurance that the cardinals' preferences should be equally divided. These were the secret methods of attaining the chair: and indeed it would puzzle a man of an ordinary degree of credibility, to think that one chosen by such means could presume to be Christ's vicar, and the infallible judge of controversies. The recovery, however, of the pope put an end to these intrigues.

At length the legates began the process, when the queen protested against them as incompetent judges. They, however, proceeded according to the forms of law, although the queen had appealed from them to the pope, and objected both to the place, to the judges, and her lawyers; when they pronounced her contumacious, and went on to examine witnesses, chiefly to the particulars of the consummation of her marriage with prince Arthur. But now since the process was thus going on, the emperor's agents pressed the pope vehemently for an avocation; and all possible endeavours were used by the king's agents to hinder it. They spared nothing that would work on the pope, either in the way of persuasion or threatening: it was told him there was a treaty set on foot between the king and the Lutheran princes of Germany; and that upon declaring himself so partial as to grant the avocation, he would certainly embark in the same interests with them. The pope however thought the king so far engaged in honour on points of religion, that he would not be prevailed upon to unite with Luther's followers; he did not imagine that the effects of his granting the avocation would be so fatal as the cardinal's agents represented them. In conclusion, therefore, after the emperor had engaged to restore his family to the government of Florence, he resolved to publish his treaty with him, and told the English ambassadors that he was forced to it; both because

all the lawyers said it could not be denied, and that he could not resist the emperor's forces, which surrounded him on all hands. Their endeavours to gain a little time by delay were as fruitless as other artifices, for on the 15th of July, the pope signed the avocation, and on the 19th sent it by an express messenger to England.

The legates, Campegio in particular, drew out the matter with all the delay they could contrive, and gained much time. At last, it being brought to the point that sentence was to be pronounced, Campegio, instead of doing it, adjourned the court till October, and said, that as they were members of the consistory they must observe their times of vacation. This gave the king and his court great offence, when they saw what was like to be the issue of a process on which his majesty was so much bent, and in which he was so far engaged both in honour and interest. The king governed himself upon the occasion with more temper than was expected: he dismissed Campegio civilly, only his officers searched his coffers when he went beyond sea, with evident design to see if the decretal bull could be found. Wolsey was now upon the point of being disgraced, though the king seemed to treat him with all his former confidence.

At this period, Dr. Cranmer, a fellow of Jesus College in Cambridge, meeting accidentally with Gardiner and Fox at Waltham, and entering into discourse upon the royal marriage, suggested that the king should engage the chief universities and divines of Europe, to examine the lawfulness of his marriage; and if they gave their resolutions against it, then it being certain that the pope's dispensation could not derogate from the law of God, the marriage must be declared null. This novel and reasonable scheme they proposed to the king, who was much pleased with it, and said, "He had the sow by the right ear." He saw this way was both better in itself and would mortify the pope. Cranmer was accordingly sent for, and on conversing with him, the king conceived a high opinion both of his learning and prudence, as well as of his probity and sincerity, which took such root in the king's mind, that no artifices nor calumnies were ever able to remove it.

From this moment and these circumstances began the rise of Cranmer and the decline of Wolsey. The great seal was taken from the latter and given to Sir Thomas More; and he was sued in a *præmunire*, for having held the legatine courts by a foreign authority, to the laws of England. Wolsey confessed the indictment, pleaded ignorance, and submitted himself to the king's mercy; so judgment passed on him; when his rich palace and furniture were seized for the royal use. Yet the king received him again into his protection, and restored to him the temporalities of the sees of York and Winchester, and above 6000*l.* in plate and other goods; at which he was so transported, that it is said he fell down on his knees in a kennel before the messenger who brought him the news. Articles were put in against him in the house of lords for a bill of attainder, where he had but few friends: in the house of commons, Cromwell, who had been his secretary, so managed the matter, that it came to nothing. This failing, his enemies procured an order to be sent to him to go into Yorkshire: thither he went in great state, with one hundred and sixty horses in his train, and seventy-two

parts following him, and there he lived some time. But the king being informed, that he was practising with the pope and the emperor, he sent the earl of Northumberland to arrest him of high treason, and bring him up to London. On the way he sickened and died at Leicester, making great protestations of his constant fidelity to the king, particularly in the matter of his divorce: and wishing he had served God as faithfully as he had done the king; for then he would not have cast him off in his grey hairs, as the king had done: words that declining favourites are apt to reflect on in adversity; but they seldom remember them in the height of their fortune.

The king intending to proceed in the method proposed by Cranmer, sent to Oxford and Cambridge to procure their conclusions. At Oxford it was referred by the major part of the convocation to thirty-three doctors and bachelors of divinity, whom that faculty was to name: they were empowered to determine the question, and put the seal of the university to their conclusion. They gave their opinions, that the marriage of the brother's wife was contrary both to the laws of God and nature. At Cambridge the convocation referred the question to twenty-nine; of which number, two-thirds agreeing, they were empowered to put the seal of the university to their determination. These agreed in opinion with those of Oxford. The jealousy of Cranmer's favouring Lutheranism caused the fierce popish party to oppose every thing in which he was engaged. They were also afraid of Anne Boleyn's advancement, who was believed to be tainted with the reformed opinions. Crook, a learned man in the Greek tongue, was employed in Italy, to procure the resolution of divines there; in which he was so successful, that besides the great discoveries he made in searching the manuscripts of the Greek fathers concerning their opinions in this point, he engaged several persons to write for the king's cause. He also got the Jews to give their opinions of the laws in Leviticus, that they were moral and obligatory—that when a brother died without issue, his brother might marry his widow within Judea, for preserving their families and succession; although that might not be done out of Judea. The state of Venice would not declare themselves, but said they would be neutral; and it was not easy to persuade the divines of the republic to give their opinions, till a brief was obtained of the pope, permitting all divines and canonists to deliver judgment according to their consciences. The pope abhorred this way of proceeding, though he could not decently oppose it; but he said in great scorn, that no friar should set limits to his power. Crook was ordered to give no money, nor make promises to any, till they had freely delivered their opinion; which he faithfully observed. This man sent over to England a hundred various books, and papers, with many subscriptions; all condemning the king's marriage as unlawful in itself. At Paris, the Sorbonne made their determination with great solemnity; after mass of the Holy Ghost, all the doctors took an oath to study the question, and to give their judgment according to their consciences; and after three weeks study, the greater part agreed on this strange and contradictory decree—"that the king's marriage was unlawful, and the pope could not dispense with it." At Orleans, Angiers, and Toulouse, they determined to the same purpose.



Calvin thought the marriage null, and they all agreed that the pope's dispensation was of no force. Osiander was employed to engage the Lutheran divines, but they were afraid of giving the emperor new grounds of displeasure. Melancthon thought the law in Leviticus was dispensable, and that the marriage might be lawful; and that in such matters, states and princes might make what laws they pleased. Though the divines of Leipsic, after much disputing about it, did agree that those laws were moral, yet they could never be brought to justify the divorce, with the subsequent marriage that followed upon it. And the king appeared very inclinable to receive their doctrine, so steadily did they follow their consciences even against their interests: but the pope was more compliant, for he offered to Cassali to grant his amorous petitioner dispensation for having another wife, with which the Imperialists seemed on the whole to be willing to comply.

The king's cause being thus fortified by so many resolutions in his favour, he made certain members of parliament sign a letter to the pope, complaining, that notwithstanding the great merits of their sovereign, the justice of his cause, and the importance of it to the safety of the kingdom, yet the pope made still new delays; they therefore pressed him to dispatch it speedily, otherwise they would be forced to seek other remedies, though they were not willing to drive things to extremities, till it was unavoidable. The letter was signed by the cardinal, the archbishop of Canterbury, four bishops, twenty-two abbots, forty-two peers, and eleven commoners. To this the pope wrote an answer, taking notice of the vehemence of their style, and freeing himself from the imputations of ingratitude and injustice. He acknowledged the king's great merits; and said, he had done all he could in his favour: he had granted a commission, but could not refuse to receive the queen's appeal; all the cardinals with one consent judging that an avocation was necessary. Since that time, the delays were not with him, but with the king; that he was ready to proceed, and would bring it to as speedy an issue as the importance of it would admit of; and as for their threatenings, they were neither proofs of their wisdom, nor of their religion.

The king, now disgusted at his dependence on the pope, issued a proclamation against any that should purchase, bring over, or publish any bull from Rome, contrary to his authority: and after that he made an abstract of all the reasons and authorities of fathers, or modern writers, against his marriage, to be published both in Latin and English. Both sides having produced the strength of their cause, it evidently appeared that, according to the authority given to tradition in the church of Rome, the king had clearly the right on his side. At the same time he was not exempt from opposition, even in England. The friends of Katharine were more numerous than he had all along imagined, and the queen herself, amidst these disputes, continued firm to her resolution of leaving the matter in the pope's hands, and would hearken to no propositions that were made to her, for referring it to the arbitration of a number chosen on both sides.

The sovereigns of England claimed the same latitude of power in ecclesiastical matters, as the Roman emperors had exercised before the

decline of their authority. Anciently they had divided bishoprics, granted investitures, and made laws relating both to ecclesiastical causes and persons. When the popes began to extend their power beyond the limits assigned them by the canons, great opposition arose to them in England; but they managed the advantages they found, either from the weakness or ill circumstances of princes, so steadily, that at length they subdued the world: and if they had not by their cruel exactions so oppressed the clergy, that they were driven to seek shelter under covert of the temporal authority, men generally were so absorbed by superstition and credulity, that not only the whole spiritual power, but even the temporal authority of the princes, was likely to have fallen under papal tyranny. But the discontented clergy now supported the secular power as much as they had before advanced that of the papal. Boniface VIII. had raised his pretensions to that impudent pitch, that he declared all power, both ecclesiastical and civil, was derived from him; and this he established as an article of faith, necessary to salvation; on which he, and his successors, took upon them, to dispose of all ecclesiastical benefices by their absolute bulls and provisions. To restrain these invasions of the rights of princes, laws were made in England against their authority; but no punishment being declared for transgressors, the courtiers at Rome were not frightened at their publication; so that the abuses still continued: but in the time of Edward III. a more severe act was made, by which all that transgressed were to be imprisoned, to be fined at pleasure, and to forfeit all their benefices.

These long forgotten statutes were now revived, to bring the clergy into a snare: it was designed by the terror of this proceeding to force them to an entire submission, and to oblige them to redeem themselves by the grant of a considerable subsidy. They pleaded ignorance; it was a public error, and they ought not therefore to be punished for it. To this it was answered, that the laws which they had transgressed were still in force, and so no ignorance could excuse the violation of them. The convocation of Canterbury made their submission, and in their address to the king he was called the protector and supreme head of the church of England; but some objecting, it was added—"in so far as it is agreeable to the law of Christ." This was signed by nine bishops, fifty abbots and priors, and the greater part of the lower house; and with it they offered the king a subsidy of 100,000*l.* to procure his favour, and promised for the future not to make nor execute any constitutions without his licence. The convocation of York did not pass this so easily; they objected to the word head, as agreeing to none but Christ: whereupon the king wrote them a long expostulatory letter, and told them with what limitations those of Canterbury had passed that title; upon which they all submitted, and offered 18,840*l.* which was accepted: thus the clergy were again received into the king's protection, and received his precarious pardon for their heavy offences.

After the prorogation of this session of parliament, new applications were made to the queen to persuade her to depart from her appeal; but she remained fixed in her resolution, and said she was the king's lawful wife, and would abide by it till the court at Rome should declare the contrary. Upon that the king desired her to choose any of his houses

in the country to live in, and resolved never to see her more. She chose the palace of Amptill, in Bedfordshire, for her residence, and the monastery of Kimbolton, at no great distance, for her religious resorts. In these she passed the remainder of her life, beloved by all around her, and respected by none more than by the king himself, whose passions rather than judgment and conscience constrained him to prefer the youth and beauty of another.

In January 1532, the pope, on the motion of the Imperialists, wrote to the king, complaining that notwithstanding a suit was depending concerning his marriage, yet he had put away his queen and kept one Anne as his wife, contrary to a prohibition served on him; he therefore exhorted him to live with his queen again, and to put away Anne. Upon this the king sent Dr. Bennet to Rome with a dispatch in which he complained that the pope proceeded in that matter upon the suggestion of others, who were ignorant and rash men: that he had carried himself inconstantly and deceitfully in it, and not as became Christ's vicar: that he had granted a commission, had promised never to recall it, and had sent over a decretal bull defining the cause. Either these were unjustly granted, or unjustly recalled. It was plain that he acted more with regard to his interests, than according to conscience; and that, as the pope had often confessed his own ignorance in these matters, so he was not furnished with learned men to advise him, otherwise he would not defend a marriage which almost all the learned men and universities in England, France, and Italy, had condemned as unlawful. He would not question his authority without he was compelled to it, and would do nothing but reduce it to its first and ancient limits, which was much better than to let it run on headlong, and still do amiss. This high letter made the pope resolve to proceed and end the matter, either by a sentence or a treaty. The king was cited to answer to the queen's appeal at Rome in person, or by proxy: accordingly, Sir Edward Karne was sent thither in the new character of the king's apologist, to excuse the king's appearance, upon such grounds as could be founded on the canon law, and upon the privileges of the crown of England. The Imperialists pressed the pope much to give sentence, but all the wise cardinals, who observed by the proceedings of the parliament that the nation would adhere to the king, if he should be provoked to shake off the pope's yoke, suggested milder counsels.

In conclusion, the pope seemed to favour the king's plea, upon which the Imperialists made great complaints. But this amounted to no more than that the king was not bound to appear in person: therefore the cardinals, who were in his interest, advised the king to send over a proxy for answering the merits of the cause; and both the pope and the college wrote to him to finish the matter next winter. Bonner, at that time in Rome, was also sent to England to assure the king, that the pope was now so much in the French interest, that he might confidently refer this matter to him. On this the king sent for the speaker of the house of commons, and told him he found the prelates were but half subjects; for they swore at their consecration an oath to the pope, inconsistent with their allegiance and oath to him. By their oath to the pope, they swore to be in no council against him, nor to disclose his

secrets; but to maintain the papacy, and the regalities of St. Peter against all men, together with the rights and authorities of the church of Rome; and that they should honourably entreat the legates of the apostolic see, and observe all the decrees, sentences, provisions, and commandments of that see; and yearly, either in person, or by proxy, visit the thresholds of the apostles. In their oath to the king, they renounced all clauses in their bulls contrary to his royal dignity, and swore to be faithful to him, and to live and die with him against all others, and to keep his counsel; acknowledging that they held their bishoprics only of him. By these it appeared they could not keep both their oaths, in case a breach should fall out between the king and the pope; a discovery which would have been of serious consequence, had not the plague broke off the consultations of parliament at this time. Soon after, Sir Thomas More, seeing a rupture with Rome coming on so fast, desired leave to lay down his office, which was upon that conferred on Sir Thomas Audley. More had been satisfied with the king's keeping up the laws formerly made in opposition to the papal encroachments, and had concurred in the suit of the *præmunire*; but now the matter went farther, and not being able to keep pace with the new order of things, he returned to a private life.

An interview soon followed between the kings of France and England; to which Anne Boleyn, now marchioness of Pembroke, was carried. After the first ceremonies and magnificence were over, Francis promised Henry to second him in his suit: he encouraged him to proceed to a second marriage without delay; and assured him he would stand by him in it: meantime, the pope offered to the king, to send a legate to any indifferent place, out of England, to form the process, reserving only the sentence himself to pronounce; and proposed to him and all princes a general truce, that so he might call a general council. The king answered, that such was the present state of the affairs of Europe, it was not seasonable to call a general council; and that it was contrary to his prerogative to send a proxy to appear at Rome: that by the decrees of general councils, all causes ought to be judged on the spot and by a provincial council; and that it was fitter to judge it in England than any where else: that by his coronation oath, he was bound to maintain the dignities of his crown, and the rights of his subjects, and not to appear before any foreign court. Sir Thomas Elliot was therefore sent over with instructions, to move that the cause might be judged in England. Soon after this, the king married Anne Boleyn; Rowland Lee, afterwards bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, officiated, none being present but the duke of Norfolk, and her father, her mother, her brother, and Cranmer. It was thought that the former marriage being null, the king might proceed to another: and perhaps they hoped, that as the pope had formerly proposed this method, so he would now approve of it. But though the pope had joined himself to France, yet he was still so much in fear of the emperor that he resolved to continue resisting Henry's marriage, rather than provoke the imperial wrath. A new citation was therefore issued out, for the king to answer to the queen's complaints; but Henry's agents protested that their master was a sovereign prince, and England a free

church, over which the pope had no just authority; and that the king could expect no justice at Rome, where the emperor's power and the pope's authority were paramount to all others.

At this time parliament met again, and passed an act condemning all appeals to Rome. In it they set forth—That the crown was imperial, and that the nation was a complete body, having full power to do justice in all cases, both spiritual and temporal; and that as former kings had maintained the liberties of the kingdom against the usurpations of the see of Rome, so they found the great inconvenience of allowing appeals in matrimonial causes; that they put them to great charges, and occasioned many delays: therefore they enacted, that thereafter those should be judged within the kingdom, and no regard be had to any appeals to Rome, or censures from it; but sentences given in England were to have their full effect; and all who executed any censures from Rome were to incur the pain of *præmunire*.

The archbishopric of Canterbury was now vacant by the decease of Warham, who died the previous year: he was a great patron of learning, a good canonist, and a wise statesman; but he was a cruel persecutor of heretics, and inclined to believe fanatical legends. Cranmer was in Germany, disputing in the king's cause with some of the emperor's divines, when the king resolved to advance him to that dignity; and sent him word of it, that he might make haste to return. But a promotion so far above his thoughts, had not its common effects on him: he had a true and primitive sense of so great a charge; and instead of aspiring to it, he was afraid of it, and he both returned very slowly to England, and used all his endeavours to be excused from the advancement. Bulls were sent for to Rome in order to his consecration, which the pope granted. On the 13th of March, Cranmer was consecrated by the bishops of Lincoln, Exeter, and St. Asaph. The oath to the pope was of hard digestion to one "almost persuaded" to be a protestant: he therefore made a protestation before he took it, that he conceived himself not bound by it in any thing that was contrary to his duty to God, to his king, or country; and this he repeated when he took it.

The convocation had then two questions before them; the first was concerning the lawfulness of the king's marriage, and the validity of the pope's dispensation; the other was a curious question of fact, whether prince Arthur had consummated the marriage. For the first, the judgments of nineteen universities were read; and after a long debate, there being twenty-three only in the lower house, fourteen were against the marriage, seven for it, and two voted dubiously. In the upper house, Stokesly bishop of London, and Fisher bishop of Rochester, maintained the debate at great length, the one for the affirmative, and the other the negative. At last it was carried *nemine contradicente*, the few that were of the other side it seems withdrawing, against the marriage, two hundred and sixteen being present. For the other, which concerned matter of fact, it was referred to the canonists; and they all, except five or six, reported that the presumptions were very strong; and these in a matter not capable of plain proof were always received as legally conclusive.

The convocation having thus judged in the matter, the ceremony of

pronouncing the divorce judicially was now the only thing wanting. The new queen was reported to be in a promising condition for the future monarchy. On Easter-eve she was declared queen of England: and soon after, Cranmer, with Gardiner, who had succeeded Wolsey as bishop of Winchester, and the bishops of London, Lincoln, Bath and Wells, with many divines and canonists, went to Dunstable; queen Katharine living then near it, at Amptill. The king and queen were cited; he appeared by proxy, but the queen refused to take any notice of the court: so after three citations, she was declared contumacious, and all the merits of the cause formerly mentioned were examined. At last, on the 23rd of May, sentence was given, declaring the marriage to have been null from the beginning. Among the archbishop's titles in the commencement of the judgment, he is called "Legate of the apostolic see," which perhaps was added to give it the more force in law. Some days after this, he gave another judgment, confirming the king's marriage with queen Anne, and on the first of June she was crowned queen. All people admired queen Anne's conduct, who in a course of so many years managed the spirit of so violent a king in such a manner, as neither to surfeit him with too many favours, nor to provoke him with too much rigour. They that loved the reformation looked for better days under her protection: but many priests and friars, both in sermons and discourses, condemned the king's proceedings. The king sent ambassadors to all courts to justify what he had done: he sent also two to queen Katharine, to charge her to assume no other title but that of princess dowager; but she would not yield; she said she would not take that infamy on herself; and so resolved that none should serve about her who did not treat her as queen.

At Rome the cardinals of the Imperial faction complained much of the attempt made on the pope's power, and urged him to proceed to censures. But there was only sentence given, annulling all that the archbishop of Canterbury had done; and the king was required, under pain of excommunication, to place things again in the state in which they formerly were: this decree was framed at Rome, and brought for publication to Dunkirk. The king sent a great embassy to the French monarch, who was then setting out to Marseilles to meet the pope: their errand was to dissuade him from the journey, unless the pope would promise to give the king satisfaction. Francis said, he was engaged in honour to go on; but assured them, he would mind the king's concerns with as much zeal as if they were his own. In September the queen brought forth a daughter, the renowned Elizabeth; and the king having before declared lady Mary princess of Wales, did now the same for the infant: though since a son might exclude her from it, she could not be heir apparent, but only heir presumptive to the crown. The eventful moment was nigh at hand, when the incident should take place that would cause the separation of England from the church of Rome.

There was a secret agreement between the pope and Francis, that if Henry would refer his cause to the consistory, excepting only to the cardinals of the Imperial faction, as partial, and would in all other things return to his obedience to the see of Rome, the sentence should be given in his favour. When Francis returned to Paris, he sent over

the bishop of that city to the king, to tell what he had obtained of the pope in his favour, and the terms on which it was promised. This wrought so much on the king, that he presently consented to them; upon which the bishop of Paris, though it was now in the middle of winter, went to Rome with the welcome tidings. On his arrival there, the matter seemed agreed: for it was promised that upon the king's sending a consent under his hand to place things in their former state, and his ordering a proxy to appear for him, judges should be sent to Cambray for making the process, and then sentence should be given. Upon the notice given of this, and of a day that was prefixed for the return of the courier, the king dispatched him with all possible haste; and now the business seemed at an end. But the courier had a sea and the Alps to pass, and in winter it was not easy to observe a limited day so exactly. The appointed day came, and no courier arrived; upon which, the Imperialists gave out, that the king was abusing the pope's easiness; and pressed him vehemently to proceed to a sentence: the bishop of Paris requesting only a delay of six days. The design of the Imperialists was to hinder a reconciliation: for if the king had been set right with the pope, there would have been so powerful a league formed against the emperor as would have frustrated all his measures; and therefore it was necessary for his politics to embroil them. Seduced by the artifice of this intriguing prince, the pope, without consulting his ordinary prudence, brought in the matter to the consistory; and there the Imperialists being the greater number, it was driven on with so much precipitation, that they did in one day that which, according to form, should have extended at least to three.

They gave the final sentence, declared the king's marriage with queen Katharine good, and required him to live with her as his wife, otherwise they would proceed to censures. Two days after this, the courier came with the king's submission in due form; he also brought earnest letters from Francis in the king's favour. This wrought on all the indifferent cardinals, as well as those of the French faction, so that they prayed the pope to recall what was done. A new consistory was called, but the Imperialists urged with greater vehemence than ever, that they would not give such scandal to the world as to recall a definitive sentence of the validity of a marriage, and give heretics such advantage by their unsteadiness in matters of that nature; it was therefore carried that the former sentence should remain, and the execution of it be committed to the emperor. When this was known in England, it determined the king in his resolutions of shaking off the pope's yoke, in which he had made so great a progress, that the parliament had passed all the acts concerning it before he received the news from Rome; for he judged that the best way to secure his cause was to let Rome see his power, and with what vigour he could make war. All the rest of the world looked on astonished to see the court of Rome throw off England, as if it had been weary of the obedience and profits of so great a kingdom.

In England people of nearly all ranks had been examining the foundations on which the papal authority was built with extraordinary care for some years; and several books were written on that subject. It was

demonstrated, that all the apostles were made equal in the powers that Christ gave them; that he often condemned their contests about superiority, but never declared in St. Peter's favour. St. Paul withstood him to his face, and reckoned himself not inferior to him. If the dignity of a person left any authority with the city in which he sat, then Antioch must carry it rather than Rome; and Jerusalem, where Christ suffered, was to be preferred to all the world, for it was truly the mother-church. Christ said to Peter, "Upon this rock will I build my church." The agents understood by the rock either the confession Peter had made, or, which is the same, Christ himself; and though it were to be meant of St. Peter, all the rest of the apostles are also called foundations; and the injunction, "Tell the church," was by many doctors of Rome turned against the pope for a general council. The other privileges ascribed to St. Peter, were either only a precedence of order, or were occasioned by his fall; as that, "Feed my sheep," being a restoration of him to the apostolic functions. St. Peter had also a limited province, the circumcision, as St. Paul had the uncircumcision, which was of far greater extent, and which shewed that Peter was not considered as the universal pastor.

Several sees, as Ravenna, Milan, and Aquilea, pretended exemption from the papal authority. Many English bishops had asserted that the popes had no authority against the canons, and to that day no canon made by the pope was binding till it was received, which shewed the pope's authority was not believed to be founded on divine authority; and the contests that the kings of England had with the popes concerning investitures, bishops doing the king homage, appeals to Rome, and the authority of papal bulls and provisions, shewed that the pope's power was subject to law and custom, and so not derived from Christ and St. Peter; and as laws had given them some power, and princes had been forced in ignorant ages to submit to their usurpations, so they might as they saw cause change those laws, and resume their rights.

The next point enquired into was, the authority that kings had in matters of religion and the church. In the New Testament, Christ was himself subject to the civil powers, and charged his disciples not to affect temporal dominion. The apostles also wrote to the churches to be subject to the higher powers, and to call them supreme; they charged every soul to be subject to them: in scripture the king is called head and supreme, and every soul is said to be under him, which joined with the other parts of their sage argument, brought the wise men of that day to the conclusion, that he is supreme head over all persons. In the primitive church the bishops only made rules or canons, but pretended to no compulsive authority, but what came from the civil magistrate. Upon the whole matter, they concluded that the pope had no power in England, and that the king had an entire dominion over all his subjects which extended even to the regulating of ecclesiastical matters. These questions being fully discussed in many disputes, and published in several books, all the bishops, abbots, and friars of England, Fisher only excepted, were so far satisfied with them, that they resolved to comply with the changes the king was determined to make.

At the next meeting of parliament there were but seven bishops and



twelve abbots present, the rest it seems were unwilling to concur in making this change, though they complied with it when it was made. Every Sunday during the session a bishop preached at St. Paul's, and declared that the pope had no authority in England: before this, they had only said that a general council was above him, and that the exactions of that court, and appeals to it, were unlawful; but now they went a strain higher, to prepare the people for receiving the acts then in agitation. On the 9th of March the commons began the bill for taking away the pope's power, and sent it to the lords on the 14th, who passed it on the 20th without any dissent. In it they set forth the exaction of the court of Rome, grounded on the pope's power of dispensation; and that as none could dispense with the laws of God, so the king and parliament only had the authority of dispensing with the laws of the land: therefore such licences as were formerly in use, should be for the future granted by the two archbishops, to be confirmed under the great seal. It was moreover appointed that, thereafter, all commerce with Rome should cease. They also declared that they did not intend to alter any article of the catholic faith of Christendom, or that which was declared in the scripture necessary to salvation. They confirmed all the exemptions granted to monasteries by the popes, but subjected them to the king's visitation, and gave the king and his council power to examine and reform all indulgencies and privileges granted by the pope: the offenders against this law were to be punished according to the statutes of *præmunire*. This act subjected the monasteries entirely to the king's authority, and put them in no small confusion. Those who loved the reformation rejoiced to see the pope's power rooted out, and to find the scripture made the standard of religion.

After this act another passed in both houses in six days' time without any opposition, settling the succession of the crown, confirming the sentence of divorce, and the king's marriage with queen Anne, and declaring all marriages within the degrees prohibited by Moses to be unlawful: all that had married within them were appointed to be divorced, and their issue illegitimatized; and the succession to the crown was settled upon the king's issue by the present queen, or in default of that to the king's right heirs for ever. All were required to swear to maintain the contents of this act; and if any refused the oath, or should say any thing to the slander of the king's marriage, he was to be judged guilty of misprision of treason, and to be punished accordingly.

About this time one Phillips complained to the house of commons of the bishop of London for using him cruelly in prison upon suspicion of heresy: the commons sent up this to the lords, but received no answer; they therefore sent some of their members to the bishop, desiring him to reply to the complaints put in against him: but he acquainted the house of lords with it; and they with one consent voted, that none of their house ought to appear or answer to any complaint at the bar of the house of commons. On this the commons let this case fall, and sent up a bill to which the lords agreed, regulating the proceedings against heretics: that whereas, by the statute made by Henry the Fourth, bishops might commit men upon suspicion of heresy; and heresy was generally defined to be whatever was contrary to the scrip-

tures or canonical sanctions, which was liable to great ambiguity; therefore that statute was repealed, and none were to be committed for heresy but upon a presentment made by two witnesses; none were to be accused for speaking against things that were grounded only upon the pope's canons. Bail was to be taken for heretics, and they were to be brought to their trial in open court; and if upon conviction they did not abjure, or relapsed after abjuration, they were to be burnt; a royal writ being first obtained. This was a great check to the bishops' tyranny, and gave no small encouragement to all that favoured the reformation.

The convocation sent in a submission at the same time, by which they acknowledged that all the convocations ought to be assembled by the king's writ; and promised upon the words of priests, never to make nor execute any canons without the king's assent. They also desired, that since many of the received canons were found to be contrary to the king's prerogative and the laws of the land, there might be a committee named by the king of thirty-two, the one half out of the houses of parliament and the other from the clergy, empowered to abrogate or regulate them as they should see cause. This was confirmed in parliament, and the act against appeal to Rome was renewed; and an appeal was allowed from the archbishop to the king, upon which the lord chancellor was to grant a commission for a court of delegates.

Another act passed for regulating the elections and consecrations of bishops, condemning all bulls from Rome, and appointing that upon a vacancy the king should grant licence for an election, and should by a missive letter signify the person's name whom he would have chosen; and within twelve days after these were delivered, the dean and chapter, or prior and convent, were required to return an election of the person named by the king under their seals. The bishop elect was upon that to swear fealty, and a writ was to be issued for his consecration in the usual manner; after that he was to do homage to the king, upon which both the temporalities and spiritualities were to be restored, and bishops were to exercise their jurisdictions as they had done before. All who transgressed this act were made guilty of a *præmunire*. A private act passed depriving cardinal Campeggio and Jerome de Gainuccii of the bishoprics of Salisbury and Worcester: the reasons given for it were, because they did not reside in their dioceses, for preaching the laws of God, and keeping hospitality, but lived at the court of Rome, and drew 3,000*l.* a year out of the kingdom.

The last act of a particular nature, though relating only to private persons, was concerning the nun of Kent and her accomplices. It was the first occasion of shedding blood in these disputes, and it was much cherished by all the superstitious clergy who adhered to the queen's and the pope's interests. The nun, and many of her accomplices, came to the bar of the house of lords and confessed the whole matter. Among the concealers of this treason, Sir Thomas More and Fisher were named; the former of whom wrote a long letter upon the subject to Cromwell, giving him a particular account of all the conversations he had with the nun: he acknowledged he had esteemed her highly, not so much out of any regard to her prophecies, but for the opinion he conceived of her holiness and humility. But he added, that he was then convinced

that she was the most dissembling hypocrite he had ever known, and guilty of the most detestable hypocrisy and devilish falsehood: he also believed that she had communication with an evil spirit.<sup>c</sup> This justification of More's prevailed so far, that his name was struck out of the bill.

The tale of the nun thus incidently referred to is worth telling. Her name was Elizabeth Barton; she lived in Kent, and in occasional trances into which she fell, she spake such things as made those about her think she was inspired of God. The parson of her parish, named Master, hoping to draw advantage from this, informed archbishop Warham of it, who ordered him to watch her carefully, and bring him an account of whatever he should observe. But it seems she forgot all that she said in her fits when they were over. The artful priest however would not suffer his hopes thus to pass away, but persuaded her she was inspired, and taught her so to counterfeit those trances, that she became very expert in the trick, and could assume them at her pleasure. The matter was soon noised about, and the priest intended to raise the credit of an image of the blessed virgin, which stood in his church, that so pilgrimages and offerings might be made to it by her means. He accordingly associated to himself one Bocking, a monk of Canterbury, and they taught her to say in her fits, that the blessed virgin appeared to her, and told her she could not be well till she visited that image. She spake many good words against ill life, and also against heresy, and the king's suit of divorce then depending; and by many strange motions of her body she seemed to be inwardly possessed.

Soon after this, a day was appointed for her cure; and before an assemblage of two thousand people, she was carried to that image: and after she had acted over her fits, she seemed suddenly to recover, which was ascribed to the intercession of the virgin, and the virtue of her image. She then took the veil, and Bocking was her confessor: but between this wolf in sheep's clothing and Elizabeth many persons strongly suspected a criminal intercourse to subsist; while the esteem she was held in bore them down. Many thought her a prophetess,<sup>d</sup> and Warham

<sup>c</sup> In the reign of queen Mary, the works of Sir T. More were published. But the letter from which the above extract is taken, although printed among the rest, was suppressed. The reason of which seems to be, that there was a design to canonize the nun at that time, for she was considered as a martyr to the cause of queen Katharine. To justify this extravagance, there were numbers of feigned miracles concerning the nun; therefore a letter so full and clear against her was judged best to be concealed.

<sup>d</sup> Amidst the comparative darkness of that age, much allowance may be made for the delusion of the multitude. But in the present day it is unaccountable to see the pervading influence of superstition enveloping the minds of such numbers. We allude to the spreading of Johanna Southcote's doctrines. But it is as the apostle hath said, "God shall send them strong delusions, that they should believe a lie." And why is it? Because their fear towards the Lord is taught by the precepts of men; they are ever learning, and never come to the knowledge of the truth; beguiling unstable souls, led away with every wind of doctrine. Not knowing "that many false prophets shall arise, which shall deceive many."

The above note was printed in the edition of 1806: had the editor of that edition lived to become the reviser of this, he might have placed Edward Irving by the side of Johanna Southcote and Elizabeth Barton. Widely different from these women in intellect and station, his patronage of the unknown tongues has reduced him to a humiliating level with those two vulgar female impostors. Alas for human nature! To what vile uses may mind as well as body come!

among the rest. A book was written of her revelations, and an epistle was shewed in letters of gold, pretended to be written to her from Heaven by Mary Magdalen. She said, that when the king was last at Calais, she was carried invisibly beyond sea, and brought back again; that an angel gave her the sacrament, and that God revealed to her that if the king went on in his divorce, and married another wife, he should fall from his crown and not live a month longer, but should die a villain's death.

Several monks of the Charter-house, and the observant friars, with many nuns, and bishop Fisher, came to give credit to all this, set a great value on the woman, and grew very insolent upon her visions. Friar Peyto, preaching in the king's chapel at Greenwich, denounced the judgments of God upon him; and said, though others as lying prophets deceived him, yet he, in the name of God told him, that dogs should lick his blood as they had done Ahab's. The king bore this patiently, contenting himself with ordering Dr. Corren to preach the next Sunday, and to answer all that he had said; who railed against Peyto as a dog and a traitor. Peyto had gone to Canterbury; but Elston, a Franciscan of the same house, interrupted him, and called him one of the lying prophets who went about to establish the succession of the crown by adultery, and spoke with such vehemence, that the king himself was forced to command silence. So unwilling was Henry to go to extremities, that all which was done upon so high a provocation was, that the parties were summoned before the council, and rebuked for their insolence. The nun's confederates proceeding to publish her revelations in all parts of the kingdom, she and nine of her accomplices were at length apprehended, when they all, without any rack or torture, discovered the whole conspiracy. Upon this confession they were appointed to go to St. Paul's, where, after a sermon preached upon the occasion by the bishop of Bangor, they repeated their confession in the hearing of the people, and were sent as prisoners to the Tower. It was given out of course by the papal party that all was extorted from them by violence, and messages were sent to the nun, inducing her to deny all that she had confessed. The king, on this, judged it necessary to proceed to further extremities: accordingly she and six of her chief accomplices were attainted of treason, and the bishop of Rochester and five more were attainted of misprision of treason. But at the intercession of queen Anne, as is expressed in the act, all others that had been concerned with her were pardoned.

After this, the nun with her coadjutors were executed at Tyburn. There she voluntarily confessed herself to be an impostor, and acknowledged the justice of her sentence, laying the blame on those who suffered with her, by whom she had been seduced into the crime; adding, that they had exalted her for no other cause than for her having been of great profit to them, and they had presumed to say, that all she had done was through the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, when they were sensible the whole was human artifice. She then begged pardon of God and the king, and resigned herself to her fate. Thus ended one of the vilest impostures ever known in this country. Had this fallen out in a darker age, in which the world went mad after visions, the king

might have lost his crown by it. The discovery of it disposed all to look on older stories of the trances of monastical people, as contrivances to serve base ends, and made way for the ruin of that order of men in England; but all that followed at present upon it was, that the Observants were put out of their houses, and mixed with the other Franciscans, and the Austin friars were put in their room.

On the first discovery of the imposture, Cromwell sent Fisher's brother to him to reprove him for his conduct in that business, and to advise him to ask the king's pardon for the encouragement he had given to the nun, which he was confident the king would grant him. But Fisher excused himself, and said he had only tried whether her revelations were true or not. He confessed, that upon the reports he had heard, he was induced to have a high opinion of her, and that he had never discovered any falsehood in her. It is true, she had said some things to him concerning the king's death which he had not revealed; but he thought it was not necessary to do it, because he knew she had told them to the king herself: she had named no person that should kill the king, but had only denounced it as a judgment of God upon him: and he had reason to think that the king would have been offended with him if he had spoken of it to him; he therefore desired to be no more troubled with that matter. On this statement Cromwell wrote him a sharp letter shewing him that he had proceeded rashly in that affair; being so partial in the matter of the king's divorce, that he easily believed every thing that seemed to make against it. Moreover, he told him how necessary it was to use great caution before extraordinary things should be received or spread about as revelations, since otherwise the peace of the world would be in the hands of every bold and crafty impostor; and in conclusion, he advised him again to ask the king's pardon for his rashness, and he assured him that the king was ready to forgive him. But Fisher would make no submission, and was in consequence included within the act; though it was not executed till a new provocation drew him into farther trouble. The secular and regular clergy every where took the oath of succession, which none more zealously promoted than Gardiner, who before the 6th of May got all his clergy to swear it: and the religious orders being apprehensive of the king's jealousies of them, took care to remove them by sending in declarations under the seals of their houses, that in their opinion the king's present marriage was lawful, and that they would always acknowledge him head of the church of England.

A meeting of the council was held at Lambeth, to which many were cited that they might take the oath, among whom were Sir Thomas More and Fisher. More was first summoned to take it: he answered, that he neither blamed those that made the acts, nor those that took the oath; and that he was willing to swear to maintain the succession to the crown, but could not take the oath as it was expressed. Fisher made the same answer, but all the rest that were cited before them took it. More was pressed to give his reasons against it: but he refused, for it might be called a disputing against law: yet he would put them into writing if the king commanded him to do it. Cranmer said, if he did not blame those that took it, it seems he was not persuaded it was a sin, and so

was only doubtful of it ; but he was sure he ought to obey the law, if it was not sinful : so there was a certainty on one hand, and only a doubt on the other, and therefore the former ought to determine him. This More confessed did shake him a little, but he said he thought in his conscience that it would be a sin in him. In conclusion, both he and Fisher declared that they thought it was in the power of the parliament to settle the succession to the crown, and so were ready to swear to that ; but they could not take the oath that was tendered to them, for by it they must swear to maintain the king's former marriage as unlawful, to which they could not assent ; so they were both committed to the Tower, and denied the use of pen, ink, and paper. The old bishop was also hardly used both in his raiment and diet ; he had only rags to cover him, and fire was often denied him ; a cruelty not capable of excuse, and as barbarous as it was imprudent.

In winter parliament met again, and the first act that passed declared the king to be supreme head on earth of the church of England, which was ordered to be prefixed to other titles ; and it was enacted, that he and his successors should have full authority to reform all heresies and abuses in the spiritual jurisdiction. By another act, parliament confirmed the oath of succession, which had not been specified in the former, though agreed to by the lords. They also gave the king the first-fruits and tenths of ecclesiastical benefices, as being the supreme head of the church ; for the king being put in the pope's room, it was thought reasonable to give him the annats which the popes had formerly exacted. Another act passed, declaring some things treason ; one of these was the denying the king any of his titles, or calling him heretic, schismatic, or usurper of the crown. By another act, provision was made for setting up twenty-six suffragan bishops over England, for the more speedy administration of the sacraments, and the better service of God. The supreme diocesan was to present two names to the king, and upon the king's declaring his choice, the archbishop was to consecrate the person, and then the bishop was to delegate such parts of his charge to his care as he thought fitting, which was to continue during his pleasure.<sup>e</sup> The great extent of the dioceses in England made it difficult for one bishop to govern them with that exactness that was necessary ; these were therefore appointed to assist them in the discharge of the pastoral care.

Fisher and More, by two special acts, were attainted of misprision of treason ; five other clerks were in like manner condemned, all for refusing to take the oath of succession. The see of Rochester was declared void ; yet it would seem that few were willing to succeed such a man, for it continued vacant two years, and was at last with difficulty filled.

But now a new scene commenced ; and before we enter upon it we shall find it necessary to state the progress that the new opinions had made in England during the time of the king's suit of divorce. While

<sup>e</sup> These were the same as those whom the ancient church called *Cherepiscopi*, who were at first the bishops of some villages, but were afterwards put under the jurisdiction of the bishop of the next city. They were set up before the council of Nice, and continued in the church for many ages ; but the bishops devolving their whole spiritual power upon them they were put down, and a decretal epistle was forged in the name of P. Damascus, condemning them.

Wolsey was a minister, the reformed preachers were gently used; and it is probable the king ordered the bishops to give over their enquiring after them, when the pope began to use him ill; for the progress of heresy was always reckoned at Rome among the mischiefs that would follow upon the pope's rejecting the king's suit. But More coming into favour, he offered new counsels, and thought the king's proceeding severely against heretics would be so meritorious at Rome, that it would work more effectually than all his threatenings had done. Upon this, a severe proclamation was issued both against their books and persons, ordering all the laws against them to be put in execution. Tindal and others at Antwerp were every year either translating or writing books against some of the received errors, and sending them over to England: but his translation of the New Testament gave the greatest wound, and was much complained of by the clergy as full of errors. Tonstal, then bishop of London, being a man of great learning, returning from the treaty of Cambray, to which More and he were sent in the king's name, as he came through Antwerp, dealt with an English merchant who was secretly a friend of Tindal's, to procure him as many of his Testaments as could be had for money.

Tindal gladly received this; for being engaged in a more correct edition, he found he should be better able to proceed if the copies of the old were sold off; he therefore gave the merchant all he had, and Tonstall paying the price of them, got them over to England, and burnt them publicly in Cheapside. This was called a burning of the word of God: and it was said the clergy had reason to revenge themselves on it; for it had done them more mischief than all other books whatsoever. But a year after this, the second edition being finished, great numbers were sent over to England, when Constantine, one of Tindal's partners, happened to be taken: believing that some of the London merchants furnished them with money, he was promised his liberty if he would discover who they were, when he told him the bishop of London did more than all the world beside; for he had bought up the greatest part of a faulty impression. The clergy, on their condemning Tindal's translation, promised a new one; but a year after they said it was unnecessary to publish the Scriptures in English, and that the king did well not to set about it.

About this time a singular book written by one Fish, of Gray's Inn, was published. It was entitled, "The Supplication of the Beggars," and had a vast sale. The beggars complained that the alms of the people were intercepted by the mendicant friars, who were a useless burthen to the government; they also taxed the pope with cruelty for taking no pity on the poor, since none but those who could pay for it were delivered out of purgatory. The king was so pleased with this publication, that he would not suffer any thing to be done against the author. More answered it by another supplication in behalf of the souls in purgatory; setting forth the miseries they were in, and the relief which they received by the masses that were said for them; and therefore called upon their friends to support the religious orders which had now so many enemies.

Fish published a serious answer, in which he shewed that there was no mention made of purgatory in scripture; that it was inconsistent

with the merits of Christ, by which upon sincere repentance all sins were pardoned; for if they were pardoned, they could not be punished; and though temporary judgments, either as medicinal corrections or a warning to others, do sometimes fall even on true penitents, yet fiery punishments in another state cannot consist with a free pardon and the remembering of our sins no more.<sup>f</sup> In expounding many passages of the New Testament, he appealed to More's great friend Erasmus, and shewed that the fire spoken of by St. Paul, as that which would consume the wood, hay, and stubble, could only be meant of the fiery trial of persecution. He shewed that the primitive church did not receive the doctrine of purgatory. Ambrose, Jerome, and Austin did not believe it; the last having plainly said that no mention was made of it in scripture. The monks alone brought it in; and by many wonderful stories possessed the world of the belief of it, and had made a very profitable trade in it. This book so provoked the clergy, that they resolved to make the author feel a real fire, for endeavouring to extinguish their imaginary one. More objected poverty and want of learning to the new preachers; but it was answered, the same thing was made use of to disgrace Christ and his apostles; while a plain simplicity of mind, without artificial improvements, was rather thought a good disposition for men that were to bear a cross, and the glory of God appeared more eminent than the instruments seemed contemptible.

But the pen being thought too feeble and gentle a tool, the clergy betook themselves to persecution. Many were vexed with imprisonments for teaching their children the Lord's prayer in English, for harbouring the preachers, and for speaking against the corruptions in the worship, or the vices of the clergy; but these generally abjured and saved themselves from death. Others more faithful were honoured with martyrdom. One Hinton, formerly a curate, who had gone over to Tindal, was seized on his way back with some books he was conveying to England, and was condemned by archbishop Warham. He was kept long in prison; but remaining firm to his cause, he was at length burned at Maidstone.

But the most remarkable martyr of this day was Thomas Bilney, who was brought up at Cambridge from a child, and became a bold and uncompromising reformer. On leaving the university, he went into several places and preached; and in his sermons spoke with great boldness against the pride and insolence of the clergy. This was during the ministry of Wolsey, who hearing of his attacks, caused him to be seized and imprisoned. Overcome with fear, Bilney abjured, was pardoned, and returned to Cambridge in the year 1530. Here he fell into great horror of mind in consequence of his instability and the denial of the truth. He became ashamed of himself, bitterly repented of his sin, and, growing strong in faith, resolved to make some atonement by a

<sup>f</sup> It is evident that the papists, who hold the doctrine of purgatory, have no correct notions of a future state, and on this primary doctrine of the New Testament are almost in as great darkness and doubt as were the pagans of antiquity, and as are many heathens to this day. Their future world is in fact much worse than this, and many pious sufferers would infinitely prefer remaining here, with all the infirmities that beset them, than go hence to fall into purgatorial fires, even though but of a few years duration.



public avowal of his apostacy and confession of his sentiments. To prepare himself for his task, he studied the scriptures with deep attention for two years; at the expiration of which he again quitted the university, and went into Norfolk, where he was born, and preached up and down that country against idolatry and superstition; exhorting the people to live well, to give much alms, to believe in Christ, and to offer up their souls and wills to him in the sacrament. He openly confessed his own sin of denying the faith; and using no precaution as he went about, was soon taken by the bishop's officers, condemned as a relapse, and degraded. Sir Thomas More not only sent down the writ to burn him, but in order to make him suffer another way, he affirmed that he had said in print that he had abjured; but no paper signed by him was ever shewn, and little credit was due to the priests that gave it out that he did it by word of mouth. Parker, afterwards archbishop, was an eye-witness of his sufferings. He bore all his hardships with great fortitude and resignation, and continued very cheerful after his sentence. He ate the poor provisions that were brought him heartily, saying, He must keep up a ruinous cottage till it fell. He had these words of Isaiah often in his mouth, "When thou walkest through the fire, thou shalt not be burned:" and by burning his finger in the candle, he prepared himself for the fire, and said it would only consume the stubble of his body, while it would purify his soul, and give it a swifter conveyance to the region where Elijah was conveyed by another fiery chariot.

On the 10th of November he was brought to the stake, where he repeated the creed, as a proof that he was a true Christian. He then prayed earnestly, and with the deepest feeling offered this prayer—"Enter not into judgment with thy servant, O Lord, for in thy sight no flesh living can be justified." Dr. Warner attended and embraced him, shedding many tears, and wishing he might die in as good a frame of mind as Bilney then was. The friars requested him to inform the people, that they were not instrumental to his death, which he did, so that the last act of his life was full of charity, even to those who put him to death.

The officers then put the reeds and fagots about his body, and set fire to the first, which made a great flame, and disfigured his face: he held up his hands, and often struck his breast, crying sometimes "Jesus!" sometimes "Credo!" but the flame was blown away from him several times, the wind being very high, till at length the wood taking fire, the flame was stronger, and he yielded up his spirit to God who gave it.

As his body shrunk up it leaned down on the chain, till one of the officers with his halberd struck out the staple of the chain behind him, on which it fell down into the bottom of the fire, when they heaped up wood upon it and consumed it. The sufferings, the confession, and the heroic death of this martyr, inspired and animated others with the same fortitude.

Byfield, who had formerly abjured, was taken dispersing Tindal's books; and he, with one Tewkesbury, were condemned by the bishop of London, and burnt. Two men and a woman suffered the same fate at

York. Of these proceedings the parliament complained to the king; but this did not check the sanguinary proceedings of the clergy. One Bainham, a counsellor of the Temple, was taken on suspicion of heresy, was whipped in the presence of Sir T. More, and afterwards racked in the Tower; yet he could not be wrought on to accuse any: through fear, however, he abjured himself. After this being discharged, he was in great trouble of mind, and could find no quiet till he went publicly to church, where he openly confessed his sins, and declared the torments he felt in his conscience for what he had done. Upon this he was again seized on, and condemned for having said that Thomas à Becket was a murderer, and was damned if he had not repented; and that in the sacrament, Christ's body was received by faith, and not eaten with the mouth. Sentence was passed on him by Stokesly, and he was burnt. Soon after this More delivered up the great seal, in consequence of which the preachers had some ease.

The rage of persecution stopped not at the living, but vented itself even on the dead. Lord Tracy made a will by which he left his soul to God, in hope of mercy through Christ, without the help of any saint; and therefore he declared that he would leave nothing for soul-masses. This will being brought into the bishop of London's court to be proved, after his death, gave so much offence, that he was condemned as a heretic, and an order was sent to the Chancellor of Worcester to raise his body; but he proceeded farther and burnt it, which could not be justified, since he was not a relapse. Tracy's heir sued him for it, and he was turned out of his place, and fined 400*l*. The clergy proclaimed an indulgence of forty days' pardon to any that carried a fagot to the burning of a heretic, that so cruelty might seem the more meritorious. An aged man, Harding, being condemned by Longland, bishop of Lincoln, as he was tied to the stake, a barbarian flung a fagot with such force against him, that it dashed out his brains.

The reformed enjoyed a respite of two years, when the crafty Gardiner represented to the king, that it would give him great advantages against the pope if he would take some occasion to shew his hatred of heresy. Accordingly a young man named Frith was chosen as a sacrifice for this affected zeal for religion. He was distinguished for learning, and was the first who wrote against the corporeal presence in the sacrament in England. He followed Zuinglius's doctrine on these grounds: Christ received in the sacrament gave eternal life, but this was given only to those who believed, from which he inferred that he was received only by faith. St. Paul said, that the fathers before Christ eat the same spiritual food with christians; from which it appears that Christ is now no more corporeally present to us than he was to them; and he argued from the nature of sacraments in general, and the end of the Lord's supper, that it was only a commemoration. Yet, upon these premises, he built no other conclusion but that Christ's presence was no article of faith. His reasons he put in writing, which falling into the hands of Sir Thomas More, were answered by him: but Frith never saw his publication till he was put in prison; and then, though he was loaded with irons, and had no books allowed, he replied. He insisted much on the argument, that the Israelites did eat the same food,

and drank of the same rock, and that rock was Christ; and since Christ was only mystically and by faith received by them, he concluded that he was at the present time also received only in the same manner. He shewed that Christ's words, "This is my body," were accommodated to the Jewish phrase of calling the lamb the Lord's passover; and confirmed his opinion with many passages out of the fathers, in which the elements were called signs and figures of Christ's body; and they said, that upon consecration they did not cease to be bread and wine, but remained still in their own proper natures. He also shewed that the fathers were strangers to all the consequences of that opinion, as that a body could be in more places than one at the same time, or could be every where in the manner of a spirit: yet he concluded, that if that opinion were held only as a speculation, so that adoration were not offered to the elements, it might be well tolerated, but that he condemned it as gross idolatry. This was intended by him to prevent such heats in England, as were raised in Germany between the Lutherans and Helvetians, by reason of their different opinions concerning the sacrament.

For these offences he was seized in May, 1533, and brought before Stokesly, Gardiner, and Longland. They charged him with not believing in purgatory and transubstantiation. He gave the reasons that determined him to look on neither of these as articles of faith; but thought that the affirming or denying them ought to be determined positively. The bishops seemed unwilling to proceed to sentence; but he continuing resolute, Stokesly pronounced it, and so delivered him to the secular arm, insisting that his punishment might be moderated, so that the rigour might not be too extreme, nor yet the gentleness of it too much mitigated. This obstination by the bowels of Christ was thought a mockery, when all the world knew that it was intended that he should be burnt. One Hewitt, an apprentice of London, was also condemned with him on the same account. They were brought to the stake at Smithfield on the 4th of July, 1533. On arriving there, Frith expressed great joy, and hugged the fagots with seeming transport. A priest named Cook, who stood by, called to the people not to pray for them more than they would do for a dog: at this Frith smiled, and prayed God to forgive him; after which the fire was kindled, which consumed them both to ashes.

This was the last instance of the cruelty of the clergy at present; for the act already mentioned, regulating their proceedings, followed soon after. Phillips, at whose complaint that bill was begun, was committed upon suspicion of heresy; a copy of Tracy's will was found about him, and butter and cheese were also found in his chamber in Lent; but he being required to abjure, appealed to the king as supreme judge in such matters. Upon that he was set at liberty; but whether he was tried by the king or not, is not upon record.

The act being passed, gave the new preachers and their followers some respite. The king was also empowered to reform all heresies and idolatries: and his affairs now obliged him to unite himself to the princes of Germany, that by their means he might so embroil the emperor's affairs, as not to give him leisure to turn his arms against Eng-

land; and this produced a slackening of all severities against the reformers at home; for those princes, in the first fervour of the reformation, made it an article in all their treaties, that none should be persecuted for favouring their doctrine. The queen also openly protected them; she took Latimer and Shaxton to be her chaplains, and promoted them to the bishoprics of Worcester and Salisbury. Cranmer was fully convinced of the necessity of a reformation, and that he might carry it on with true judgment, and justify it by good authorities, he made a careful collection of the opinions of the ancient fathers, and later doctors, in all the points of religion, comprising six folio volumes. He was a man of great candour and much patience and industry; and thus was on all accounts well prepared for that work, to which the providence of God now called him: and though he was in some things too much subject to the king's imperious temper, yet in the matter of the six articles, he shewed that he wanted not the courage that became a bishop in the most critical affairs. Cromwell was his great and constant friend; a man of mean birth but of excellent qualities, as appeared in his adhering to his master Wolsey after his fall.

The following incident strongly characterizes the generous temper of this minister:—At the height of his prosperity he happened to see a merchant of Lucca, who had pitied and relieved him when he was in Italy, but did not so much as know him, or pretended to any returns for the small favours he had formerly shewed him, and was then reduced to a low condition. Cromwell, however, made himself known to him, gave him the strongest acknowledgments and the most substantial proofs of his gratitude and liberality.

While these men set themselves to carry on a reformation, another party was formed who as vigorously opposed it. This was headed by the duke of Norfolk and Gardiner; and almost all the clergy joined with them. They persuaded the king that nothing would give the pope or the emperor such advantages, as his making any changes in religion; and it would reflect much on him, if he who had written so learnedly for the faith, should in spite to the pope make any changes in it. Nothing would encourage other princes so much to follow his example, or keep his subjects so faithfully to him, as his continuing steadfast in the ancient religion. These things made a great impression on him. On the other hand, Cranmer represented to him that if he rejected the pope's authority it was very absurd to let such opinions or practices continue in the church which had no other foundation but papal decrees; and therefore he desired that this might be put to the trial; he ought to depend on God, and hope for good success if he proceeded in this matter according to the duty of a christian prince. England was a complete body within itself; and though in the Roman empire, when united under one prince general councils were easily assembled, yet now they were not easily to be converted, and therefore should not be relied on; but every prince ought to reform the church in his dominions by a national synod; and if in the ancient church such synods condemned heresies, and reformed abuses, this might be much more done, when Europe was divided into so many kingdoms. It was visible that though both the emperor and the princes of Germany had for twenty years desired a general council, it

could not be obtained of the pope; he had indeed offered one at Mantua, but that was only an illusion.

Upon this the king desired others of his bishops to give their opinions concerning the emperor's power of calling councils; so Cranmer of Canterbury, Tonstal of London, Clark of Bath and Wells, and Goodrick of Ely, made answer, that though ancient councils were called by the Roman emperors, yet that was done by reason of the extent of their monarchy, which had now ceased, and other princes had an entire monarchy within their dominions. At this assembly of prelates Cranmer made a long speech, setting forth the necessity of reformation. He began with the impostures and deceit used by the canonists and other courtiers at Rome. Then he spoke to the authority of a general council; he shewed that it flowed not from the number of the bishops, but from the matter of their decisions, which were received with an universal consent; for there were many more bishops at the council of Arimini, which was condemned, than either at Nice or Constantinople, which was received. Christ had named no head of the whole church, as God had named no head of the world; but that grew up for order's sake, as there were archbishops set over provinces; yet some popes were condemned for heresy, as Liberius and others. If faith must be showed by works, the ill lives of most popes of late shewed that their faith was to be suspected; and all the privileges which princes or synods granted to that see might be recalled. Popes ought to submit themselves to general councils, and were to be tried by them; he showed what were the present corruptions of the pope and his court, which needed reformation. The pope, according to the decree of the council of Basil, was the church's vicar, and not Christ's; and so was accountable to it. The churches of France declared the council to be above the pope, which had been acknowledged by many popes themselves. The power of councils had also bounds, nor could they judge of the rights of princes, or proceed to a sentence against a king; nor were their canons of any force till princes added their sanctions to them. Councils ought also to proceed moderately, even against those that held errors, and ought not to impose things indifferent too severely. The scriptures, and not men's traditions, ought to be the standard of their definitions. The divines of Paris held, that a council could not make a new article of faith that was not in the scriptures; and all Christ's promises to the church were to be understood with this condition, "if they kept the faith:" therefore there was great reason to doubt concerning the authority of a council; some of them had contradicted others, and many others were never received. The fathers had always appealed to the scriptures, as superior in authority to councils, by which only all controversies ought to be decided: yet, on the other hand, it was dangerous to be wise in one's own conceit, and he thought when the fathers all agreed in the exposition of any place of scripture, that ought to be looked on as flowing from the spirit of God. He showed how little regard was to be had to a council, in which the pope presided, and that if any common error had passed upon the world, when that came to be discovered, every one was at liberty to shake it off, even though they had sworn to maintain that error: this he applied to the pope's authority. This was the state

of the court after king Henry had shaken off the pope's power, and assumed a supremacy in ecclesiastical affairs.

The nobility and gentry were generally well satisfied with the change; but the body of the people were more under the power of the priests, who studied to infuse into them great fears of a change in religion. It was said the king now joined himself to heretics; that both the queen, Cranmer, and Cromwell favoured them. It was left free to dispute what were articles of faith, and what were only the decrees of popes; and changes would be made under this pretence, that they only rejected those opinions which were supported by the papal authority. The monks and friars saw themselves left at the king's mercy. Their bulls could be no longer useful to them. The trade of new saints, and indulgences, was now at an end; they had also some intimations that Cromwell was forming a project for suppressing them: so they thought it necessary for their own preservation to embroil the king's affairs as much as was possible; therefore both in confessions and discourses, they were inspiring the people with a dislike of his proceedings. But the practices of the clergy at home, and of cardinal Pole abroad, the libels there were published, and the rebellions that were afterwards raised in England, wrought so much on the king's temper, naturally imperious and boisterous, that he became too apt to commit acts of severity, and to bring his subjects into trouble upon slight grounds; and his new title of *head of the church* seemed to have increased his former vanity, and made him fancy that all his subjects were bound to regulate their belief by the measures he set them.

The bishops and abbots did what they could to free the king of any jealousies he might have of them; and of their own accord, before any law was made about it, they swore to maintain the king's supremacy. The first act of it was making Cromwell vicar-general, and visitor of all the monasteries and churches of England, with a delegation of the king's supremacy to him; he was also empowered to give commissions subaltern to himself; and all wills, where the estate was in value above 200*l.* were to be proved in his court. This was afterwards enlarged, and he was made the king's vicegerent in ecclesiastical matters, and had the precedence of all next the royal family; and his authority was in all points the same as the pope's legates. Pains were taken to engage all the clergy to declare for the supremacy. At Oxford a public determination was made, to which every member assented, that the pope had no more authority in England than any other foreign bishop. The Franciscans at Richmond made some opposition; they said that by the rule of St. Francis, they were bound to obey the holy see. The bishop of Litchfield told them that all the bishops in England, all the heads of houses, and the most learned divines, had signed that proposition. St. Francis made his rule in Italy, where the bishop of Rome was metropolitan, but that ought not to extend to England: and it was shewed that the chapter cited by them was not written by him, but added since; yet they continued positive in their refusal to sign it.

It is well known that all the monks and friars, though they appeared to comply, yet hated this new power of the king's; the people were

also startled at it: so one Dr. Leighton, who had been in the cardinal's service with Cromwell, proposed a general visitation of all the religious houses in England; and thought that nothing would reconcile the nation so much to the king's supremacy, as to see some good effect flow from it. Others deemed this too bold a step, and feared it would provoke the religious orders too much. Yet it was known that they were guilty of such disorders, as nothing could so effectually check as enquiry. Cranmer led the way to this by a metropolitan visitation, for which he obtained the king's licence: he took care to see that the pope's name was struck out of all the offices of the church, and that the king's supremacy was generally acknowledged.

In October the general visitation of the monasteries commenced; which was divided into several precincts: instructions were given them what things to enquire after, as whether the houses had the full number according to their foundation? if they performed divine worship in the appointed hours? what exemptions they had? what were their statutes? how their heads were chosen? and how their vows were observed? Whether they lived according to the severities of their orders? how the master and other officers did their duties? how their lands and revenues were managed? what hospitality was kept? what care was taken of the novices? what benefices were in their gift, and how they disposed of them? how the inclosures of the nunneries were preserved? whether the nuns went abroad, or if men were admitted to come to them? how they employed their time, and what priests they had for their confessors? They were also ordered to give them some injunctions in the king's name, that they should acknowledge his supremacy, and maintain the act of succession, and declare all to be absolved from rules or oath that bound them to obey the pope; and that all their statutes tending to that bond should be erased out of their books. That the abbots should not have choice dishes, but plain tables, for hospitality; and that the scriptures should be read at meals; that they should have daily lectures of divinity; and maintain some of every house at the university. The abbot was required to instruct the monks in true religion, and to shew them that it did not consist in outward ceremonies, but in clearness of heart, and purity of life, and the worship of God in spirit and truth. Rules were given about their revenues, and against admitting any under twenty years of age. Visitors were empowered to punish offenders, or to bring them to answer before the visitor-general.

What the ancient British monks were is not well known; whether they were governed according to the rules of the monks of Egypt or France, is matter of conjecture. They were in all things obedient to their bishops, as all the monks of the primitive times were. But upon the confusions which the Gothic war brought upon Italy, Benedict set up a new order with more artificial rules for its government. Not long after, Gregory the Great raised the credit of that order much, by his dialogues: and Austin the monk being sent by him to convert England, founded a monastery at Canterbury, which bore his name, and which both the king and Austin exempted from the archbishop's jurisdiction.‡

‡ This requires some explanation, as Austin, or Augustine, was himself archbishop of Canterbury, and could only concur in such a measure by his will.

After that many other abbeys were founded and exempted by the kings of England, if credit is due to the records and charters of the monasteries.

In the end of the eighth century, the Danes made several descents upon England; and finding the most wealth and the least resistance in the monasteries, they generally plundered them, insomuch that the monks were forced to quit their seats, and leave them to the secular clergy: so that in King Edgar's time there was scarce a monk left in all England. He was a lewd and cruel prince: and Dunstan and other monks taking advantage from some horrors of conscience into which he fell, persuaded him that restoring the monastic state would be matter of great merit; on which he converted many of the chapters into monasteries. He only exempted them from all payments to the bishops; but others were exempted from episcopal jurisdiction. In some only the precinct was exempted; in others, the exemption was extended to all the lands or churches belonging to them. The latest exemption from episcopal jurisdiction granted by any king, is that of Battel, founded by William the Conqueror. After this the exemptions were granted by the popes, who pretending to an universal jurisdiction, assumed this among other usurpations.

Some abbeys had also the privilege of being sanctuaries to all who fled to them. The foundation of all their wealth, was the belief of purgatory, and of the virtue that was in masses to redeem the souls of men; and that these eased the torments of departed spirits, and at last delivered them. Hence it passed among all for piety to parents, and of care for their own souls and families, to endow those houses with some lands, on condition that they should have masses said for them, as it was agreed on more or less frequently, according to the measure of the gift. This would have drawn the whole wealth of the nation into those houses, if the statute of Mortmain had not put some restraint to the practice. They also persuaded the world that the saints interceded for them, and would take it kindly at their hands, if they made great offerings to their shrines, and would thereupon intercede the more earnestly for them. The credulous vulgar, measuring the court of heaven by those on earth, believed presents might be of great efficacy there, and thought the new favourites would have the most weight in their intercessions: so that upon every new canonization there was a fresh fit of devotion towards the last saint, whilst the elder was almost forgotten. Some images were believed to have an extraordinary virtue in them, and pilgrimages to these were much extolled. There was also great rivalry among the several orders, as well as the different houses of the same orders, every one magnifying their own saints, images, and relics most. The wealth of these houses brought them under great corruptions. They were generally very dissolute, and grossly ignorant. Their privileges were become a public grievance, and their lives gave great scandal to the world. So that, as they had found it easy to bear down the secular clergy, when their own vices were more secret, the begging friars found it easy to carry the esteem of the world from them. These, under the appearance of poverty, and coarse diet and clothing, gained much esteem, and became almost the only preachers and confessors then in the world. They had a general



at Rome, from whom they received such directions as the popes sent them; so that they were more useful to the papacy than the monks had been. They had also the school-learning in their hands, on which account they were generally much cherished. But living much in the world they could not conceal their vices so artfully as the monks had done; and though several reformations had been made of their orders, they had all fallen under great scandal and disesteem. The king intended to erect new bishoprics; but to do this it was necessary to make use of some of their revenues, and he thought the best way to bring their wealth into his hands, would be to expose their vices. Cranmer promoted this because the houses were founded on gross abuses, and subsisted by them; which were necessary to be removed if a reformation went on. The extent of many dioceses was also such, that one man could not oversee them; to remedy which, he intended to have more bishoprics founded, and to have houses at every cathedral for the education of those who should be employed in the pastoral charge.

The visitors went over England, and found in many places monstrous disorders. The most unnatural crimes were found in many houses: great factions and barbarous cruelties were in others; and in some there were found tools for coining. The report contained many abominable things, not fit to be mentioned: some of these were printed, but the greater part were suppressed and concealed. The first house that was surrendered to the king was Langdon, in Kent; the abbot was found to live with a woman who went in the habit of a lay brother. To prevent greater evil to himself, he and ten of his monks signed a resignation of their house to the king. Two other monasteries in the same county, Folkstone and Dover, followed their example. And in the following year, four others made the like surrenders.

In the year 1536, queen Katharine died. She had been resolute in maintaining her title and state, saying that when the pope had judged her marriage was good, she would die rather than do any thing to pre-  
judice it. She desired to be buried among the Observant friars, who had most strongly supported and suffered for her cause. She ordered 500 masses to be said for her soul; and that one of her women should go a pilgrimage to our lady of Walsingham, and give two hundred nobles on her way to the poor.

When she found death approaching, she wrote to the emperor, recommending her daughter Mary, who afterwards became queen, to his care. She also wrote to the king, with this inscription, "My dear lord, king, and husband." She forgave him all the injuries he had done her, and wished him to have regard to his soul. She recommended her daughter to his protection, and desired him to be kind to her three maids, and to pay her servants a year's wages. Strange to say, she concluded her letter to the king with this sentence, "Mine eyes desire you above all things." She expired on the eighth of January, at Kimbolton, in the fiftieth year of her age, having been thirty-three years in England. She was devout and exemplary; used to work with her own hands, and kept her women at work with her. Her alms-deeds, joined to her troubles; begat an esteem for her among all ranks of people. The king ordered her to

be buried in the abbey of Peterborough, and was, or seemed to be, considerably affected at her death.

The same year the parliament confirmed the act which empowered two to revise the ecclesiastical laws; but no time being limited for its completion it had no effect. The chief business of this session was the suppressing of monasteries under 200*l.* a year. The act set forth the great disorders of those houses, and the many unsuccessful attempts made to reform them. The few truly serious people that were in them were ordered to be placed in the greater houses, where religion was better observed, and the revenues given to the king. The king was also empowered to make new foundations of such of the suppressed houses as he pleased, which were in all three hundred and seventy. This parliament, after six years' continuance, was dissolved rather suddenly, and somewhat against the will of the king. It was more than suspected, by persons interested in the preservation of the remaining monasteries, that they would soon share the fate of their predecessors, and the most strenuous efforts were therefore made to get rid of the parliament in order to keep a few of these obnoxious establishments in the land.

In a convocation which sat at this time, a motion was made for translating the Bible into English, which had been promised when Tindal's translation was condemned, but was afterwards laid aside by the clergy, as neither necessary nor expedient. It was said, that those whose office was to teach people the word of God, did all they could to suppress it. Moses, the prophets, and the apostles, wrote in the vulgar tongue: Christ directed the people to search the scriptures; and as soon as any nation was converted to the christian religion, the Bible was translated into their language; nor was it ever taken out of the hands of the people, till the christian religion was so corrupted, that it was deemed impolitic to trust them with a book which would so manifestly discover those errors: hence the legends, as agreeing better with those abuses, were read instead of the word of God. Cranmer thought, that putting the Bible into the people's hands would be the most effectual means of promoting the reformation; and therefore moved that the king might be prayed to order it. But Gardiner and all the other party opposed this vehemently. They pleaded that all the extravagant opinions then in Germany rose from the indiscreet use of the scriptures. Some of those opinions were at this time disseminated in England, both against the divinity and incarnation of Christ, and the usefulness of the sacraments. It was therefore urged that during these distractions the use of the scriptures would prove a great snare, and proposed that instead of them, there might be some short exposition of the christian religion put in the people's hands, which might keep them in subjection to the king and the church: but it was carried in the convocation for the affirmative. At court men were much divided in this point; some said, if the king gave way to it, he would never be able after that to govern his people, and that they would break into many divisions: on the other hand, it was maintained, that nothing would make the difference between the pope's power and the king's supremacy appear more eminently, than for the one to give the people the free use of the word of God, while the other kept them in darkness, and ruled them by a blind obedience. It would

also go far to extinguish the interest that either the pope or the monks had in England. The Bible would teach them, that the world had been long deceived by their impostures, which had no foundation in the scriptures. These reasons, joined with the interest that the queen had in the king, prevailed so far with him, that he gave order for setting about this important affair with all possible haste; and within three years the impression of it was finished.

The popish party saw with disappointment and concern, that the new queen was the great obstacle to their designs. Henry had married Anne chiefly through passionate fondness, and she grew not only in the king's esteem, but in the love of the nation. It was reported that she bestowed above 14,000*l.* in alms to the poor, and she seemed to delight in doing good. Soon after Katharine's death, she bore a dead son, which was believed to have made some impression on the king's mind unfavourable to her. It was also considered that Katharine being dead, the king might marry another papist, and thus regain the friendship of the pope and the emperor, and that the issue by any other marriage would never be questioned. With these reasons of state the king's affections coincided, for he was now in love with Jane Seymour, whose disposition was tempered between the gravity of Katharine and the gaiety of Anne. The latter used all possible arts to re-inflame a dying affection; but the king was changed, and even determined on her destruction: and her brother's wife being jealous of her husband and her, prejudiced the king with her own extravagant apprehensions, and filled his head with many false reports. Norris, Weston, and Brereton, the king's servants, and Smeton a musician, were said to have been particularly officious about her. Something was pretended to have been sworn by the lady Wingfield at her death that determined the king, but there is little light left to judge of that matter. The king left her, upon which she was confined to her chamber, and the five persons before mentioned were seized and sent to the Tower, and the next day she was sent thither. On the river some privy counsellors came to examine her, but she made deep protestations of her innocence; and on landing at the Tower she fell on her knees and prayed God to assist her, as she was free of the crimes laid to her charge. The others who were imprisoned on her account, denied every thing, except Smeton, who, it is supposed through hopes of favour and acquittal, confessed that he had been criminally connected with her. This, however, he denied when he was brought afterwards to execution, a denial of undoubted proof that she was indeed innocent. She was of a remarkable lively temper, and having resided long in the French court, had imbibed in her behaviour somewhat of the levities of that people. She was also free from pride, and hence, in her exterior, she might have condescended too much to her familiar servants. She even confessed she had once rallied Norris, and told him that he was in love with her, and only waited the king's death to marry her: this was the head and front of her offending.

The whole court however was turned against her, and she had no friend about the king but Cranmer: her enemies therefore procured an order for him not to come to court; yet he put all to hazard, and wrote the king a long letter upon this critical juncture. He acknowledged,

that if the things reported of the queen were true, it was the greatest affliction that ever befel the king, and therefore exhorted him to bear it with patience and submission to the will of God: he confessed he never had a better opinion of any woman than of her; and that next to the king he was more bound to her than to all persons living, and therefore he begged his leave to pray that she might be found innocent: he loved her not a little, because of the love which she seemed to bear to God and his gospel; but if she was guilty, all who love the gospel must hate her, as having been the greatest slander possible to the gospel: but he prayed the king not to entertain any prejudice to the gospel on her account, nor give the world to say, that his love to that was founded on the influence she had with him. But the king was inexorable. The indictments were laid in the counties of Kent and Middlesex, the former relating to what was done in Greenwich. Smeton pleaded guilty, as before; the rest pleaded not guilty; but they were all condemned.

On the 15th of May the queen and her brother, who was then a peer, were tried before the duke of Norfolk, as high steward, and a court of twenty-seven peers. The crime charged on her was, that she had procured illicit favours from her brother and four other persons, and had often said to them, that the king never had her heart; and this was to the slander of the issue begotten between the king and her, which was treason by the act which confirmed her marriage, so that this act was now turned to her ruin. They would not now acknowledge her the king's lawful wife, and therefore did not find the treason on the known statute 25th Edw. III. It does not appear what evidence was brought against her; for Smeton being already condemned could not be subpoenaed to attest her guilt; and his never being brought face to face against her, gave just suspicion that he was persuaded to his confession by base practices. The evidence rested only on the declaration of a dead woman; but whether that was forged or real, can never be known till the great day discovers it. The forgery, however, rests on the strongest suspicion.

The earl of Northumberland was one of the judges. He had formerly been in love with the queen, and either from reviving affection, or from some other circumstance, he became suddenly so ill that he could not stay out the trial. Yet all this did not satisfy the king; he resolved to illegitimatize his daughter, the lady Elizabeth, and in order to that to annul his marriage with the queen. It was remembered that the earl of Northumberland had said to cardinal Wolsey, that he had engaged himself so far with her that he could not go back, which was perhaps done by some promise conceived in words of the future tense; but no promise, unless in the words of the present tense, could annul the subsequent marriage. Perhaps the queen did not understand that difference, or probably the fear of a terrible death wrought so much on her, that she confessed the contract; but the earl denied it positively, and took the sacrament upon it, wishing it might turn to his damnation if there was ever either contract or promise of marriage between them. Upon her own confession, however, her marriage with the king was judged null from the beginning, and she was condemned, although nothing could be more contradictory; for if she was never the king's

wife, she could not be guilty of adultery, there being no breach of the faith of wedlock. But the king was resolved both to be rid of her, and to declare the daughter she had borne him illegitimate.

The day before her death, she sent her last message to the king, asserting her innocence, recommending her daughter to his care, and thanking him for his advancing her first to be a marchioness, then to be a queen, and now, when he could raise her no higher upon earth, for sending her to be a saint in heaven. The day she died the lieutenant of the Tower wrote to Cromwell, that it was not fit to publish the time of her execution, for the fewer that were present it would be the better, since he believed she would declare her innocence at the hour of her death; for that morning she had made great protestations of it when she received the sacrament, and seemed to long for death with great joy and pleasure. On being told that the executioner, who had been sent for expressly from France, was very skilful, she expressed great happiness; for she said, with laughter, she had a very short neck.

A little before noon, she was brought to the place of execution; there were present some of the chief officers and great men of the court. She was it seems prevailed on, out of regard to her daughter, to make no reflections on the cruel treatment she met with, nor to say any thing touching the grounds on which sentence was passed against her. She only desired that all would judge the best; she highly commended the king, and then took her leave of the world. She remained for some time in her private devotions, and concluded, "To Christ I commend my soul;" upon which the executioner struck off her head: and so little respect was paid to her body, that it was with brutal insolence put in a chest of elm-tree, made to send arrows into Ireland, and then buried in the chapel in the Tower. Norris then had his life promised him if he would accuse her; but this faithful and virtuous servant said he knew she was innocent, and would die a thousand times rather than defame her: he and the three others were therefore beheaded, all of them continuing to the last to vindicate her. The day after Anne's death the king married Jane Seymour, who gained more upon him than all his wives before; but she was fortunate that she did not out-live his love to her.

Pope Clement VII. was now dead, and Farnese succeeded him by the name of Paul III., who, after an unsuccessful attempt which he made to reconcile himself with the king, when that was rejected, thundered out a most terrible sentence of deposition against him. Yet now, since the two queens upon whose account the breach was made were out of the way, he thought it a fit time to attempt the recovery of the papal interest, and ordered Cassalli to let the king know that he had been driven, much against his mind, to pass sentence against him, and that now it would be easy for him to recover the favour of the apostolic see. But the king, instead of hearkening to the proposition, caused two acts to be passed, one for utterly extinguishing the pope's authority; in which it was made a præmunire for any one to acknowledge it, or to persuade others to it; and in the other, all bulls and all privileges flowing from them were declared null and void; only marriages or consecrations made by virtue of them were excepted. All who enjoyed

privileges by these bulls were required to bring them into the chancery, upon which the archbishop was to make them a new grant of them, which being confirmed under the great seal was to be of full force in law.

The convocation sat at the same time, and was much employed: for the house of lords was often adjourned, because the spiritual lords were busy in the convocation. Latimer preached the Latin sermon; he was the most celebrated preacher of that time; the simplicity of his matter, and his zeal in expressing it, being preferred to more elaborate compositions. They first confirmed the sentence of the divorce of the king's marriage with queen Anne. Then the lower house made an address to the upper house complaining of sixty-seven opinions, which they found were much in the kingdom. These were either the tenets of the old Lollards, or the new Reformers, or of the Anabaptists; but many of them were only indiscreet expressions, which might have flowed from the heat and folly of some rash zealots, who had endeavoured to disgrace both the received doctrines and rites. They also complained of some bishops who were wanting in their duty to suppress such abuses. This was understood as a reflection on Cranmer, Shaxton, and Latimer, the first of whom it was thought was now declining by queen Anne's fall.

But all these projects failed, for Cranmer was now fully established in the king's favour; and Cromwell was sent to them with a message from his majesty, that they should reform the rites and ceremonies of the church according to the rules set down in scripture, which he said ought to be preferred to all glosses or decrees of popes. There was one Alesse, a Scotchman, whom Cromwell entertained in his house, who being appointed to deliver his opinion, largely shewed that there was no sacrament instituted by Christ but baptism and the Lord's supper. Stokesly answered him in a long discourse upon the principles of the school-divinity; upon which Cranmer took occasion to shew the vanity of scholastic learning, and the uncertainty of tradition; and that religion had been so corrupted in the latter ages, that there was no finding out the truth but by resting on the authority of the scriptures. Fox, bishop of Hereford, seconded him, and told them that the world was now awake, and would be no longer imposed on by the niceties and dark terms of the schools; for the laity now not only read the scriptures in the vulgar tongues, but searched the original languages; therefore they must not think to govern them as they had been in the times of ignorance. Among the bishops, Cranmer, Goodrick, Shaxton, Latimer, Fox, Hilsey, and Barlow, pressed the reformation; but Lee, archbishop of York, bishops Stokesly, Tonstall, Gardiner, Longland, and several others opposed it as much. The contest would have been much sharper, had not the king sent certain articles to be considered by them, when the following mixture of truth and error was agreed upon.

1. That the bishops and preachers ought to instruct the people according to the scripture, the three creeds, and the four first general councils.

2. That baptism was necessary to salvation, and that children ought to be baptised for the pardon of original sin, and obtaining the Holy Ghost.

3. That penance was necessary to salvation, and that it consisted in confession, contrition, and amendment of life, with the external works of charity, to which a lively faith ought to be joined; and that confession to a priest was necessary where it might be had.

4. That in the eucharist, under the forms of bread and wine, the very flesh and blood of Christ was received.

5. That justification was the remission of sins, and a perfect renovation in Christ; and that not only outward good works, but inward holiness was absolutely necessary. As for outward ceremonies, the people were to be taught, that it was meet to have images in churches, but they ought to avoid the superstition as has been usual in time past, and not to worship the image, but only God. That they were to honour the saints, but not to expect those things from them which God only gives. That they might pray to them for their intercession, but all superstitious abuses were to cease; and if the king should lessen the number of saints' days, they ought to obey him. That the use of the ceremonies was good, and that they contained many mystical significations that tended to raise the mind towards God; such were vestments in divine worship, holy water and bread, carrying of candles, and palms, creeping to the cross, and hallowing the font, with other exorcisms. That it was good to pray for departed souls, and to have masses said for them; but the scriptures having neither declared in what place they were, nor what torments they suffered, that was uncertain, and to be left to God; therefore all abuses of the pope's pardons, or saying masses in special places, or before certain images, were to be put away.

These articles were signed by Cromwell, the two archbishops, sixteen bishops, forty abbots and priors, and fifty members of the lower house. The king afterwards added a preface, declaring the pains that he and the clergy had taken for removing the differences in religion which existed in the nation, and that he approved of these articles, and required all his subjects to accept them, and he would be thereby encouraged to take further pains in similar matters for the future. On the publication of these points, the favourers of the reformation, though they did not approve of every particular, yet were well pleased to see things brought under examination; and since some were at this time changed, they did not doubt but more changes would follow. They were glad that the scriptures and ancient creeds were made the standards of the faith, without adding tradition; and that the nature of justification and the gospel-covenant was rightly stated; that the immediate worship of images and saints was condemned, and purgatory left uncertain. The necessity of auricular confession, and the corporeal presence, doing reverence to images, and praying to saints, were of hard digestion to them; yet they rejoiced to see grosser abuses removed, and a reformation once set on foot. The popish party, on the other hand, were sorry to see five sacraments passed over in silence, and the trade created by purgatory put down.

At the same time other things were in consultation, though not finished. Cranmer offered some queries to shew the imposition that had been put on the world: as that priestly absolution without contrition was of more efficacy than contrition without it; and that the people trusted wholly

to outward ceremonies, in which the priests encouraged them, because of the gain they made by them. He offered a paper to the king, exhorting him to proceed to further reformation, and that nothing should be determined without clear proofs from scripture, a departure from which occasioned all the errors that had been in the church. Many things were now acknowledged to be erroneous, for denying which some not long before had suffered death. He therefore proposed several points to be discussed, as whether there were a purgatory? whether departed saints ought to be invoked, or tradition believed? whether images ought to be considered mere representations of history? and whether it was lawful for the clergy to marry? He prayed the king not to give judgment in these points till he heard them well examined; but no definitive measures respecting them were at present adopted.

Visitors were now appointed to survey all the lesser monasteries; they were to examine the state of their revenues and goods, form inventories of them, and take their seals into their keeping; they were to try how many of the religious would return to a secular course of life; and these were to be sent to the archbishop of Canterbury, or the lord chancellor for licences, an allowance being granted them for their journey; but those who intended to continue in a religious state were to be removed to some of the great monasteries. A pension was also to be assigned to the abbot, or prior, of each house during life; and they were particularly to examine what leases had been made during the last year. Ten thousand of the religious were by this means driven to seek for their livings, with forty shillings and a gown for each. Their goods and plate were estimated at 100,000*l.* and the rents of their houses 32,000*l.* but they were above ten times this value. The churches and cloisters were in most places pulled down, and the materials sold, yielding an incredible amount. These proceedings gave great discontent; and the monks were now as much pitied, as they were formerly hated. The nobility and gentry, who provided for their younger children or friends by putting them in those sanctuaries, were sensible of their loss. The people, who as they travelled over the country found abbeyes to be places of reception to strangers, had cause to lament their suppression. But the superstitious, who thought their friends must now lie still in purgatory, without relief from the masses, were out of measure offended and afflicted. But to remove this discontent, Cromwell advised the king to sell those lands at very easy rates to the nobility and gentry, and to oblige them to keep up the wonted hospitality.

This would both be grateful to them, and would engage them to assist the crown in promoting the changes that had been made, since their own interests would be interwoven with that of their sovereign. And upon a clause in the act empowering the king to found anew such houses as he should think fit, there were fifteen monasteries and sixteen nunneries newly founded. These were bound to obey such rules as the king should send them, and to pay him tenths and first fruits. But all this did not pacify the people, for there was still a great outcry. The clergy studied much to inflame the nation, and urged that an heretical prince, deposed by the pope, was no more to be acknowledged; that it was a part of the papal power to depose kings, and give away their



dominions; and it had often been put in practice in almost all the parts of Europe, and some who had been abettors of great sedition had been canonized for it.

There were certain injunctions given by Cromwell which increased this discontent. All churchmen were required every Sunday for a quarter of a year, and twice every quarter after that, to preach against the pope's power, and to explain the six articles of the convocation. They were forbidden to extol images, relics, or pilgrimages; but to exhort to works of charity. They were also required to teach the Lord's prayer, the creed, and the ten commandments in English, and to explain these carefully, and instruct the children well in them. They were to perform the divine offices reverently, and to have good curates to supply their places when they were absent. They were charged not to go to ale-houses, or sit too long at games; but to study the scriptures, and be exemplary in their lives. Those who did not reside in their parishes were to give the fortieth part of their income to the poor; and for every hundred pounds a year, they were to maintain a pupil at some grammar school, or the university. If the parsonage-house was in decay, they were ordered to apply a fifth part of their benefice for the purpose of repairing it.

The people continued quiet till they had got in their harvest; but in the beginning of October, 20,000 rose in Lincolnshire, led by a priest in the disguise of a cobbler. They took an oath to be true to God, the king and the commonwealth, and sent a paper of their grievances to the king. They complained of some acts of parliament, of suppressing of many religious houses, of mean and ill counsellors, and bad bishops; and prayed the king to redress their grievances by the advice of the nobility. The king sent the duke of Suffolk to raise forces against them, and gave an answer to their petition. He said it belonged not to the rabble to direct princes what counsellors they should choose. The religious houses were suppressed by law, and the heads of them had under their hands confessed such horrid scandals, that they were a reproach to the nation; and that as they wasted their rents in riotous living, it was much better to apply them to the common good of the nation. He required them to submit to his mercy, and to deliver up two hundred of their leaders into the hands of his lieutenants.

At the same time there was a more formidable rising in Yorkshire, which being in the neighbourhood of Scotland, was likely to draw assistance from that kingdom, though their king was then gone into France to marry Francis' daughter; which inclined Henry to make more haste to settle matters in Lincolnshire. He sent them secret assurances of mercy, which wrought on the greatest part, so that they dispersed themselves, while the most obstinate went over to those in Yorkshire. The leader and some others were taken and executed. The distance of those in the North gave them time to assemble, and form themselves into some regimental order. One Ask was commander in chief, and performed his part with great dexterity: their march was called "the Pilgrimage of Grace;" they had on their banners and sleeves the five wounds of Christ; they took an oath that they would restore the church, suppress heretics, preserve the king and his issue, and drive base born men and

ill counsellors from him. They became 40,000 strong in a few days, and forced the archbishop of York and the lord Darcy to swear to their covenant, and to proceed with them. They besieged Skipton, but the earl of Cumberland made it good against them. Sir Ralph Evers held out Scarborough castle, though for twenty days he and his men had no provisions but bread and water.

There was also a rising in the other northern countries, against whom the earl of Shrewsbury made head; and the king sent several of the nobility to his assistance, and within a few days the duke of Norfolk marched with some troops and joined him. They possessed themselves of Doncaster, and resolved to keep that pass till the rest of the forces which the king had ordered should arrive; for they were not in a condition to engage with such numbers of desperate men; and it was very likely that if they met with an accident, the people might have risen about them every where; the duke of Norfolk resolved, therefore, to keep close at Doncaster, and let the provision and rage of the rebels waste away, and then they might probably fall into factions and disperse. They were now reduced to 10,000, but the king's army was not above 5000. The duke of Norfolk proposed a treaty; they were persuaded to send their petitions to the king, who to make them more secure, discharged a rendezvous which he had appointed at Northampton, and sent them a general pardon, excepting six by name, and reserving four to be afterwards named; but this put them all in such apprehension, that it made them more desperate: yet the king, to give his people some content, issued injunctions requiring the clergy to continue the use of all the ceremonies of the church: meanwhile 300 were employed to carry the demands of the rebels to the king. These were, a general pardon, a parliament to be held at York, and that courts of justice should be set up there; some acts of parliament to be repealed, that the princess Mary might be restored to her right of succession, and the pope to his wonted jurisdiction; that the monasteries might be revived; that Audley and Cromwell might be removed from the king; and that some of the visitors might be imprisoned for their bribery and extortion. These proposals being rejected, the rebels took heart again, and finding that with the loss of time they lost heart, resolved to fall upon the royal troops, and drive them into Doncaster; but at two several times in which they had thought to ford the river, such rains fell as made it impassable. The king, at length, sent an answer to their demands: he assured them he would live and die in the defence of the christian faith; but the rabble ought not to prescribe to him and to the convocation in that matter. He answered that which concerned the monasteries as he had done to the men of Lincolnshire. If they had just complaints to make of any about him, he was ready to hear them; but he would not suffer them to direct him what counsellors he ought to employ: nor could they judge of the bishops who had been promoted, whom they knew not. He charged them not to believe lies, nor be governed by incendiaries, but to submit to his mercy. On the 9th of December he signed a proclamation of pardon without any restriction. As soon as the affair was over, the king went on more resolutely in his design of suppressing the monasteries; being now less apprehensive of any new commotion.

A new visitation was appointed to enquire into the conversation of the monks, to examine how they stood affected to the pope, and how they promoted the king's supremacy. It was likewise ordered to examine what impostures might be among them, either in images or relics, by which the superstition of the credulous people was excited. Some few houses of greater value were prevailed with the former year to surrender to the king. Many of the houses which had not been dissolved, though they were within the former act, were now suppressed, and many of the greater abbots were induced to surrender by several motives. Some had been faulty during the rebellion, and to prevent a storm offered a resignation. Others liked the reformation, and did it on that account; some were found guilty of great disorders in their lives, and to prevent a shameful discovery, offered their houses to the king; while others had made such wastes and dilapidations, that having taken care of themselves, they were less concerned for others. At St. Alban's the rents were let so low, that the abbot could not maintain the charge of the abbey. At Battel the whole furniture of the house and chapel was not above 1000*l.* in value, and the plate was not 300*l.* In some houses there was scarcely any plate or furniture left. Many abbots and monks were glad to accept of a pension for life, which was proportioned to the value of their house, and to their innocence. The abbots of St. Alban's and Tewksbury had 400 marks a year: the abbot of St. Edmondsbury was more innocent and more resolute; the visitors wrote that they found no scandals in that house; he was, however, prevailed with by a pension of 500 marks to resign. The inferior governors had some 30, 20, or 10*l.* pensions, and the monks had generally 6*l.* or eight marks a piece. By these means one hundred and twenty-one of these houses were this year resigned to the king. In most cases the visitor made the monks sign a confession of their vices and disorders, of which there is only one original extant. They acknowledged in a long narrative, their former idleness, gluttony, and sensuality, for which they said the pit of hell was ready to swallow them up. Others were sensible that the manner of their former religion consisted in dumb ceremonies, by which they were blindly led, having no true knowledge of God's laws; but that they had procured exemption from their diocesan, and had subjected themselves wholly to a foreign power, which took no care to reform their abuses; and therefore since the most perfect way of life was revealed by Christ and his apostles, and that it was fit they should be governed by the king as their supreme head, they freely resigned to him. Some resigned in hopes that the king would find them anew; these favoured the reformation, and intended to convert their houses to better uses, for preaching, study, and prayer; and Latimer pressed Cromwell earnestly, that two or three houses might be reserved for such purposes in every county. But it was resolved to suppress all. The common preamble to most surrenders was, "That upon full deliberation, and of their own proper motion, for just and reasonable causes moving their consciences, they did freely give up their houses to the king." In short, they went on at such a rate, that one hundred and fifty-nine resignations were obtained before the parliament met. Some thought that these resignations could not be valid, since the incumbents had not the

property, but only the trust for life. But the parliament afterwards declared them good by an *ex post facto* law.

Others were more roughly handled. The prior of Wooburn was suspected of a correspondence with the rebels, and of favouring the pope; he was requested to submit to the king, and prevailed on to do it, but he was not easy in it, nor fixed to it; he complained that the new preachers detracted from the honour due to the virgin and saints; he thought the religion was changed, and wondered that the judgments of God on queen Anne had not terrified others from going on to subvert the faith. When the rebellion broke out he joined in it, as did also the abbots of Whaley, Garvaux, and Sawley, and the prior of Burlington; all these were taken, attainted of treason, and executed. The abbots of Glastonbury and Reading had also sent a great quantity of their plate to the rebels; the former, to disguise it the better, had hired a man to break into the house where the plate was kept: thus he was convicted both of burglary and treason, and at his execution he confessed his crime, and begged both God and the king's pardon for it. The abbot of Reading had complied so far, that he was grown into favour with Cromwell. Many of the Carthusians were executed for denying the king's supremacy: others were suspected of favouring them, and of receiving books sent from beyond sea against the king's proceedings, and were shut up in their cells, in which most of them died. The prior was a man of extraordinary charity and good works, as the visitor reported; but he was made to resign, with this preamble, "That many of the houses had offended the king, and deserved that their lives should be taken, and their goods confiscated; and therefore to avoid that, they surrendered their houses." Great complaints were made of the visitors, as if they had used undue practices to make the abbots and monks surrender; and it was said, that they had in many places embezzled much of the plate for their own uses; and in particular, it was complained that Dr. Loudon had corrupted many nuns. The visitors, on the other hand, published many of the vile practices that they found in the houses, so that several books were printed upon this occasion. No story became so public as that of the prior of Crutched-friars in London, who was detected with a strumpet at noon-day: he fell down on his knees, and begged that they who surprised him would not discover his shame. They made him give them 30*l.* which he protested was all he had; and he promised them as much more: but not keeping his word, a suit followed upon it. Yet these personal blemishes did not much concern the people. They deemed it unreasonable to extinguish noble foundations for the fault of some individuals: therefore another way was taken which had a better effect.

They disclosed to the world many impostures about relics and images, to which pilgrimages had been made. At Reading they had an angel's wing, which, they said, brought over the spear's point that pierced our Saviour's side; and as many pieces of the cross were found, as when joined together would have made a large cross. The rood of Grace at Bexley, in Kent, had been much esteemed, and had attracted many pilgrims to it: it was observed to bow, and roll its eyes, and look at times well pleased or angry; which the credulous multitude imputed to

a divine power: but all was now discovered to be a cheat, and it was brought up to St. Paul's cross, where the springs were openly shewed that governed its several motions. At Hales, in Gloucestershire, blood was shewed in a vial which was pretended to be the blood of Christ; and it was believed that none could see it who were in mortal sin. Those who could bestow liberal presents were of course gratified, by being led to believe that they were in a state of grace. This miracle consisted in the blood of a bird or beast, renewed every week, put in a vial very thick on one side, and thin on the other; and either side turned towards the pilgrim, as the priests were satisfied with their oblations. Several other similar impostures were discovered, which contributed much to the undeceiving of the people.

The richest shrine in England was Thomas à Becket's at Canterbury,<sup>h</sup> whose story is well known. After he had long embroiled England, and shewed that he had a spirit so turned to faction that he could not be at quiet, some servants of Henry II. killed him in the church at Canterbury. He was presently canonized, and held in greater esteem than any other saint whatever; so much more was a martyr for the papacy valued, than any who suffered for the christian religion: and his altar drew far greater oblations than those dedicated to Christ or the blessed Virgin, as appears by the accounts of two years. In the first year *3l. 2s. 6d.*, and in the second not a penny, was offered at Christ's altar. In the Virgin's, there was in the first year *63l. 5s. 6d.*, and in the second *4l. 1s. 8d.*; while at the shrine of Becket, there was in the first year *832l. 12s. 3d.*, and in the second *964l. 6s. 3d.* offered. The shrine continued to grow in veneration and riches. Lewis VII. of France came over in pilgrimage to visit it, and offered a stone esteemed the richest in Europe. This saint had not only one holy day, the 29th of December, called his martyrdom; but another for his translation, namely, the 7th of July. Besides these, every fiftieth year there was a jubilee, and an indulgence granted to all who came and visited his tomb, which was so great a number, that on these occasions there have been supposed to be assembled not less than 100,000 pilgrims.

The lane leading from the main street of the city to the cathedral gate has one side of it almost occupied with very ancient houses. These were once one entire house of accommodation called the Pilgrim's Inn. The cellars are still in their ancient state, and give us a notion of incredible quantities of wine being then kept in store for those pilgrims who could pay for it. Intemperance among them was then as common almost as superstition. Those of smaller wealth were accommodated in a

<sup>h</sup> Thomas à Becket was archbishop of Canterbury; and, seconded by the clergy, he insisted that they should be exempted from the jurisdiction of the temporal courts in criminal cases. His conduct was so galling to the king, and so marked with insolence, that his majesty said hastily, "Have I no friend to rid me of this insolent enemy?" Upon this four of his knights, esteeming it a signal for his death, instantly quitted the royal presence, and hastened to Canterbury, where finding the archbishop before the altar of the church at prayers, they slew him with their daggers. Henry found great difficulty to excuse himself to the pope, and was obliged to do penance. It was this king who, with the French monarch, performed the office of yeoman of the stirrup to pope Alexander. It is worthy of remark that one of the assassins was ancestor of a most respectable and excellent family of quakers now flourishing in this country.

suburb of the city, called to this day *Wincheap*—denoting the greater cheapness of the wine there than at the Pilgrim's Inn. It is hard to tell whether hatred to his seditious practices, or the love of his shrine, led king Henry to unsaint Thomas à Becket. His shrine was broken, and the gold of it was so heavy that it filled two chests, each of which took eight men to carry it out of the church. The skull, which had been so idolized, was proved to be an imposture; for the true one was safe in his coffin: his bones had either been burnt, as it was given out at Rome; or so mixed with others, as our writers say, that it would have been a miracle indeed to have distinguished them.

When these things were known at Rome, all the eloquent pens there were employed to represent king Henry as the most sacrilegious tyrant that ever made war with Christ's vicar on earth, and his saints in heaven. He was compared to the worst of princes; to Pharaoh, Nebuchadnezzar, Belshazzar, Nero, and Dioclesian; but the parallel with Julian the apostate was most insisted on. It was said, he copied after him in all things, while his manners were worse. The pope proceeded farther; he published all those thunders with which he had threatened him three years before. He pretended that, as God's vicar, he had power to root out, and to destroy; and had authority over all the kings in the world: and therefore, after he had enumerated all the crimes of Henry, he required him to appear within ninety days at Rome, either in person or by proxy, and all his accomplices within sixty days; and that if he and they did not appear, he declared the king to have fallen from his crown, and them from their estates. He put the kingdom under an interdict, and absolved his subjects from their oaths of allegiance: he declared him and his accomplices infamous; and put their children under incapacities. He required all the clergy to go out of England, within five days after the stated time should expire, leaving only so many as might serve for baptizing children or giving the sacrament to such as died in penitence. He charged all subjects to rise in arms against the king, and that none should assist him. He absolved all other princes from their confederacies with him, and conjured them to have no more commerce with him. He required all Christians to make war on him; and to seize on the persons and goods of all his subjects, and make slaves of them; and, in conclusion, he charged all bishops to publish the sentence with due solemnities, and ordained it to be affixed on the churches of Rome, Tournay, and Dunkirk. This was given out on the 30th of August, 1535; but it had been suspended till the suppression of monasteries, and the burning of Becket's bones; at which the pope was so exasperated, that he resolved to forbear extremities no longer. On the 17th of December this year, he therefore published the bull. By this sentence it is certain, that either the pope's infallibility must be confessed to be a vain assumption upon the world, or if any believe it, they must presume that the power of deposing princes is really lodged in that chair; for this was not a sudden fit of passion, but done *ex Cathedra*, with all the deliberation it could admit of. The sentence was in some particulars without a precedent; but as to the main points of deposing the king, and absolving his subjects from their obedience, there were numerous instances to be brought in the last five hundred

years, to shew that this had been always asserted as the right of papacy. The pope wrote to the kings of France and Scotland, to inflame them against Henry; and had this been an age of crusades, no doubt there had been one undertaken against him; but the thunders of the Vatican had already begun to lose their force.

To counteract this violence, the king caused all the bishops, and eminent divines of England, to sign a declaration against all churchmen who pretended to the power of the sword, or to authority over kings; and that all who assumed such powers were subverters of the kingdom of Christ. Many of the bishops also signed another paper, declaring the limits of the regal and ecclesiastical power; that both had their authority from God, for several ends and different natures; and that princes were subject to the word of God, as well as bishops ought to be obedient to their laws. There was also another declaration signed by Cromwell, the two archbishops, eleven bishops, and twenty divines; asserting the distinction between the power of the keys, and that of the power of the sword: the former of which was not absolute, but limited by the scripture. Orders were declared to be a sacrament instituted by Christ, which were conferred by prayer and imposition of hands. It was also decreed that in the New Testament no mention was made of any other ranks but of deacons or ministers and of priests or bishops.

This year the English Bible was finished. The translation was first sent over to Paris to be printed, the workmen in England not being thought able to get through it. Bonner was at that time ambassador at Paris; and he obtained a licence of Francis for printing it; but upon a complaint made by the French clergy, the press was stopped, and many of the copies were seized and burnt. It was therefore brought over to England, where it was undertaken and now finished by Grafton. Cromwell procured a general warrant from the king, allowing all his subjects to read it; for which Cranmer wrote his thanks to Cromwell, saying he rejoiced to see the day of reformation risen in England, since the word of God now shone over all without a cloud. Not long after this, Cromwell gave injunctions requiring the clergy to set up Bibles in their churches, and to encourage all the people to read them. Incumbents were required to instruct and teach them the creed, the Lord's prayer, and the ten commandments, in English; and once every quarter to preach a sermon, to declare the true gospel of Christ; and to exhort the people to works of charity; and not to trust to pilgrimages, or relics, or counting their beads, which tended to superstition. Images, abused by pilgrimages made to them, were ordered to be taken away. And such as had formerly magnified images, or pilgrimages, were required openly to recant, and confess that they had been in error, which covetousness had brought into the church. All incumbents were required to keep registers for christenings and marriages; and to teach the people that it was good to omit the suffrages to the saints in the litany. Thus was a vital stab given to some of the main points of superstition; but the free use of the scriptures gave the deadliest blow of all. Yet, notwithstanding, the clergy submitted to nearly the whole change without murmuring.

This year was celebrated by the birth of prince Edward, an event

which blasted the hopes of the popish party, chiefly built on the probability of the lady Mary's succeeding to the crown. Lee, Gardiner, and Stokesly, now seemed to vie with the bishops of the other party, which of them should most zealously execute the injunctions, and thereby insinuate themselves into the king's favour. Gardiner had been some years ambassador in France, but Cromwell had caused Bonner, who seemed to be the most zealous promoter of the reformation then in England, to be sent in his stead. Gardiner afterwards was sent to the emperor's court with sir Henry Knevet, and there he gave occasion to suspect that he was treating on a reconciliation with the pope's legate. But the Italian who managed it, being sent with a message to the ambassador's secretary, mistook Knevet's for Gardiner's, and told his business to him. Knevet endeavoured to fathom the mystery, but could not carry it farther; for the Italian was disowned, and put in prison upon it, and Gardiner complained of it as a scheme laid to ruin him. Such were his artifices and flatteries, that he was still preserved in some degree of favour as long as the king lived. Gardiner used one topic which prevailed much with the king, that his zeal against heresy was giving the greatest advantage to his cause over all Europe; and therefore he pressed him to begin with the sacramentaries, such as denied the corporeal presence at the sacrament. Those being condemned by the German princes, he had the less reason to be afraid of embroiling his affairs by his severities against them. This meeting so well with the king's own persuasions concerning the corporeal presence, had a great effect on him; and an occasion quickly offered itself to display his zeal in that matter, and this was in the memorable instance of John Lambert.

JOHN LAMBERT was born in the county of Norfolk, and educated at the university of Cambridge. Having made himself master of Greek and Latin, he translated several books from those languages into the English. On his conversion, however, by Bilney, he became disgusted at the corruptions of the church; and apprehensive of persecution, he crossed the sea and joined himself to Tindal and Frith, with whom he remained more than a year; and, from his piety and ability, was appointed chaplain and preacher to the English factory at Antwerp. But there the jealousy and persecuting spirit of Sir T. More reached him, and on the accusation of a person named Barlow, he was taken and conveyed to London. There he was brought to examination first at Lambeth, then removed to the bishop's house at Oxford, before Warham, the archbishop of Canterbury, and other adversaries, having five and forty articles brought against him, to which he drew out at considerable length written answers, with a perspicuity and strength excelled by none of his age. These answers were directed and delivered to Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, about the year of our Lord 1532, at which time Lambert was in custody in the bishop's house at Oxford, where he was deprived of the assistance of books. But, so the providence of God wrought for him, that in the following year archbishop Warham died, whereby Lambert for that time was delivered.

Cranmer succeeded to the see of Canterbury. Lambert in the mean time being delivered, partly by the death of the archbishop, partly by



the coming in of queen Anne, returned unto London, and there exercised himself in teaching youth the Greek and Latin tongues. As priests in those days could not be permitted to have wives, he resigned his priesthood, and applied himself to teaching, intending shortly after to be married. But God, who disposeth all men's purposes after the good pleasure of his own will, did both intercept his marriage and also take away his freedom. Having continued his profession as teacher with great success, it happened, that in the present year, 1538, he was present at a sermon in St. Peter's church, London, preached by Dr. Taylor, a man in those days not far disagreeing from the gospel, and afterwards, in the time of king Edward, made bishop of Lincoln, of which he was again deprived in the time of queen Mary, and so ended his life among the confessors of Jesus Christ. Dr. Taylor having spoken something upon the corporeal presence which Lambert conceiving to be erroneous, he felt himself urged by duty to argue the subject with him. He, therefore, at the conclusion of the sermon, went to the doctor and began the contest. Taylor, excusing himself at the present for other business, wished him to write his mind and to come again at a more convenient season.

Lambert was contented and departed. When he had written his mind, he came again unto him. The sum of his arguments were ten, approving the truth of the cause, partly by the scriptures, by good reason, and by the doctors. These were written with great force and authority. The first reason was the following, gathered upon Christ's words, where it is said in the gospel, "This cup is the New Testament." "If," he added, "these words do not change the cup nor the wine corporeally into the New Testament, by the same reason it is not agreeable that the words spoken of the bread should turn that corporeally into the body of Christ." He then proceeded thus—

"It is not agreeable to a natural body to be in two places or more at one time: wherefore it must follow of necessity that either Christ had not a natural body, or else truly, according to the common nature of a body, it cannot be present in two places at once, and much less in many, that is to say, in heaven and in earth, on the right hand of his Father, and in the sacrament." He added likewise many other positions from the writings of the doctors. Dr. Taylor, willing and desiring, as is supposed from goodness of heart, to satisfy Lambert in these matters, whom he took to council, he conferred with Dr. Barnes, who, although he otherwise favoured the gospel, and was an earnest preacher, seemed not to favour this cause; fearing, possibly, that it would breed some mischief among the people, in prejudice of the gospel which was now in a good state of forwardness. He, therefore, persuaded Taylor to submit the entire question to the superior judgment of Cranmer.

Upon these things Lambert's quarrel began, and was brought to this point, so that from a private talk it came to be a public and common matter. He was sent for by the archbishop, brought into the open court, and forced publicly to defend his cause. The archbishop had not yet favoured the doctrine of the sacrament, although afterwards he was an earnest professor of it. In that point of disputation it is said Lambert appealed from the bishops to the king's majesty.

Gardiner, ever awake to his worldly interest, and to every occasion of

checking that cause which in his heart he hated, learning the particulars of the affair, went privately to the king, and with all artifice and subtlety emptied the malice of his own heart into that of the king's, empoisoning the royal ear with his pernicious counsels. He said that the world viewed him with suspicion, and began to charge him with being a favourer of heretics; and that the present affair relating to Lambert would enable him, by proceeding against him, to banish from the hearts of all those unfavourable suspicions and complaints. To this advice, the king, giving ear more willingly than prudently, sent out a general commission, commanding all the nobles and bishops of his realm to come with speed to London, to assist the king against heretics and heresies, upon which the king himself would sit in judgment. These preparations made, a day was appointed for Lambert, where a great assembly of the nobles was gathered from all parts of the country, not without much wonder and expectation in this singular case. All the seats and places round the scaffold were crowded. At length John Lambert was brought from the prison under a guard of armed men, as a lamb to fight with many lions, and placed directly opposite to the king's seat.

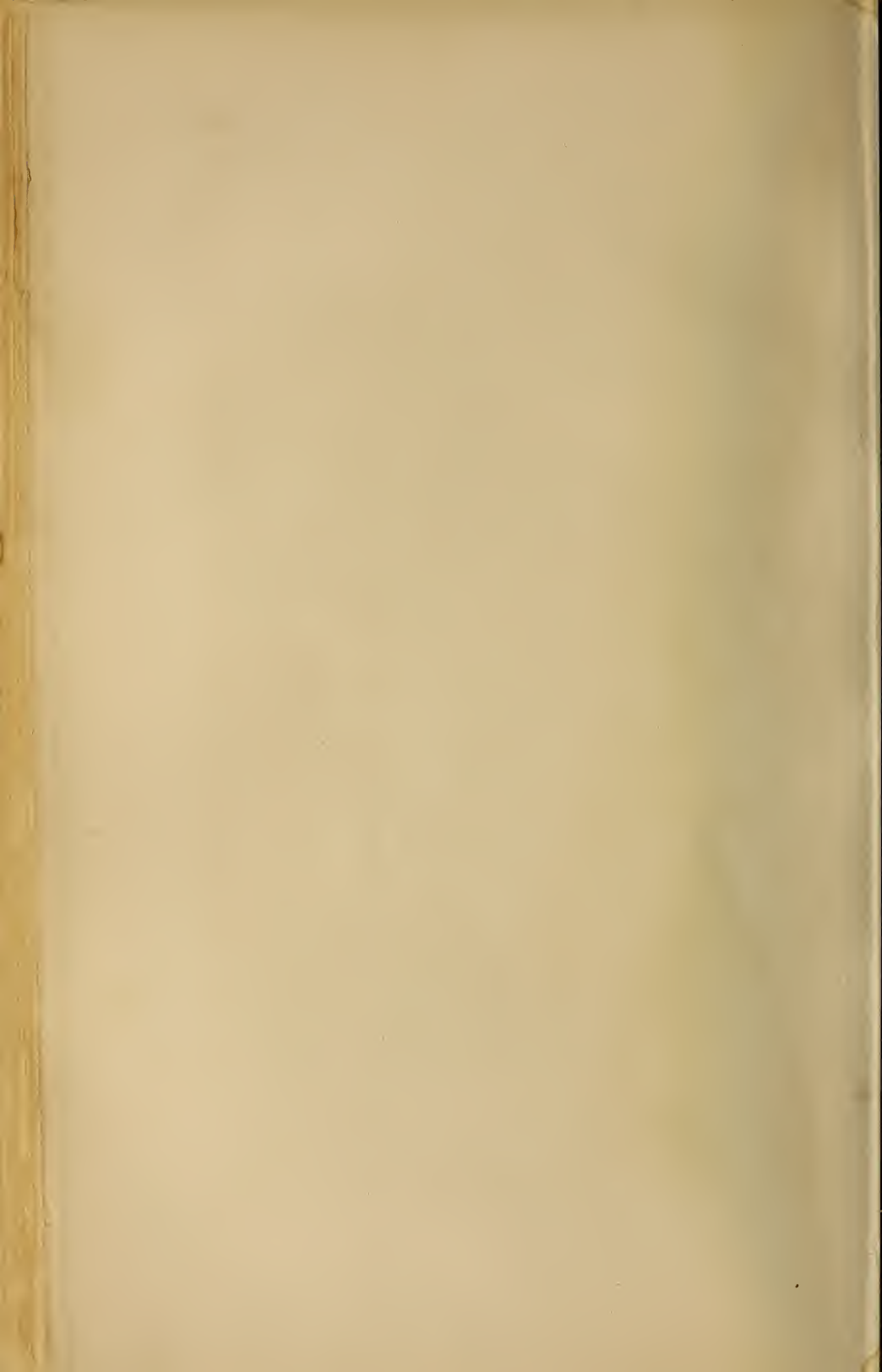
Then came the king himself as judge of the controversy, with his body-guard clothed all in white. On his right hand sat the bishops, and behind them the celebrated lawyers, clothed in purple, according to the manner. On the left hand sat the peers of the realm, justices, and other nobles in their order; behind whom were the gentlemen of the king's privy chamber. This manner and form of the judgment was enough of itself to abash innocence; yet the king's look, his cruel countenance, and his brows bent to severity, augmented the terror, plainly declaring a mind full of indignation unworthy such a prince, especially in such a matter, and against a subject so humble and obedient. Being seated on his throne, he beheld Lambert with a stern countenance, and then turning himself to his counsellors, called forth Day, bishop of Chichester, and commanded him to declare to the people the cause of the present assembly and judgment.

The bishop's oration tended to this purpose: that the king in session would have all states and degrees to be admonished of his will and pleasure, that no man should conceive any sinister opinion of him, that now the authority and name of the bishop of Rome being utterly abolished, he would not extinguish all religion by giving liberty unto heretics to perturb and trouble the churches of England, whereof he was the head, without punishment. Moreover, that they should not think they were assembled at that time to make any disputation upon the heretical doctrine; but only for this purpose, that by the industry of him and other bishops, the heresies of this man here present, and of all like him, should be refuted or openly condemned in the presence of them all.

The oration being concluded, the king rose, and leaning upon a cushion of white cloth of tissue, turned himself toward Lambert with his brow bent and said, "Ho, good fellow, what is thy name?" Then the prisoner kneeling down, said, "My name is John Nicholson, although by many I am called Lambert." "What!" said the king,



TRIAL OF LAMBERT BEFORE HENRY THE EIGHTH.



“have you two names? I would not trust you, having two names, although your were my brother.”

Lambert replied—“O most noble prince, your bishops forced me of necessity to change my name.” The king then commanded him to go into the matter, and to declare his mind and opinion, what he thought as touching the sacrament of the altar. Then Lambert proceeded, gave God thanks, who had so inclined the heart of the king, that he himself would not disdain to hear and understand the controversies of religion; since it had often happened, through the cruelty of the bishops, that many good and innocent men in many places were privily murdered without the knowledge of their sovereign. But now, as that high and eternal King of kings, in whose hands are the hearts of all princes, had inspired the king's mind, that he himself would be present to understand the causes of his subjects; especially whom God of his divine goodness had so endued with such gifts of judgment and knowledge, he did not doubt but that God would bring some great thing to pass through him to the glory of his name.

Here Henry interrupted him, and with an angry voice, said,—“I came not hither to hear mine own praises thus painted out in my presence; but briefly to go into the matter without any more circumstance.” Then Lambert, abashed at the king's angry words, contrary to all men's expectations, stayed awhile, considering whither he might turn himself in these great straits and extremities. Upon which the king, with anger and vehemency, said,—“Why standest thou still? Answer as touching the sacrament of the altar,—whether dost thou say, that it is the body of Christ, or wilt deny it?” With that word the king reverently lifted his turban from his head.

Lambert said—“I answer with St. Augustine —That it is the body of Christ, after a certain manner.” Then the king said—“Answer me neither out of St. Augustine, neither by the authority of any other man; but tell me plainly, whether thou sayest it is the body of Christ or no?” Then Lambert meekly replied—“I deny it to be the body of Christ.” The king on this said—“Mark well, for now thou shalt be condemned even by Christ's own words: *Hoc est corpus meum.*” He then commanded Cranmer to refute his assertion; who, first making a short preface to the hearers, began his disputation with Lambert, very modestly saying,—“Brother Lambert, let this matter be handled between us indifferently, that if I do convince this your argument to be false by the scriptures, you will willingly refuse the same; but if you shall prove it true by manifest testimonies of the scripture, I do promise willingly to embrace the same.”

The argument was this, taken out of that place of the Acts of the Apostles, where Christ appeared to St. Paul by the way; disputing out of that place, that it is not disagreeable to the word of God, that the body of Christ may be in two places at once, which being in heaven, was seen of St. Paul at the same time upon earth; and if it may be in two places, why by the like reason may it not be in many places?

Thus the archbishop began to refute the second argument of Lambert, which had been written and delivered by him to Dr. Taylor the preacher: the king having already disputed against his first reason. Lambert

answered to this argument,—“ That the minor was not thereby proved, that Christ’s body was dispersed in two places, or more, but remained rather still in one place, as touching the manner of his body. For the scripture doth not say, that Christ being upon the earth did speak unto Paul; but that suddenly a light from heaven did shine round about him, and he fell to the ground and heard a voice, saying unto him, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? I am Jesus whom thou persecutest.” This place saith nothing but that Christ, sitting in heaven, might speak to Paul, and be heard upon earth: for they which were with Paul verily heard the voice, but did see no one.”

The archbishop, on the contrary part, said, Paul himself doth witness, that Christ did appear unto him in the same vision. Lambert again answered, that Christ did witness in the same place, that he would again appear unto him, and deliver him out of the hands of the Gentiles: notwithstanding we read in no place that Christ did corporeally appear unto him. Thus, when they had contended about the conversion of St. Paul, and Lambert so answering for himself, that the king seemed greatly to be moved therewith, and the bishop himself to be entangled, and all the audience amazed; the bishop of Winchester, fearing lest the argument should be taken out of his mouth, or rather being filled with malice against the poor man, without the king’s commandment, observing no order, before the archbishop had made an end, alleged a place out of the twelfth chapter of the Corinthians, where St. Paul saith,—“ Have I not seen the Lord Jesus?” And again in the fifteenth chapter: “ He appeared unto Cephas; and afterwards unto James, then to all the apostles; but last of all he appeared unto me also as one born out of due time.”

To all this Lambert answered, he did not doubt but that Christ was seen, and did appear, but he denied that he was in two places, according to the manner of his body. Then Gardiner again perverting the authority of Paul, repeated the place out of the second epistle to the Corinthians, the fifth chapter,—“ And if so be we have known Christ after the flesh, now henceforth know we him no more.” Lambert added, that this knowledge is not to be understood according to the sense of the body, and that it so appeared sufficiently by St. Paul, which speaking of his own revelation, saith thus:—“ I know one, whether in the body or out of the body, God knoweth, which was caught up into the third heaven; and I know not whether in the body or out of the body, God knoweth.” Even by the testimony of St. Paul, a man shall easily gather, that in this revelation he was taken up in spirit into the heavens, and did see those things, rather than that Christ came down corporeally from heaven, to shew them unto him: especially as it was said of the angel, “ As he ascended into heaven, so he shall come again.” And St. Peter saith, “ Whom it behoved to dwell in the heavens.” Moreover appointing the measure of time, he added, “ Even until that all things be restored.” Here again Lambert, being taunted and insulted, could not be suffered to proceed.

When Gardiner had finished, Tonstal took his course, and after a long preface, wherein he spake much of God’s omnipotency, at last he came to this point, saying, that if Christ could perform that which he spake, touching the converting his body into bread, without doubt he

would speak nothing, but that he would perform. Lambert answered, That there was no place of scripture wherein Christ doth at any time say, that he would change the bread into his body: and moreover, that there is no necessity why he should so do. But this is a figurative speech, every where used in the scripture, when as the name and appellation of the thing signified is attributed unto the sign. By which figure of speech, circumcision is called the Covenant—the lamb the Passover, besides six hundred such instances. With great firmness he then said—“ Now it remaineth to be marked, whether we shall judge all these after the words pronounced be straightway changed into another nature.” Then began they to rage afresh against Lambert, resolving, if they could not destroy his arguments, at least to drown them with rebukes and taunts.

Next stepped forth the valiant champion Stokesley, bishop of London, who afterwards, lying at the point of death, rejoiced, that in his lifetime he had burned fifty heretics. This man, with a long protestation, promised to prove “ that it was not only a miracle of divine work, but also that it did not at all contradict nature. For it is nothing dissonant from nature, the substance of like things to be often changed one into another. So that nevertheless the accidents do remain, albeit the substance itself and the matter be changed.” Then he attempted to prove it by the example of water boiling so long upon the fire until all the substance evaporated. “ Now,” saith he, “ it is the doctrine of the philosophers, that a substance cannot be changed but into substance: wherefore we affirm the substance of the water to pass into the substance of the air, notwithstanding the quality of the water, which is moistness, remaineth after the substance is changed; for the air is moist even as the water is.”

At this argument the bishops greatly rejoiced, and their countenance changed, as it were assuring themselves of a certain triumph and victory by this philosophical transmutation of elements. The audience now waited in expectation of Lambert's answer, who as soon as he had obtained silence and liberty to speak, first denied the bishop's assumption, that the moisture of the water did remain after the substance was altered. “ For although,” saith he, “ we grant, with the philosophers, the air to be naturally moist, notwithstanding it hath one proper degree of moisture, and the water another; still there is another doctrine amongst the philosophers, as a perpetual rule, that it can by no means be that the qualities and accidents in natural things should remain in their own proper nature, without their proper subject.” Upon this the king and bishops raged against Lambert, so much that he was again forced to silence. Then the other bishops, every one in his order, as they were appointed, supplied their place in the disputation. There were ten in number appointed for the performing of this tragedy, for ten arguments, as before we have declared, were delivered unto Taylor the preacher. It were too tedious in this place to repeat the reasons and arguments of every bishop, having little in them worthy either the hearer or the reader.

Lambert in the mean time being encompassed with so many perplexities, vexed on the one side with checks and taunts, and pressed on the other side with the authority and threats of the personages; partly

being amazed with the majesty of the place in the presence of the king, and especially being wearied with long standing, which continued no less than five hours, from twelve at noon until five at night, being reduced to despair, that he should not profit in this contest; and seeing no hope from farther argument, chose rather to hold his peace. Consequently the bishops spake what they listed without interruption, save only that Lambert would now and then allege a word or two for the defence of his cause; but for the most part, being overcome with weariness and grief, he held his peace, defending himself rather with silence than with arguments.

At last when the day was passed, and torches began to be lighted, the king desiring to break up this pretended disputation, said to Lambert, "What sayest thou now after all these great labours which thou hast taken upon thee, and all the reasons and instructions of these learned men? Art thou not yet satisfied? Wilt thou live or die? What sayest thou? Thou hast yet free choice." Lambert answered, "I yield and submit myself wholly unto the will of your majesty." "Then," said the king, "commit thyself unto the hand of God, and not unto mine." To which he piously replied—"I commend my soul unto the hands of God, but my body I wholly yield and submit unto your clemency." Then said the king, "If you do commit yourself unto my judgment, you must die, for I will not be a patron unto heretics." Then sternly addressing Cromwell, he commanded to read the sentence of condemnation against him. And we cannot but wonder to see how unfortunately it came to pass, that through the pestiferous and crafty counsel of this bishop of Winchester, Satan, who often raises up one brother to the destruction of another, here performed the condemnation of Lambert by no other ministers than reformers themselves, namely, Taylor, Barnes, Cranmer, and Cromwell, who afterwards in apparent judgment, all suffered the like for the gospel's sake.

Cromwell, at the king's command, taking the schedule of condemnation in hand, read it aloud; wherein was contained the burning of heretics, which either spake or wrote any thing, or had any books by them, repugnant or disagreeing from the papistical church and tradition touching the sacrament of the altar: also a decree that the same should be set upon the church porches, and be read four times every year in every church throughout the realm, whereby the worshipping of the bread should be the more firmly fixed in the hearts of the people. Thus was John Lambert, in this bloody session, by the king, condemned to death; whose judgment now remaineth with the Lord against that day, when both princes and subjects shall stand and appear, not to judge, but to be judged, according as they have done and deserved.

Upon the day appointed for this holy martyr of God to suffer, he was brought out of the prison at eight o'clock in the morning unto the house of the lord Cromwell, and carried into his inner chamber, where, it is reported of many, that Cromwell desired of him forgiveness for what he had done. There at the last, Lambert being admonished that the hour of his death was at hand, he was greatly comforted and cheered; and being brought out of the chamber into the hall, he saluted the gentlemen, and sat down to breakfast with them, shewing no manner of



sadness or fear. When breakfast was ended, he was carried straight to the place of execution at Smithfield. The manner of his death was dreadful; for after his legs were nearly consumed and burned, and that the wretched tormentors and enemies of God had withdrawn the fire from him, then two who stood on each side with their halberds, pitched him, from side to side as far as the chain would reach; while he, lifting up such hands as he had, cried unto the people in these words:—"None but Christ, none but Christ!" He was soon after let down again from their halberds, fell into the fire, and there ended his life.

During the time he was in the archbishop's ward at Lambeth, which was a little before his disputation before the king, he wrote an excellent confession, or defence of his cause, to Henry. It commenced with a humble and modest preface, that the pride of majesty might not take offence at the advice of a subject. He declared, that he had a two-fold consolation laid up for him. The one in the most high and mighty Prince of princes, God; the other, next unto God, his majesty, who should represent the office and ministry of that most high Prince in governing here upon earth. After thus proceeding in gentle words, he declared the cause which moved him to what he had done. That although he was not ignorant how odious this doctrine would be unto the people, yet notwithstanding, he knew how desirous the king was to search out the truth; he thought no time unfit to perform his duty, especially as he would not utter those things unto the multitude, lest he should occasion offence, but only unto the prince himself, unto whom he might safely declare his mind. After this preface, he confirmed his doctrine touching the sacrament by numerous testimonies of the scripture; by which he proved the body of Christ, whether it riseth, or ascendeth, or sitteth, or be conversant here, to be always in one place. Finally, in a masterly manner he gathered together all the opinions of the ancient fathers, declaring, from them, that Christ was only present in spirit, and that *Hoc est corpus meum*, meant only—"This signifies my body;" just as—"I am the bread—the vine—the door"—denote that these emblems were significant of himself.

The popish party greatly triumphed in his death, and endeavoured to improve it. They persuaded the king of the good effects it would have on his people, who would in this see his zeal for the faith; and they forgot not to magnify all that he had said, as if it had been uttered by an oracle, which proved him to be both "Defender of the Faith, and Supreme Head of the Church." All this wrought so much on the king, that he resolved to call a parliament, both for suppressing the monasteries and the new opinions. Thus did this haughty and infatuated monarch pull down with one hand what the other was attempting to build up; and thus did his protestant as well as papal advisers "treasure up to themselves wrath against the day of wrath," and by their pusillanimous proceedings and treacherous principles only expose their lives to the fury of one party, and their own names to the derision or execration of the other.

Fox, bishop of Hereford, died at this time: he had been much employed in Germany, and had settled a league between the king and the German princes. Henry was acknowledged the patron of this

league; and in support of it, he sent over 100,000 crowns a year. There was also a religious league proposed; but upon the change that followed in the court on queen Anne's death, it fell to the ground; and what their league embraced relating to religion, was, that they should unite against the pope as their common enemy, and set up the true religion according to the gospel. But a treaty upon other points was afterwards set on foot. The king desired Melancthon to come over; and several letters passed between them; but he could not be spared from Germany. The Germans sent over some to treat with the king; the points they insisted most on were, granting the chalice to the people, and putting down private masses, which the institutions seemed to express; having the worship in a known tongue, which both common sense and the authority of St. Paul seemed to justify. The third was, the marriage of the clergy; for they being extremely sensible of the honour of their families, reckoned that it could not be secured unless the priests might marry. Concerning these things, their ambassadors gave a long and learned memorial to the king; to which an answer was made, penned by Tonstal; stating that the things they complained of were justified by the ordinary arguments. Upon Fox's death, Bonner was promoted to Hereford; and Stokesly dying soon after, he was translated to London. Cromwell imagined that he had raised a man who would be a faithful second to Cranmer in his designs of reformation, who needed help, not only to balance the opposition made him by other bishops, but to lessen the prejudices he suffered by the weakness and indiscretion of his own party, who were generally rather clogs than helps to him.

On the 28th of April a parliament was summoned, in which twenty of the abbots sat in person. On the 5th of May a motion was made, that some might be appointed to draw a bill against diversity of opinions in matters of religion; these were Cromwell, Cranmer, the bishops of Durham, Ely, Bath and Wells, Bangor, Carlisle, and Worcester. They were divided in opinion; and though the popish party were five to four, yet the authority that Cromwell and Cranmer were in, turned the balance a little; they continued, however, to meet eleven days without coming to any point. Upon that the duke of Norfolk proposed the six articles: the first was for the corporeal presence; the second for communion in one kind; the third for observing the vows of chastity; the fourth for private masses; the fifth for the celibacy of the clergy; and the sixth for auricular confession: against most of these Cranmer argued several days. It is not likely he opposed the first, because he had given his opinion in Lambert's case: but he had the words of the institution, and the constant practice of the church for twelve ages, to object to the second; and for the third, since the monks were set at liberty to live in the world, it seemed hard to restrain them from marriage; and nothing so effectually cut off their pretensions to their former houses as their being married. For the fourth, if private masses were useful, then the king had done ill to suppress so many places chiefly founded for that end; the sacrament was also by its first institution, and the practice of the primitive church, to be a communion; while all private masses were invented to cheat the world. For the fifth, it

touched Cranmer to the quick, for it was believed he was married. Lee, Gardiner, and Tostal pressed much to have it declared necessary by the law of God. Cranmer argued against this, and said it was only a good and profitable thing. The king came frequently to the house in person, and disputed about these points with all the haughtiness of a monarch, and all the conceit of a pedant: generally he was against Cranmer, but in this particular he joined with him. Tostal drew up all the quotations brought from ancient authors for it, in a paper which he delivered to the king; this the king answered in a long letter, written with his own hand, in which he shewed that the fathers only advised confession, but did not impose it as necessary; it was therefore concluded in general that it was merely desirable and expedient. At their next meeting, two committees were appointed to draw the bill of religion; Cranmer was the chief of the one, and Lee of the other: both their draughts were carried to the king, and were in many places corrected with his own hand; in some parts he wrote whole periods anew. That which Lee drew was more agreeable to the king's opinion; it was consequently brought into the house. Cranmer argued three days against it; and when it came to the vote, the king, who greatly desired to have it passed, desired him to go out; but he excused himself, thinking he was bound in conscience to vote against it: but the others who opposed it were more compliant, and it passed without any considerable opposition in the house of commons, and was assented to by the king.

The substance of it was, that the king being sensible of the good of union, and of the mischief of discord, in point of religion, had come to the parliament in person, and opened many things of high learning there, and that with the assent of both houses he set forth these articles: That in the sacrament there was no substance of bread and wine; but only the natural body and blood of Christ. That Christ was entirely in each kind, and therefore communion in both was not necessary. That priests by the law of God ought not to marry. That vows of chastity taken after the age of twenty-one ought to be kept. That private masses were lawful and useful. That auricular confession was necessary, and ought to be retained. The several sentences denounced against opposers were also determined. Such as did speak or write against the first were to be burned without the benefit of abjuration: and it was made felony to dispute against the other five; and such as should speak against them were to be in a præmunire for the first offence, the second was made felony. Married priests who did not put away their wives were to be condemned of felony, as those who lived incontinently; the first offence was a præmunire, and the second felony. Women who offended were to be punished as the priests were. Those who contemned confession and the sacrament, and abstained from it at the accustomed times, were for the first offence in a præmunire, the second was felony. Proceedings were to be made in the forms of common law, by presentments and a jury, and all churchmen were charged to read the act in their churches once a quarter.

This act was received with great joy by all the popish party, who reckoned that now heresy would be extirpated, and the king was as

much engaged against it as he was when he wrote against Luther: this made the suppression of the monasteries pass much the easier. The poor reformers were now exposed to the rage of their enemies, and had only one consolation left, namely, that they were not delivered up to the cruelty of the ecclesiastical courts, or the trials *ex officio*, but were to be tried by juries; yet the denying the benefit of abjuration was a severity without a precedent, and was a forcing martyrdom on them.

Upon the passing the act, the German ambassadors desired an audience of the king, and told him of the grief with which their masters would receive the news, and earnestly pressed him to stop the execution of it. The king answered that he found it necessary to have the act made for repressing the insolence of some people, but assured them it should not be put in execution except upon great provocation. When the intelligence reached the princes, they wrote to the king to the same purpose; warned him of many bishops who were about him, who in their hearts loved popery, and all the old abuses, and took this method to force the king to return back to the former yoke, hoping that if they once made him the enemy of all those they called heretics, it would be easy to bring him back to submit to that tyranny which he had shaken off. They therefore proposed a conference between some divines on both sides in order to an agreement of doctrine. But the king being only concerned upon state maxims to keep up their league in opposition to the emperor, paid no regard to their proposal.

After the act of the six articles had passed, that for suppressing the monasteries was brought in; and though there were so many abbots sitting in the house, none of them protested against it. By it no monastery was suppressed, but only the resignations made or to be made were confirmed; and the king's right founded either on their surrenders, forfeitures, or attainders of treason, was declared good in law. All persons, except the founders and donors, were to have the same right to the lands belonging to these houses which they had before this act took place; and all the churches belonging to them, and formerly exempted, were put under the jurisdiction of the bishop, or of such as should be appointed by the king. A question was raised whether the lands should have reverted to the donors, or been escheated to the crown. The grants being of the nature of covenants, given in consideration of the masses that were to be said for them and their families, it was urged that when the cheat of redeeming souls out of purgatory was discovered, and these houses suppressed, then the lands ought to revert to the heirs of the donors. Upon this account it was thought necessary to exclude them by a special proviso.

Another bill was brought in, empowering the king to erect new bishoprics by his letters patent; it was read three times in one day in the house of lords. The preamble set forth, that the ill lives of those who were called religious, made it necessary to change their houses to better uses, for teaching the word of God, instructing children, educating clerks, relieving old and infirm people, endowing readers for Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, mending highways, and bettering the condition of parish priests; and for this end the king was empowered to erect

new sees, and to assign what limits and divisions, and appoint them what statutes he pleased.

When parliament was prorogued, the king ordered Cranmer to put in writing all the arguments he had used against the six articles, and bring them to him. He also sent Cromwell and the duke of Norfolk to dine with him, and to assure him of the constancy of his kindness. At table they expressed great esteem for him, and acknowledged that he had opposed the six articles with so much learning and gravity, that those who differed most from him, could not but highly value him for it, and that he needed not fear any thing from his royal master. Cromwell said the king made that difference between him and the rest of his council, that he would not so much as hearken to any complaints made against him, and drew a parallel between him and cardinal Wolsey; the one lost his friends by his pride, and the other gained on his enemies by his humility and mildness: the duke of Norfolk remarked that Cromwell could speak best of the cardinal, having been his man so long. This heated Cromwell, who answered that he never liked his manners; and though Wolsey had intended, if he had been chosen pope, to have carried him to Italy, yet he was resolved not to have gone; but he knew the duke intended to have gone with him. Upon this the duke of Norfolk was greatly enraged, swore he lied, and gave him foul language. This put all the company in great disorder: they were partly reconciled, but were never hearty friends after. Cranmer, agreeably to the king's desire, put his reasons against the six articles together, and gave them to his secretary to be written out in a fair hand for him; but crossing the Thames with the book in his bosom, the secretary met with such an adventure on the water as might at another time have sent the author to the fire.

There was a bear baited near the river, which breaking loose, ran into it, and happened to overturn the boat in which Cranmer's secretary was. Being in danger of his life, he took no care of the book, which falling from him floated on the river, and was taken up by the bear-ward, and put in the hand of a priest who stood by, to see what it might contain; he presently found it was a confutation of the six articles, and told the bear-ward that the author of it would certainly be hanged. When the secretary came to ask for it, and said it was the archbishop's book, the priest, who was an obstinate papist, refused to deliver it, and reckoned that now Cranmer would be certainly ruined; but the secretary acquainting Cromwell with it, he called for him next day, and chid him severely for presuming to keep a privy counsellor's book, and took it out of his hands: thus Cranmer was delivered out of this danger. Shaxton and Latimer not only resigned their bishoprics, but being presented for some words spoken against the six articles, they were imprisoned, and remained so till a recantation discharged the one, and the king's death set the other at liberty. There were about 500 others presented on the same account; but on the intercessions of Cranmer, Cromwell, and others, they were set at liberty, and a stop was put to the further execution of the act till Cromwell fell.

The bishops of the popish party still hoping to gain the ascendancy, used strange methods to insinuate themselves into the king's confidence;

they took out commissions, by which they acknowledged that all jurisdiction, civil and ecclesiastical, flowed from the king, and that they exercised it only at his courtesy; and as they received it from his bounty, so they would be ready to deliver it up when he should be pleased to call for it; and therefore the king did empower them in his stead to ordain, and do all the other parts of the episcopal function, which was to last during his pleasure; and a mighty charge was given them to ordain none but persons of great integrity, good life, and well learned; for since the corruption of religion flowed from ill pastors, so the reformation of it was to be expected chiefly from good pastors. Thus they became indeed the king's bishops. In this Bonner set an example to the rest. It does not appear that Cranmer took out any such commission all this reign.

Now came on the total dissolution of the abbeys: fifty-seven surrenders were made this year; of these thirty-seven were monasteries, twenty nunneries, and twelve parliamentary abbeys. The valued rents of the lands, as they were then let, was 132,607*l.* 6*s.* 4*d.*, but they were worth above ten times the sum in true value. Henry had now the greatest advantage that ever king of England possessed, both for enriching the crown, and establishing royal foundations. But such was his easiness to his courtiers, and his lavishness, that these vast treasures melted away in a few years, without his accomplishing any pious and useful designs. Out of eighteen bishoprics which he intended to found, he made only six; other great projects also became abortive. In particular one that was designed by Sir Nicholas Bacon, which was a seminary for statesmen: he proposed erecting a house for persons of quality, or of extraordinary endowments, for the study of the civil law, and of the Latin and French tongues; of whom some were to be sent with every ambassador beyond sea, to be improved in the knowledge of foreign affairs, in which they should be employed according to their capacities. Others were to write the history of transactions abroad, and affairs at home. This was to supply one loss that was likely to follow the fall of abbeys, in most of which there had been kept a chronicle of the times. These were written by men more credulous than judicious, and hence they were often more particular in the recital of trifles than of important affairs; and an invincible humour of lying, when it might raise the credit of their house, ran through all their manuscripts. The only ground that Cranmer gained this year, in which so much was lost, was a liberty for all private persons to have bibles in their houses; and truly this was a great and important point in the cause of God. Gardiner opposed it vehemently, and urged that without tradition it was impossible to understand the meaning of the scriptures. One day, before the king, he challenged Cranmer to shew any difference between the scriptures and the apostles' canons. It is not known how Cranmer managed the debate, but the issue of it was that the king judged in his favour, and said he was an old experienced captain, and ought not to be troubled by fresh men and novices.

The king was at this time resolved to marry again. The emperors endeavoured by all possible means to separate him from the princes of the Smalcadic league, and in this he was greatly facilitated by the act of the

six articles; for they complained much of the King's severity in those points, which were the principal parts of their doctrine, such as communion in both kinds, private masses, and the marriage of the clergy. Gardiner resolutely strove to animate the king against them; he often told him, it was below his dignity to suffer dull Germans to dictate to him; and suggested, that they who would not acknowledge the emperor's supremacy in the matters of religion, could not be hearty friends to the authority which the king wished them to acknowledge. But what other considerations could not prevail with the king, were likely to be more powerfully carried on by the match with Anne of Cleves, which was now set on foot.

There had been a treaty between her father and the duke of Lorraine, for marrying her to the duke's son; but it had gone no farther than a contract between the fathers. Hans Holbein, the celebrated painter of that age, painted a beautiful and flattering picture of her, which was sent over to Henry. It was said she possessed great charms in her person, but could speak no language but Dutch, which the king knew not: nor had she learned music. The match was at last agreed on, and in the end of December she was brought over. The king being impatient, went *incognito* to Rochester; but he no sooner saw her than he was struck with disappointment and chagrin. There was an appearance of roughness which did not all please him; he swore they had brought over a Flanders mare to him, and took up an incurable aversion to her. He resolved, if it were possible, to break the match; but his affairs made the friendship of the German princes very necessary to him, so that he did not think it advisable to put any affront on the dukes of Saxe and Cleve, her brother and brother-in-law. The emperor at this time made a hasty journey through France, and Francis and he had an interview. Henry tried if the contract with the duke of Lorraine's son could furnish him with a fair excuse to break the match. The king expressed the great trouble he was in, both to Cromwell and many of his other servants; but nothing could be built on that contract, which was only an agreement between the fathers, their children being under age, and it being afterwards annulled and broken by the parents. When also Cranmer and Tonstal were required to give their opinions as divines, they said, much to his disappointment—there was nothing in it to hinder the king's marrying the lady.

On the 6th of January therefore the king married her; but expressed his dislike for her so visibly that all about him took notice of it. Though he lived five months with her, his aversion to her rather increased than abated. She seemed little concerned at it, and expressed a great readiness to concur in every thing that might disengage him from a marriage so unacceptable to him. Instruments were brought over to shew that the contract between her and the prince of Lorraine was void; but some difficulty arose, because it was not declared whether the contract was in the present or the future tense.

At the next meeting of parliament the lord chancellor disclosed the matters relating to the state for which the king had called them, whereupon the vicegerent spake to them concerning religion. He told them there was nothing which the king desired so much as an entire union

among all his subjects; but some incendiaries opposed it as much as he promoted it; and between rashness on the one hand, and inveterate superstition on the other, great dissensions had arisen. These were inflamed by the reproachful names of papist and heretic; and though they had now the word of God in all their hands, yet they studied rather to justify their passions out of it, than to govern their lives by it. In order to this, the king resolved to set forth an exposition of the doctrine of Christ without any corrupt mixtures, and to retain such ceremonies as might be of use: that being done, he was resolved to punish all transgressors of what party soever they might be. For this end he had appointed the two archbishops, and the bishops of London, Durham, Winchester, Rochester, Hereford, and St. David's, and eleven divines, for settling the creed of the nation; and the bishops of Bath and Wells, Ely, Sarum, Chichester, Worcester, and Landaff, for the appointment of ceremonies. These committees sat as often as the affairs of parliament did not interfere with their proceedings.

A bill was at this time brought in for suppressing the knights of St. John of Jerusalem. There was at first only a hospital for entertaining pilgrims that went to visit the holy grave; after which there was instituted an order of knights, and they and the Knight Templars conducted and guarded the pilgrims. It was considered for some ages one of the highest expressions of devotion to Christ, to go and visit the places where he was crucified, buried, and ascended to heaven; and it was looked on as highly meritorious to fight for recovering the Holy Land out of the hands of infidels; so that almost every one who thought he was dying, either vowed to go to the holy war, or left something to such as should go. If they recovered, they bought off their vow by giving some lands for the entertainment of those knights. Great complaints arose against the Templars; but whether it was their wealth that made them a desirable prey, or their guilt that drew ruin down upon them, is not certain. They were, however, condemned in a council, and all of them that could be found were cruelly put to death. But the other order was still continued; and being beaten out of Judea, they settled at Rhodes, from which they were some time after expelled, and are now settled at Malta. They were under a great master, who depended on the pope and the emperor. But since they could not be brought to surrender of their own accord, as others had done, it was necessary to suppress them by act of parliament. Another house which they had in Ireland was also suppressed, and pensions were reserved for the priors and knights.

On the 12th of June a sudden turn took place at court; the duke of Norfolk arrested Cromwell for high treason, and sent him prisoner to the Tower. He had many enemies. The meanness of his birth provoked the nobility to madness in being obliged to admit him one of their order, and salute the son of a blacksmith as earl of Essex. The provocation was increased when a garter was bestowed on him, and he was successively raised to be lord privy seal, lord chamberlain of England, lord vicegerent, and master of the rolls.

All the popish clergy hated him violently. They imputed the suppression of monasteries, and the injunctions that were laid on them,



chiefly to his counsels: and it was thought that by his means the king and the emperor continued to be on such ill terms. Henry now understood that there was no agreement likely to be made between the emperor and Francis, and he was sure they would both court his friendship in case of war, which made him less concerned for the favour of the German prince, so that Cromwell's counsels now became unacceptable. With this a secret reason concurred. The king not only hated the queen, but had fallen in love with Catherine Howard, niece to the duke of Norfolk, which both raised his interest, and depressed Cromwell, who had made the former match. The king was also too willing to cast upon him all the errors committed of late, and by making him a sacrifice he hoped to regain the affections of his people. The king had also information brought him, that Cromwell secretly encouraged those who opposed the six articles, and discouraged those who went about the execution of them.

Cromwell had not the least apprehension of his fall before the storm broke upon him. He shared the common fate of all disgraced ministers; his friends forsook him, and his enemies insulted over him: Cranmer alone adhered to him, and wrote earnestly to the king in his favour. He said he found that he had always loved the king above all things; and had served him with such fidelity and success that he believed no monarch ever had a more faithful servant: and he wished the king might find such a counsellor, who both could and would serve him as he had done. So great and generous a soul had Cranmer, that he was not moved by changes in his friend's fortune, and would thus venture on the displeasure of so imperious a prince rather than fail in the duties of friendship. But the king was resolved to ruin Cromwell. He had such enemies in the house of lords, that a bill of attainder was dispatched in two days, being read twice in one day. Cranmer being absent, no other would venture to speak for him. But he met with more justice in the commons, for it remained ten days there. In conclusion a new bill was drawn against him, and sent up to the lords, to which they consented, and it had the royal assent.

In it they set forth, that though the king had raised him from a base state to great dignities, yet it appeared by many witnesses that he had been the most corrupt traitor ever known; that he had set many at liberty who were condemned or suspected of treason; that he had dispersed many erroneous books, contrary to a true belief of the sacrament, and had said that every man might administer it as well as a priest; that he had licensed many preachers suspected of heresy, and had ordered many to be discharged who were committed on that account, and had released all informers; that he had many heretics about him, and above a year before, he had said the preaching of Barnes and others was good; that he would not turn though the king did, but if the king turned he would fight in person against him, and, drawing out his dagger, he wished that might pierce him to the heart if he should not do it. For these things he was attainted both of high treason and heresy. A proviso was added for securing the church of Wells, of which he had been dean.

The king now proceeded on his divorce. An address was moved and

passed by the lords, that he would suffer his marriage to be examined. Cranmer and others were accordingly sent down to desire the concurrence of the commons; and they ordered twenty of their number to accompany the lords, who went in a body to the king. He granted their desire, the matter being concerted before. A commission was then sent to the convocation to discuss it: Gardiner opened it to them; and they appointed a committee for the examination of witnesses. The substance of the whole evidence amounted to these particulars: that the matter of the pre-contract with the prince of Lorraine was not fully cleared—and it did not appear that it was made by the queen, or whether it was in the words of the present time or not; that the king had married her against his will, and had not given an inward and complete consent; and that he had never consummated the marriage, so that they saw he could have no issue by the queen. Upon these grounds the whole convocation, with one consent, annulled the marriage, and declared both parties free. This was the grossest piece of hypocrisy that the king ever received from his clergy in his whole reign.

In the process for the king's first divorce, they had laid it down as a principle that a marriage was complete, though it were never consummated. But the king was resolved to be rid of the queen, and the clergy were resolved not to offend him. The judgment of the convocation was reported to the house of lords and commons, and both houses were satisfied with it. Next day some lords were sent to the queen, who had retired to Richmond. They told her the king was resolved to declare her his adopted sister, and to settle 4000*l.* a year on her, if she would consent to it, which she cheerfully embraced; and it being left to her choice either to live in England or to return to her brother, she preferred the former. They persuaded her also to write to her brother, that all this matter was done with her good will, that the king used her as a father, and that therefore her brother and his German allies should not take it ill at his hands. When things were thus prepared, the act confirming the judgment of the convocation passed without opposition. An act passed mitigating one clause in the six articles, by which the pain of death for the marriage or incontinence of the clergy was changed into a forfeiture of their goods and benefices. Another act passed, that no pretence of a pre-contract should be made use of to annul a marriage duly solemnized and consummated; and that no degree of kindred, but those enumerated in the law of Moses, might hinder a marriage. This last was added, to enable the king to marry Catherine Howard, who was cousin-german to Anne Boleyn, which was one of the degrees prohibited by the canon law. Several bills of attainder were passed; and in conclusion, the king sent a general pardon, out of which Cromwell and others were excepted. After this the parliament was dissolved.

Cromwell was executed on the 28th of July. He thanked God for bringing him to die in that manner, which was just on the account of his sins against God, and his offences against his prince. He declared that he doubted of no article of the catholic faith, nor of any sacrament of the church. He said he had been seduced, but now he died in the catholic faith, and denied he had supported preachers of ill opinions.

He desired all their prayers, prayed very fervently for himself, and ended his days with exemplary resignation.

He rose by the strength of his natural parts, for his education was but humble. He had the New Testament in Latin by heart. He bore his greatness with extraordinary moderation, and fell rather under the weight of popular odium than guilt. At his death he mixed none of the superstitions of the church of Rome with his devotions; it was therefore said, that he used the words "catholic faith" in its true sense, and in opposition to the novelties of that church. Yet his ambiguous mode of expressing himself made the papists declare that he died repenting his heresy. But the protestants said that he left the world in the same reformed faith in which he lived. It was believed that the king lamented his death when it was too late; and the miseries that fell on the new queen, and on the duke of Norfolk and his family, were looked upon as strokes from Heaven for their persecution of this unfortunate minister. With his fall, the progress of the reformation was checked, for Cranmer could never gain much ground after, and indeed many hoped to see him quickly sent after Cromwell; some complained of him in the house of commons, and informations were brought to the king, stating that the chief encouragement which the heretics received came from him.

The ecclesiastical committees employed by the king were now at work, and gave the finishing to a book formerly prepared, but at this time corrected and explained in many particulars. They began with the explanation of faith, which, according to the doctrine of the church of Rome, was thought an implicit believing whatever the church proposed; but the reformers made it their chief object to persuade the people to believe in Christ, and not in the church; and made great use of those places in which it was said that Christians are justified by faith only; though some explained this in such a manner, that it gave their adversaries occasion to charge them with denying the necessity of good works: but they all taught, that though they were not necessary to justification, yet they were necessary to salvation. They differed also in their notion of good works: the church of Rome taught that the honour done to God in his images, or to the saints in their shrines and relics, or to the priests, were the best sort of good works; whereas the reformers urged justice and mercy most, and charged the other with superstition. The merit of good works was also too highly raised, so that many thought they purchased heaven by them. This the reformers also corrected, and taught the people to depend upon the death and intercession of Christ, as the only meritorious ground of divine acceptance.

Having therefore settled the notion of faith, they divided it into two sorts: one was a persuasion of the truth of the gospel; but the other carried with it a submission to the will of God, and both hope, love, and obedience belonged to it, which was the faith professed in baptism, and so much extolled by St. Paul. It was not to be understood, as if it were an assurance of our salvation, which may be only a presumption, since all God's promises are made to us on conditions; but it was an entire receiving the whole gospel according to our baptismal vow.

And what are the conditions here implied? St. Paul clearly says,

“ If thou confess with thy mouth the LORD JESUS, and shalt believe in thine heart that God has raised him from the dead, THOU SHALT BE SAVED.” Now *all scripture is given by inspiration of God.* It was the *Spirit of Truth* who thus spoke by the mouth of St. Paul. And can the *Holy Spirit* lie? We must believe that *God* hath raised up *Jesus* from the dead, to be “ a propitiation, through faith in his blood, to all who receive him.” The Lord himself saith, “ He that believeth on the Son, hath everlasting life; and he that believeth not the Son shall not see life; but the wrath of God abideth on him.” Again, St. Paul to the Romans observes, “ Ye have not received the spirit of bondage again to fear; but ye have received the spirit of adoption, whereby we cry Abba, Father; the Spirit itself bearing witness with our spirits that we are the children of God.” “ I am the resurrection and the life,” saith Christ again; “ he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live; and whosoever liveth and believeth in me shall never die:” that is, eternally. Now if all this is indeed believed, eternal glory is confirmed, since we have the promise of him whose word is *truth*. But, alas! how has error overwhelmed mankind! for ask all the professors of the day whether they believe? they will answer, yes; but ask them again, whether they are heirs of God and joint heirs with Christ? they will tell you that they live in *hope*—but dare not, cannot say they are. They will tell you it is presumptuous so to say. What! is it presumptuous to believe the word of God? “ If thou believest, thou shalt be saved.” Do they believe this, “ that the fearful and unbelieving shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone?” Alas! these are not believers, but *doubters*: for “ he who believeth hath set to his seal that God is true.” Their “ fear towards God is taught them by the precept of men,” and not by the Holy Ghost; for if it were, they would sing the song of Moses and the Lamb. It can be only the “ love of God shed abroad in the heart” that can give a disposition cheerfully to perform the “ works of faith and labours of love.”

Oh, ye deceivers or deceived, do not any longer reject the plain glorious words of God against yourselves, nor under a feigned humility refuse to rejoice in him whom ye profess to believe. You would be thought to have the Spirit; but when we would look at your fruit, you shew us darkness, despair, and doubt, forgetting that Jesus drank the bitter cup of his Father’s wrath, for *you*, that you, through faith, might drink the cup of joy and salvation. “ The fruits of the Spirit are love, joy, peace;” and yours are the reverse. It cannot, therefore, be the work of the Spirit. Cease, cease, frail man, to pervert the ways of the Lord. Take the Bible in your hand, and compare yourself with the glorious host of saints, and see if you be like them. They, as must also all their descendants, mourned for their sins, and suffered from a wicked generation; but amidst all their mournings, they rejoiced that CHRIST was their RIGHTEOUSNESS: amidst all their sufferings, they rejoiced that they had a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. They knew that the promises of God were *yea* and *amen*. God can be worshipped only by the faith that works by love; this love alone can lead his people to obedience; because they know that they were “ called to glory and virtue.” They will, therefore, be holy, because their King is

holy; and when they offend, they hate themselves, because they feel that they are ungrateful to him who purchased them with his blood.

O reader! art thou a believer? Hast thou "set to thy seal that God is true?" Is thy faith founded in the evidence of the scripture, not because thy parents, thy country, thy teachers have told thee so—these are only the evidences of men; but because the *Spirit of Truth* hath by his written word revealed it to thee? If so, "rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory," for know, that although thou art here perhaps "tossed with tempests and afflicted," yet "all things are thine, and thou art Christ's, and Christ is God's." Thou shalt inherit all things, and he shall be thy God, and thou shalt be his son. Doubts become not thy lips, nor despair thy heart. Sing praises then unto him who washed your robes, and made them white in the pure blood of his own spotless sacrifice. He has said enough to satisfy the most scrupulous mind—"These things have I spoken unto you that in me ye may have peace: in the world ye shall have tribulation; but be of good cheer, I have overcome the world."

Cranmer took great pains to state these matters right; and made a large collection of many places, all written with his own hand, out of the ancient and modern authors, concerning faith, justification, and the merit of good works; and concluded with this, that our justification was to be ascribed only to the merits of Christ, and that those who are justified must have charity as well as faith, but that neither of these was the meritorious cause of justification. After this was stated agreeably to his views, the commissioners made next a large and full explanation of the apostle's creed with great judgment, and many excellent practical inferences. The definition they gave of the catholic church runs thus: "It comprehends all assemblies of men in the whole world that receive the faith of Christ, who ought to hold an unity of love and brotherly agreement together, by which they become members of the catholic church." After this they explained the seven sacraments.

In discussing these things there were great debates; for, as was formerly mentioned, the method used was to open the point in hand by proposing many queries, and every one was to give in his answers with the reasons of it; and then others were appointed to make an abstract of those things, in which all either agreed or differed. The original papers relating to these points are yet preserved, which shew with what great consideration they proceeded. Baptism was explained as had been done formerly. Penance was made to consist in the absolution of the priests, which had been formerly declared only to be desirable where it could be had. In the communion, transubstantiation, private masses, and communion in one kind, were asserted: also the obligation of the Levitical law about the degrees of marriage, and the indissolubleness of that bond. They declared the divine institution of priests and deacons; and that no bishop had authority over another. They made a long dissertation against the pope's pretensions, and for justifying the king's supremacy. They said, confirmation was instituted by the apostles, and was profitable but not necessary to salvation; and they also asserted extreme unction to have been commanded by the apostle James for the health both of soul and body. Then were the ten commandments explained;

the second was added to the first, but the introductory words were left out. It was declared that no religious honour was to be done unto images, and that they ought only to be revered for their sake whom they represented; therefore the preferring one image to another, and making pilgrimages and offerings to them, were condemned, while kneeling before them was permitted; yet the people were to be taught that this was done only to the honour of God. Invocation of saints, as intercessors, was allowed; but immediate addresses to them for the blessings that were prayed for were condemned. The strict rest from labour on the seventh day was declared to be ceremonial; but it was asserted to be essential to rest from sin and carnal pleasure, and to follow holy duties. The other commandments were explained in a very simple and practical way.

Then was the Lord's Prayer explained, and it was enjoined that the people pray in their vulgar tongues, for exciting their devotion the more. The angel's salutation to the virgin was also paraphrased. They handled free-will, and defined it to be a power by which the will, guided by reason, did without constraint discern and choose good and evil; the former by the help of God's spirit, and the latter of itself. Grace was said to be offered to all men, but was made effectual by a willing application of it; and grace and free-will did consist well together, the one being added for the help of the other. Men were justified freely by the grace of God, but that was applied by faith; and faith is the gift of God, saith the apostle; so that salvation is all of God. "Thy people shall be willing in the day of thy power." "No man can come unto me, except the Father which hath sent me draw him." In the good works thus divinely produced, both the fear of God, repentance, and amendment of life were included. All curious reasonings about predestination were condemned. Those works were necessary which were not the superstitious inventions of monks and friars; not only moral works done by the power of nature, but works of charity flowing from a pure heart and faith unfeigned. Fasting, and the other fruits of penance, were also good works, but of an inferior nature to justice and the other virtues: these were all in a sense meritorious, yet since they were wrought in men by God's spirit, all boasting was excluded. The commissioners ended with an account of prayers for souls departed, almost the same that was in the articles published before.

The reformers were dissatisfied with many things in the book, yet were they glad to find the morals of religion so well opened; for the purity of soul which that might effect would dispose people to sound opinions: many superstitious practices were also condemned, and the gospel covenant was rightly stated. One article was also asserted in it, which opened the way to a further reformation; for every national church was declared to be a complete body, with power to reform heresies, and do every thing that was necessary for preserving its own purity, or governing its members. The popish party now thought they had recovered much ground, which seemed lost formerly. They knew the reformers would never submit to all things in this book, which would alienate the king from them; but they were safe, being resolved to comply with him in every thing, without which it was dangerous to live

in England, for the king's peevishness grew upon him with his age. This party now studied to engage the king in new severities against the reformers; the first instance of which fell on three preachers, Barnes, Garret, and Jerome, who had been early wrought on by the works of Luther. These were worthies in the christian cause, richly deserving the reader's knowledge and admiration.

Dr. BARNES was educated in the university of Louvain, in Brabant. On his return to England he went to Cambridge, where he was made prior of the order of Augustines, and steward of the house in which that order resided. On his entrance, the darkest ignorance pervaded the university, all things being full of rudeness and barbarity, excepting a few persons whose learning was unknown to the rest. Dr. Barnes, zealous to promote knowledge and truth, soon began to instruct the students in classic languages, and, with the assistance of Parnel, his scholar, whom he had brought from Louvain, he soon caused learning to flourish, and the university to bear a very different aspect. These foundations laid, he began to read openly the epistles of St. Paul, and to teach in greater purity the doctrine of Christ. He preached and disputed with great warmth against the luxuries of the higher clergy, particularly against cardinal Wolsey, and the lamentable hypocrisy of the times. But still he remained ignorant of the great cause of these evils, namely, the idolatry and superstition of the church; and while he declaimed against the stream, he himself drank at the spring, and kept it running for others to quench their fanatical thirst. At length, happily becoming acquainted with Bilney, he was by that martyr's conversation wholly converted unto Christ.

The first reformed sermon he preached, was on the Sunday before Christmas-day, at St. Edward's church, Trinity Hall, in Cambridge. His theme was the epistle of the day, *Gaudete in Domino*, and he commented on the whole epistle, following the scripture and Luther's exposition. For that sermon he was immediately accused of heresy by two fellows of the King's Hall. On this the learned in Christ, of Pembroke Hall, St. John's, Peter's House, King and Queen's Colleges, Gunwell Hall, and Benet College, flocked together both in the schools and in more public places, almost daily and hourly conferring together, and many of them disputing about the course it was their duty to pursue.

The house to which they chiefly resorted was the White Horse Inn, which, in contempt, was called Germany. This house especially was chosen, because many of them of St. John's, the King's College, and the Queen's College, were able to enter at the back gate. At this time much trouble began to ensue. The adversaries of Dr. Barnes accused him in the Regent House before the vice-chancellor, whereon his articles were presented and received, he promising to make answer at the next convocation. Then Dr. Nottoris, a bitter enemy to Christ, moved Barnes to recant; but he refused, as appears in his book which he wrote to king Henry in English, confuting the judgment of cardinal Wolsey, and the residue of the popish bishops. They continued in Cambridge, one preaching against another, until within six days of Shrovetide, when suddenly a serjeant at arms was sent down, called Gibson, dwelling in St. Thomas Apostle, in London, to arrest Dr. Barnes

openly in the convocation-house, to strike others with fear. It was also privily determined to search for Luther's books.

Dr. Farman, of the Queen's College, learning this, sent word of it privately to the chambers of those who were suspected, which were thirty persons; and they were conveyed away by the time that the serjeant at arms, the vice-chancellor, and the proctors were at their chamber, going directly to the place where the books lay. It was this proceeding which shewed that there were spies with the serjeant, and that night they studied together, and gave Barnes his answer, which answer he carried with him to London the next morning, being the Tuesday before Shrove Sunday. On Wednesday he arrived in London, and lay at Mr. Parnel's house. Next morning he was taken before cardinal Wolsey at Westminster, waiting there all day, and could not speak with him till night, when by reason of Dr. Gardiner, secretary to the cardinal, and of Mr. Fox, master of the wards, he spake with the cardinal in his chamber of state, kneeling. "Is this," said Wolsey to them, "Dr. Barnes, who is accused of heresy?" "Yes, and please your grace," replied they; "and we trust you will find him reformable, for he is learned and wise."

"What, Mr. Doctor," said Wolsey, "had you not a sufficient scope in the scriptures to teach the people, but that my golden shoes, my poll-axes, my pillars, my cushions, my crosses, did so offend you, that you must make us *ridiculum caput* amongst the people, who that day laughed us to scorn? Verily it was a sermon fitter to be preached on a stage than in a pulpit; for at last you said, I wear a pair of red gloves, 'I should say bloody gloves,' quoth you, that I should not be cold in the midst of my ceremonies." To this banter Dr. Barnes answered, "I spake nothing but the truth out of the scriptures, according to my conscience, and according to the ancient doctors." And then he delivered him six sheets of paper written, to confirm and corroborate his sentiments.

The cardinal received them smiling, saying, "We perceive then that you intend to stand to your articles, and to shew your learning." To which Barnes replied, "Yea, that I do by God's grace, with your lordship's favour." The cardinal now became angry and said, "Such as you bear us little favour, and the catholic church less. I will ask you a question; whether you do think it more necessary that I should have all this royalty, because I represent the king's majesty in all the high courts of this realm, to the terror and keeping down of all rebellious traitors, all wicked and corrupt members of this commonwealth, or to be as simple as you would have us, to sell all these things, and to give them to the poor, who shortly will cast them in the dirt, and to pull away this princely dignity, which is a terror to the wicked, and to follow your counsel?"

"I think it necessary," said Barnes, "to be sold and given to the poor. All this is not becoming your calling; nor is the king's majesty maintained by your pomp and poll-axes, but by God, who saith *per me reges regnant*, kings and their majesty reign and stand by me." Turning to the attendants, the cardinal then satirically said, "Lo, master doctors, he is the learned and wise man that you told me of." Then they kneeled



down and said, "We desire your grace to be good unto him, for he will be reformable." The cardinal appeared softened by their words, and mildly said, "Stand you up; for your sakes and the university we will be good unto him." Turning to Barnes, he added, "How say you, master doctor, do you not know that I am *legatus de latere*, and that I am able to dispense in all matters concerning religion within this realm, as much as the pope himself?" Barnes meekly said, "I know it be so." The cardinal then asked, "Will you be ruled by us, and we will do all things for your honesty, and for the honesty of the university." Barnes answered, "I thank your grace for your good will; I will adhere to the holy scripture, as to God's book, according to the simple talent that God hath lent me." The cardinal ended the dialogue by saying, "Well, thou shalt have thy learning tried to the uttermost, and thou shalt have the law."

He would then have been sent to the Tower, but Gardiner and Fox standing sureties for him, he returned to Mr. Parnel's again, and devoted the whole night to writing. Next morning he came to Gardiner and Fox, and soon after he was committed to the sergeant at arms, who brought him into the chapter-house, before the bishops, and Islip, the abbot of Westminster. At this time there were five men to be examined for Luther's book and Lollardy; but after they spied Barnes they set these aside, and asked the sergeant at arms what was his errand. He said he had brought Dr. Barnes on a charge of heresy, and then presented both his articles and his accusers. Immediately after a little talk they swore him, and laid his articles to him, on which he answered as he had done the cardinal before, and offered the book of his probations unto them. They took it from him, but said they had no leisure to dispute with him at present, on account of other affairs of the king's majesty which they had to do, and therefore bade him stand aside. They then called the five men again, one by one, and after they were examined, they were all committed to the Fleet. Dr. Barnes was recalled and asked, whether he would subscribe to his articles? he subscribed willingly, when they committed him and young Parnel to the Fleet with the others. There they remained till Saturday morning, and the warden had orders that no man should speak with him.

On the Saturday he was again brought before them into the chapter-house, and there with the men remained till five at night. After long disputations, threatenings, and scornings, they called upon him to know whether he would abjure or burn. He was greatly agitated, and felt inclined rather to burn than abjure. But he was then said again to have the council of Gardiner and Fox, and they persuaded him rather to abjure than to burn, because they pleaded he might in future be silent, urging other reasons to save his life and check his heresy at the same time. Upon that, kneeling down, he consented to abjure, and the abjuration being put into his hand, he abjured as it was there written, and then he subscribed with his own hand; yet they would scarcely receive him into the bosom of the church, as they termed it. Then they put him to an oath, and charged him to execute and fulfil all that they commanded him, which he accordingly promised.

On this they commanded the warden of the Fleet to carry him and

his fellows to the place whence he came, and to be kept in close prison, and in the morning to provide five fagots for Dr. Barnes and the four men; the fifth man being ordered to have a taper of five pounds weight to be provided for him, to offer to the rood of Northen in Paul's, and all these things to be ready by eight on the following morning; and that he with all that he could make with bills and glaves, and the knight-marshal with all his tipstaves that he could make, should bring them to Paul's, and conduct them home again. Accordingly, in the morning they were all ready by their appointed hour in St. Paul's church, which was crowded beyond measure. The cardinal had a scaffold made on the top of the stairs for himself, with six and thirty abbots, mitred priors, and bishops, and in his whole pomp mitred sat there enthroned, his chaplains and spiritual doctors in gowns of damask and satin, and he himself in purple. There was also a new pulpit erected on the top of the stairs for the bishop of Rochester to preach against Luther and Barnes; and great baskets full of books standing before them within the rails, which were commanded, after the great fire was made before the rood of Northen, there to be burned, and these heretics after the sermon to go thrice about the fire and to cast in their fagots.

During the sermon, Dr. Barnes and the men were commanded to kneel down and ask forgiveness of God, and the catholic church, and the cardinal's grace; after which he was commanded, at the end of the sermon, to declare that he was used more charitably than he deserved, his heresies being so horrible and detestable: once more he kneeled, desiring of the people forgiveness and to pray for him. This farce being ended, the cardinal departed under a canopy, with all his mitred men with him, till he came to the second gate of Paul's, when he took his mule, and the mitred men came back again. Then the prisoners being commanded to come down from the stage, whereon the sweepers used to stand when they swept the church, the bishops sat them down again, and commanded the knight-marshal and the warden of the Fleet, with their company, to carry them about the fire, and then were they brought to the bishops, and there kneeled down for absolution. The bishop of Rochester standing up, and declaring to the people how many days of pardon and forgiveness of sins they had for being at that sermon, and that Dr. Barnes with the others were received into the church again. This done, the warden of the Fleet and knight-marshal were commanded to take them to the Fleet again, there to remain till the lord cardinal's pleasure was known, and charged that they should have the same liberty as other prisoners, and that their friends might be admitted to them.

Dr. Barnes having remained here half a year, was delivered to be a free prisoner at the Austin friars in London. But here being watched by his enemies, they made new complaints of him to the cardinal, upon which he was removed to the Austin friars of Northampton, there to be burned; of which intention, however, he was perfectly ignorant. At length Mr. Horne, who had brought him up, and who was his particular friend, gaining intelligence of the writ which was shortly to be sent down to burn him, advised him to feign himself to be in a state of

despair, and to write a letter to the cardinal and leave it on his table where he lay, with a paper to declare whither he was gone to drown himself, and to leave his clothes in the same place; and another letter to be left to the mayor of the town to search for him in the water, because he had a letter written in parchment about his neck, closed in wax for the cardinal, which should teach all men to beware of him. This scheme he accordingly put in execution, and they were seven days searching for him; but he was conveyed to London in poor man's apparel, and from thence took shipping, and went to Antwerp, where he found Luther. Here he renewed his studies, and wrote a book, which was an answer to all the bishops of the realm, entitled, *Acta Romanorum Pontificum*, and another with a supplication to king Henry. Immediately it was told the cardinal that he was drowned, he said, "*Perit memoria ejus cum sonitu*,"—a sentence which lighted upon himself shortly after, when he died wretchedly at Leicester.

Dr. Barnes now became learned in the word of God, and strong in Christ, and was in great esteem with all men whose esteem was honourable, particularly Luther, Melancthon, Pomeran, Justice Jonas, Hegen-dorphinus, and Æpinus; the duke of Saxony, and the king of Denmark, the last of whom, in the time of More and Stokesly, sent him with the Lubecks as ambassador to king Henry the Eighth. Sir Thomas More, who had now succeeded Wolsey as chancellor, would fain have entrapped him: but the king would not let him, and Cromwell was his great friend. Before he left, the Lubecks and he disputed with the bishops of England in defence of the truth, and he was allowed to depart again without restraint. After going to Wittenberg, to the duke of Saxony and Luther, he remained there to forward his works in print which he had begun, after which he returned again in the beginning of the reign of queen Anne, as others did, and continued a faithful preacher in London, being all her time well entertained and promoted. After that he was sent ambassador by Henry to the duke of Cleves, upon the business of the marriage between the lady Anne of Cleves and the king. He gave great satisfaction in every duty which was entrusted to him, till Gardiner arrived from France, after which neither religion, the queen's majesty, Cromwell, nor the preachers prospered.

Not long after this, Dr. Barnes, with his brethren, were apprehended and carried before the king at Hampton Court, where he was examined. The king being desirous to bring about an agreement between him and Gardiner did, at the request of the latter, grant him leave to go home with the bishop to confer with him. But as it happened, they not agreeing, Gardiner and his co-partners sought by all subtle means how to entangle and entrap Barnes and his friends in further danger, which not long after was brought to pass. By certain complaints made to the king of them, they were enjoined to preach three sermons the following Easter at the Spittle; at which sermons, besides other reporters which were sent thither, Gardiner himself was present, sitting with the mayor, either to bear record of their recantation, or else, as the Pharisees came to Christ, to ensnare them in their talk, if they should speak any thing amiss. Barnes preached first; and at the conclusion of his sermon, requested Gardiner, if he thought he had said nothing contra-

dictory to truth, to hold up his hand in the face of all present, upon which Gardiner immediately held up his finger. Notwithstanding this, they were all three, by the means of the reporters, sent for to Hampton Court, whence they were conducted to the Tower, where they remained till they were brought out to death.

Mr. GARRET was a London curate. About the year 1526, he came to Oxford, and brought with him sundry books in Latin, treating of the Scriptures, with the first of *Unio dissentium*, and Tindal's first translation of the New Testament in English, which books he sold to several scholars in Oxford. After he had disposed of them, news came from London that he was searched for through all that city, to be apprehended as a heretic, and to be imprisoned for selling heretical publications, as they were termed. It was not unknown to cardinal Wolsey, the bishop of London, and others, that Mr. Garret had a great number of those books, and that he was gone to Oxford to sell them to such as he knew to be the lovers of the gospel. Wherefore they determined to make a secret search through all Oxford, to apprehend and imprison him, and to burn all his books, and him too if they could. But happily one of the proctors, Mr. Cole of Magdalen College, being well acquainted with Mr. Garret, gave secret warning to a friend or two of his of the search, and advised that he should, as secretly as possible, depart from Oxford: for if he were taken, he would certainly be forthwith sent to the cardinal, and be committed unto the Tower.

The Christmas before that time, Anthony Dalabar, student of Alban's Hall, paid a visit to his native place, Stalbridge, in Dorsetshire, where he had a brother, a clergyman of the parish, who was very desirous to have a curate from Oxford, and wished him to get one thence if he could. This just occasion offered, and was approved among the brethren, for so they were not only called, but were indeed such one to the other, that Mr. Garret, changing his name, should be sent with letters into Dorsetshire to his brother to serve him there for a time, until he might secretly convey himself somewhere over the sea. Accordingly hereunto he wrote letters in all possible haste to his brother, in favour of Mr. Garret, to be his curate; but not declaring what he was indeed, his brother being a papist, and afterwards the most mortal enemy that ever he had for the gospel's sake.

Things being thus settled, on the Wednesday morning before Shrovetide, Mr. Garret departed for Dorsetshire, with his letters for his new service. How far he went, and by what occasion he soon returned, was not known. But the following Friday night, he came to Radley's house where he lay before, and after midnight, in the privy search which was then made for him, he was taken in bed by the two proctors, and on the Saturday morning was delivered to Dr. Cottisford, master of Lincoln college, then being commissary of the university, who kept him as prisoner in his own chamber. At this there was great joy and rejoicing among all the papists, and especially with Dr. Loudon, warden of the New College, and Dr. Higdon, dean of Frideswide, who immediately sent their letters post-haste to the cardinal, to inform him of the apprehension of this notable heretic, for which they were well assured of receiving great thanks. But of all this sudden hurly-burly, Dalabar was utterly

ignorant, so that he knew neither of Mr. Garret's sudden return, nor that he was taken, until he came into his chamber, being then in Gloucester college, as a man amazed; and as soon as he saw him he said he was undone, for he was taken. He spake thus unadvisedly in the presence of a young man who came with him. When the young man was departed, Dalabar asked him what he was, and what acquaintance he had with him. He said, he knew him not; but that he had been to seek a monk of his acquaintance in that college, who was not in his chamber, and thereupon desired his servant to conduct him to his brother. He then declared how he was returned and taken in the privy search.

Dalabar then said to him, "Alas! Mr. Garret, by your uncircumspect coming and speaking before this young man, you have disclosed yourself and utterly undone me." He asked him why he went not to his brother with his letters. He answered that after he was gone a day's journey and a half, he was so fearful, that his heart suggested that he must needs return to Oxford; and accordingly he came again on Friday at night, and then was taken. But now, with tears, he prayed Dalabar to help to convey him away, and then cast off his hood and gown wherein he came, and desired a coat with sleeves, saying he would if possible disguise himself, go into Wales, and thence convey himself into Germany. Dalabar then put on him a sleeved coat of his own. He would also have had another kind of cap, but there was no one to be found for him.

Then they both kneeled down together, and lifting up their hearts and hands to God their heavenly Father, desiring him so to conduct and prosper him in his journey, that he might escape the danger of all his enemies, to the glory of his holy name, if his good pleasure so were. They then embraced, and could scarcely bid adieu for sorrow; at length, disguised in his brother's garments he departed. But his escape soon became known, and immediate search was made for him about the college; not being found there, he was pursued and taken at a place called Hinksey, a little beyond Oxford, and being brought back again was committed to ward: that done he was conveyed before the commissary, Dr. Loudon, and Dr. Higdon, dean of Frideswide, now called Christ's College, in St. Mary's church, where they sat in judgment, convicted him according to their law as a heretic, and afterward compelled him to carry a fagot in open procession from St. Mary's church to the place whence he came. After this, flying from place to place, he escaped their tyranny, until the time that he was again apprehended with Dr. Barnes.

WILLIAM JEROME was vicar of Stepney, and was convinced of the disgusting errors of the church of Rome, and the consequences that flowed from them, preaching with great zeal, and substituting the pure and simple doctrines of the gospel for the perversions and traditions of men. Thus proceeding, he soon became known to the enemies of truth, who watched him with malignant jealousy. It was not long before, in a sermon he preached at St. Paul's, on the fourth Sunday in Lent, wherein he dwelt upon justification by faith, he so offended the legal preachers of the day, that he was summoned to the presence of the king at Westminster, and there accused of heresy.

It was urged against him, that he had insisted, according to St. Paul

in his epistle to the Galatians —That the children of Sara, allegorically used for the children of the promise, were all born free, and, independent of baptism or of penance, were through faith made heirs of God. Dr. Wilson argued against him, and strongly opposed this doctrine. But Jerome defended it with all the force of truth, and said that although good works were the means of salvation, yet that they followed as a consequence of faith, whose fruits they were, and which discovered their root, even as good fruit proves a good tree. But in spite of this good confession, so inveterate were his enemies, and so deluded was the king, that Jerome was committed to the Tower, in company with the other two soldiers of Christ, destined with them to suffer for his faith.

Here they remained, while a process was issuing against them by the king's council in parliament, by whom, without hearing or knowledge of their fate, they were attainted of heresy, and sentenced to the flames. On the 30th of the following June they were brought from the Tower to Smithfield, where they were permitted to address the people. Dr. Barnes spoke first, as follows—"I am come hither to be burned as a heretic, and you shall hear my belief, whereby you may perceive what erroneous opinion I hold. God I take to record, I never to my knowledge taught any erroneous doctrine, but only those things which scripture led me into; neither in my sermons have I ever maintained or given occasion for any insurrection; but with all diligence evermore did I study to set forth the glory of God, the obedience to our sovereign lord the king, and the true and sincere religion of Christ: and now hearken to my faith.

"I believe in the holy and blessed Trinity, three persons and one God, who created and made all the world, and that this blessed Trinity sent down the second person, Jesus Christ, into the womb of the most blessed and pure virgin Mary. I believe that he was conceived by the Holy Ghost, and took flesh of her; and that he suffered hunger, thirst, cold, and other passions of our body, sin excepted, according to the saying of St. Peter, 'He was made in all things like to his brethren, except sin.' And I believe that this his death and passion was a sufficient ransom for sin. And I believe that through his death he overcame sin, death, and hell, and that there is none other satisfaction unto the Father, but this his death and passion only, and that no work of man does deserve any thing of God, but Christ's passion only as touching our justification, for I know the best work that ever I performed is impure and imperfect." With this, he cast abroad his hands, and desired God to forgive him his trespasses. "For although perchance," said he, "you know nothing by me, yet do I confess that my thoughts and cogitations are innumerable; wherefore I beseech thee, O Lord, not to enter into judgment with me, according to the saying of the prophet David; and in another place, Lord, if thou straitly mark our iniquities, who is able to abide thy judgment? Wherefore, I trust in no good work that ever I did, but only in the death of Christ. I do not doubt but through him to inherit the kingdom of heaven. But imagine not that I speak against good works, for they are to be done, and verily they that do them not shall never come into the kingdom of God. We must do them, because they are commanded us of God, to shew and set forth

our profession, not to deserve or merit; for that is only by the death of Christ. I believe that there is a holy church, and a company of all that do profess Christ; and that all who have suffered and confessed his name are saints, and that they praise and laud God in heaven, more than I or any man's tongue can express."

Then there was one that asked his opinion upon praying to saints. "Now of saints," said he, "you shall hear my opinion. I believe they are in heaven with God, and that they are worthy of all the honour that scripture willeth them to have. But I say, throughout scripture we are not commanded to pray to any saints. Therefore I neither can nor will preach to you that saints ought to be prayed unto; for then should I preach unto you a doctrine of mine own head. Notwithstanding, whether they pray for us or no, that I refer to God. And if saints do pray for us, then I trust to pray for you within this half hour, Mr. Sheriff, and for every Christian living in the faith of Christ, and dying in the same as a saint. Wherefore, if the dead may pray for the quick, I will surely pray for you."

The Dr. then appealed more pointedly to the sheriff, and asked—"Have ye any articles against me for which I am condemned?" The sheriff answered, "No." Then said Barnes, "Is there here any man else that knoweth wherefore I die, or that by my preaching hath taken any error? Let him now speak, and I will make him answer." But no man answered. Then said he, "Well, I am condemned by the law to die, and as I understand by an act of parliament, but wherefore I cannot tell; perhaps it is for heresy, for we are likely to suffer under this charge, cruel as it is. But they that have been the occasion of it, I pray God forgive them, as I would be forgiven myself. And Dr. Stephen, bishop of Winchester, if he have sought or wrought this my death, either by word or deed, I pray God to forgive him, as heartily, as freely, as charitably, and as sincerely, as Christ forgave them that put him to death. And if any of the council, or any other, have sought or wrought it through malice or ignorance, I pray God forgive their ignorance, and illuminate their eyes, that they may see and ask mercy for it. I beseech you all to pray for the king's grace, as I have done ever since I was in prison, and do now, that God may give him prosperity, and that he may long reign among you; and after him that godly prince Edward, that he may finish those things that his father hath begun. I have been reported to be a preacher of sedition, and disobedience unto the king; but here I say to you, that you are all bound by the commandment of God to obey your prince with all humility, and with all your heart, and that not only for fear of the sword, but also for conscience sake before God."

After this admirable address, Dr. Barnes desired, if he had said any evil at any time unadvisedly, whereby he had offended any, or given any occasion of evil, that they would pardon him, and amend that evil they took of him, and to bear him witness that he detested and abhorred all evil opinions and doctrines against the word of God, and that he died in the faith of Jesus Christ, by whom he doubted not but to be saved. With these words, he entreated them all to pray for him, and then he turned about, put off his clothes, and prepared himself to suffer.

Jerome and Garret made a similar profession of their faith, reciting the several articles of their belief, and declaring their minds upon every article, as the time would allow, whereby the people might understand that there was no error for which they could justly be condemned; protesting, moreover, that they denied nothing that was either in the Old or New Testament, set forth by their sovereign lord the king, whom they prayed the Lord long to continue amongst them, with his son prince Edward.

Jerome then addressed himself as follows: "I say unto you, good brethren, that Christ hath bought us all with no small price, neither with gold nor silver, or other such things of small value, but with his most precious blood. Be not unthankful therefore to him again, but do as much as to christian men belongeth to fulfil his commandments, that is, love your brethren. Love hurteth no man, love fulfilleth all things. If God hath sent thee plenty, help thy neighbour that hath need. Give him good counsel. If he lack, consider if you were in necessity, you would gladly be refreshed. And again, bear your cross with Christ. Consider what reproof, slander, and reproach, he suffered for his enemies, and how patiently he suffered all things. Consider, that all Christ did was of his mere goodness, and not for our deserving. If we could merit our own salvation, Christ would not have died for us. But for Adam's breaking of God's precepts we had been all lost, if Christ had not redeemed us again. And like as Adam broke the precepts, and was driven out of Paradise, so we, if we break God's commandments, shall have damnation, if we do not repent and ask mercy. Now, therefore, let all christians put no trust nor confidence in their works, but in the blood of Christ, to whom I commit my soul to guide, beseeching you all to pray to God for me, and for my brethren here present with me, that our souls leaving these wretched bodies, may consistently depart in the true faith of Christ."

After he had concluded, Garret thus spoke: "I also detest and refuse all heresies and errors, and if either by negligence or ignorance I have taught or maintained any, I am sorry for it, and ask God's mercy. Or if I have been so vehement or rash in preaching, whereby any person hath taken any offence, error, or evil opinion, I desire him and all other persons whom I have any way offended, forgiveness. Notwithstanding, to my remembrance, I have never preached willingly any thing against God's holy word, or contrary to the true faith; but have ever endeavoured, with my little learning and wisdom, to set forth the honour of God and right obedience to his laws, and also the king's accordingly: if I could have done better, I would. Wherefore, Lord, if I have taken in hand to do that thing which I could not perfectly perform, I desire thy pardon for my bold presumption. And I pray God to give the king good and godly counsel to his glory, to the king's honour, and the increase of virtue in this realm. And thus do I yield my soul up unto Almighty God, trusting and believing that he, of his infinite mercy, according to his promise made in the blood of his Son, Jesus Christ, will take it and pardon all my sins, of which I ask him mercy, and desire you all to pray with and for me, that I may patiently suffer this pain, and die in true faith, hope, and charity." The three martyrs then



took each other by the hand, and after embracing, submitted themselves to the tormentors, who, fastening them to the stake, soon lighted the fagots, and terminated their mortal life and care.

Nearly at the same time Thomas Bernard and James Merton suffered. The offence of Bernard was the teaching of the Lord's Prayer in English; that of Merton, his keeping an English translation of the epistle of St. James. They were taken up at the instigation of Longland, bishop of Lincoln, and condemned to the flames.

This summer the king went to York, to meet his nephew the king of Scotland, who promised him an interview there. The Scottish prince was an extraordinary person, a great patron both of learning and justice, but immoderately addicted to his pleasures. The clergy in Scotland were very apprehensive of his seeing his uncle, lest Henry might have persuaded him to follow his example with respect to the church; and they used such persuasions, that seconded by a message from France, they diverted the king from his purpose.

Before we proceed to record the events relative to Scotland, which took place at this period, it will be necessary to give a brief relation of the reformation in that country. The long alliance between Scotland and France had rendered the two nations extremely attached to each other; and Paris was the place where the learned of Scotland had their education. Yet after the year 1412, learning came to have more footing in Scotland, and universities were set up in several episcopal sees. At the same time some of Wickliffe's followers began to creep into the country; and an Englishman, named Resby, was burnt in 1407 for teaching opinions contrary to the pope's authority. A few years after that, Paul Craw, a Bohemian, who had been converted by the ministry of John Huss, was burnt for infusing the opinions of that martyr into some members of the bigoted college of St. Andrew. About the end of that century, the sentiments of the Lollards spread themselves into many parts of the diocese of Glasgow, for which several persons of quality were accused; but they answered the archbishop of that see with such assurance, that he dismissed them, having admonished them to content themselves with the faith of the church, and to beware of new doctrines. The same spirit of ignorance, immorality, and superstition, had overrun the church there, that was so much complained of in other parts of Europe. The total neglect of the pastoral care, and the gross scandals of the clergy, possessed the people with such prejudices against them, that they were easily disposed to hearken to new preachers, the most conspicuous of whom are now to pass before us.

PATRICK HAMILTON, a noble martyr, was highly descended. He was nephew, on his father's side, to the earl of Arran, and on his mother's, to the duke of Albany. He was bred up with the design of being advanced to clerical dignity, and he hoped to have an abbey given him for prosecuting his studies. He went over to Germany, and studied at the university of Marpurg, where he soon distinguished himself by his zeal, assiduity, and great progress, particularly in the scriptures, which were his grand object, and to which he made every thing else subservient. There he became acquainted with Luther and Melancthon; and being convinced, from his own researches, as well as their ministry and advice,

of the truth of their doctrines, he burned to impart the light of the gospel to his own countrymen, and to shew them the errors and corruptions of their church. For this great purpose he returned to Scotland, fearless of any injury that might come upon himself, so that he might be faithful and useful to others.

After preaching some time, and holding up the truth to his deluded countrymen, he was at length invited to St. Andrews to confer upon the points in question. But his enemies could not stand the light, and finding that they were unable to defend themselves by argument, resolved upon violence and revenge. Hamilton was accordingly imprisoned. Articles were exhibited against him,<sup>i</sup> and upon his refusing to abjure them, Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrews, with the archbishop of Glasgow, three bishops, and five abbots, condemned him as an obstinate heretic, delivered him to the secular power, and ordered his execution to take place that very afternoon: for the king had gone in pilgrimage to Ross, and they were afraid, lest, upon his return, Hamilton's friends might intercede effectually for him. When he was tied to the stake, he expressed great joy in his suffering, since by these he was to enter into everlasting life. A train of powder being fired, it did not kindle the fuel, but only burnt his face, which occasioned a delay till more powder was brought; and in that time the friars called repeatedly to him to recant, to pray to the Virgin, and to say the *Salve Regina*. Among the rest, a friar named Campbell, who had been with him in prison, was very officious. Hamilton answered, that he knew he was not a heretic, and had confessed it to him in private, and charged him to answer for that at the throne of Almighty God. By this time the gunpowder was brought, and the fire being kindled, he died, often repeating these words, "Lord Jesus, receive my soul." His relentless persecutor, Campbell, soon after became deranged, and died without recovering his reason.

The views and doctrines of Hamilton were such as cannot fail to excite the highest admiration of every real believer; and they are withal expressed with such brevity, such clearness, and such peculiar vigour and beauty—forming in themselves a complete summary of the gospel—that they cannot but afford instruction to every class of readers who seek to know more of God, and of Jesus our Lord. We shall, therefore, make no apology for giving them at the following length. They were written by Hamilton himself in Latin, and translated into English by John Frith, a man worthy of such a task and such a friend.

<sup>i</sup> These were the articles for which he suffered:

1. Man hath no free-will.
2. Man is only justified by faith in Christ.
3. Man, so long as he liveth, is not without sin.
4. He is not worthy to be called a Christian, which believeth not that he is in grace.
5. A good man doeth good works: good works do not make a good man.
6. An evil man bringeth forth evil works: evil works, being faithfully repented, do not make an evil man.
7. Faith, hope, and charity, are so linked together, that one of them cannot be without another in one man in this life.

## THE DOCTRINE OF THE LAW.

The law is a doctrine that biddeth good, and forbiddeth evil, as the commandments do here specify.

## THE TEN COMMANDMENTS OF GOD.

1. Thou shalt worship but one God. Exod. xx. 3.
2. Thou shalt make thee no image to worship it. Exod. xx. 4, 5.
3. Thou shalt not swear by his name in vain. Exod. xx. 7.
4. Hold the Sabbath day holy. Exod. xx. 8, 9, 10, 11.
5. Honour thy father and thy mother. Exod. xx. 12.
6. Thou shalt not kill. Exod. xx. 13.
7. Thou shalt not commit adultery. Exod. xx. 14.
8. Thou shalt not steal. Exod. xx. 15.
9. Thou shalt not bear false witness. Exod. xx. 16.
10. Thou shalt not desire ought that belongeth to thy neighbour. Exod. xx. 17.

All these are briefly comprised in the two ensuing:—Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy mind; this is the first and great commandment. The second is like unto this, that is, thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets. Matt. xxii. 37, 38, 39.

## CERTAIN GENERAL PROPOSITIONS PROVED BY SCRIPTURE.

Proposition.—He that loveth God loveth his neighbour.

This proposition is proved, 1 John iv. 20. “If a man say, I love God, and yet hateth his brother, he is a liar. He that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?”

Proposition.—He that loveth his neighbour as himself, keepeth all the commandments of God.

This proposition is proved, Matt. vii. Rom. xiii. “Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, even so do to them. For this is the law and the prophets.” Matt. vii. 12. “He that loveth his neighbour fulfilleth the law.” Rom. xiii. 8. “All the law is fulfilled in one word, that is, love thy neighbour as thyself.” Gal. v. 14.

Proposition.—He that hath faith loveth God.

“My father loveth you, because you love me, and believe that I come of God.” John xvi. 27.

Proposition.—It is not in our power to keep any one of the commandments of God.

It is impossible to keep any of the commandments of God without grace. It is not in our power to have grace. Therefore, it is not in our power to keep any of the commandments of God. And even so you may reason concerning the Holy Ghost and faith, forasmuch as neither without them we are able to keep any of the commandments of God, neither yet be they in our power to have.

"It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth; but of God that sheweth mercy," or giveth grace. Rom. ix. 16.

Proposition.—The law was given us to shew our sin.

"By the law cometh the knowledge of sin." Rom. iii. 20. "I knew not what sin meant, but through the law: for I had not known what lust had meant, except the law had said, thou shalt not covet. Without the law sin was dead," it moved me not, neither wist I that I was in sin, which notwithstanding was sin, and forbidden by the law. Rom. vii. 7.

Proposition.—The law biddeth us to do that thing which is impossible for us.

The keeping of the commandments is to us impossible.

The law commandeth to us the keeping of the commandments; therefore, the law commandeth unto us what is impossible. But thou wilt say, wherefore doth God bid us do that which is impossible for us? I answer, to make us know that we are but evil, and that there is no remedy to save us in our own hand: and that we may seek remedy at some other; for the law doth nothing else but command and condemn us.

#### THE DOCTRINE OF THE GOSPEL.

The gospel is as much as to say in our tongue, good tidings; and these be the following, and others like them.

Christ is the Saviour of the world. "God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish. For God sent not his Son into the world to condemn the world, but that the world through him might be saved." John iii. 16, 17.

Christ died for our sins. "Who was delivered for our offences." Rom. iv. 25.

Christ bought us with his blood. "We are redeemed by the precious blood of Christ." 1 Peter i. 19.

Christ washed us with his blood. "Unto him that loved us, and washed us from our sins in his own blood." Rev. i. 5.

Christ offered himself for us. "Who gave himself for our sins." Gal. i. 4.

Christ bare our sins on his back. "He bare the sin of many." Isaiah liii. 12.

Christ came into this world to take away our sins. "For this purpose the Son of God was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil." 1 John iii. 8.

Christ was the price that was given for us and our sins. "Who gave himself a ransom for all, to be testified in due time." 1 Tim. ii. 6.

Christ was made debtor for us. "The law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus hath made me free from the law of sin and death." Rom. viii. 2.

Christ has paid our debt, for he died for us. "Blotting out the handwriting of ordinances that was against us, which was contrary to us, and took it out of the way, nailing it to his cross." Col. ii. 14.

Christ made satisfaction for us and our sins. "All things are of God, who hath reconciled us to himself by Jesus Christ, and hath given to us the ministry of reconciliation. 2 Cor. v. 18.

Christ is our righteousness. "Of him are ye in Christ Jesus, who of God is made unto us righteousness." 1 Cor. i. 30.

Christ is our sanctification. "Of him who is made unto us our sanctification." 1 Cor. i. 30.

Christ is our redemption. "In whom we have redemption through his blood." Eph. i. 7.

Christ is our peace. "Being justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ." Rom. v. 1.

Christ hath pacified the Father of Heaven for us. "It pleased the Father that in him should all fulness dwell; and, having made peace through the blood of his cross, by him to reconcile all things unto himself; whether they be things in earth, or things in heaven." Col. i. 19, 20.

Christ is ours, and all are his. "All things are your's; ye are Christ's; and Christ is God's." 1 Cor. iii. 21, 23.

#### THE DISTINCT NATURE AND OFFICE OF THE LAW AND THE GOSPEL.

The law sheweth us our sin. "Now we know that what things soever the law saith, it saith to them who are under the law: that every mouth may be stopped, and all the world may become guilty before God." Rom. iii. 19.

The gospel sheweth us remedy for it. "Grace and truth came by Jesus Christ. Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world." John i. 17, 29.

The law sheweth us our condemnation. "I was alive without the law once: but when the commandment came, sin revived, and I died. And the commandment, which was ordained to life, I found to be unto death." Rom. vii. 9, 10.

The gospel sheweth us our redemption. "Who hath delivered us from the power of darkness, and hath translated us into the kingdom of his dear Son: in whom we have redemption through his blood, even the forgiveness of sins." Col. i. 13, 14.

The law is the word of ire. "The law worketh wrath: for where no law is, there is no transgression." Rom. iv. 15.

The gospel is the word of grace. "We believe that through the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, we shall be saved." Acts xv. 11.

The law is the word of despair. "Cursed be he that confirmeth not all the words of this law to do them." Deut. xxvii. 26.

The gospel is the word of comfort. "Waiting for the consolation of Israel." Luke ii. 25.

The law is the word of restlessness. "When we were in the flesh, the motions of sins, which were by the law, did work in our members to bring forth fruit unto death." Rom. vii. 5.

The gospel is the word of peace. "He came and preached peace to you which were afar off, and to them that were nigh." Eph. ii. 17.<sup>k</sup>

<sup>k</sup> The whole of this is so excellent, and manifests such a devout acquaintance with scripture in a dark age, that the editor has been anxious to render it as complete and

## A DISPUTATION BETWEEN THE LAW AND THE GOSPEL.

The law saith, Pay thy debt. The gospel saith, Christ hath paid it.

The law saith, Thou art a sinner, despair, and thou shalt be damned. The gospel saith, Thy sins are forgiven thee, be of good comfort, for thou shalt be saved.

The law saith, Make amends for thy sins. The gospel saith, Christ hath made it for thee.

The law saith, The Father of Heaven is angry with thee. The gospel saith, Christ hath pacified him with his blood.

The law saith, Where is thy righteousness, goodness, and satisfaction? The gospel saith, Christ is thy righteousness, thy goodness, and thy satisfaction.

The law saith, Thou art bound and obliged to me, to the devil, and to hell. The gospel saith, Christ hath delivered thee from them all.

## THE DOCTRINE OF FAITH.

Faith is to believe God, like as Abraham believed God, and it was imputed unto him for righteousness. To believe God is to credit his word, and to reckon it true that he saith. He that believeth not God's word, believeth not God himself. He that believeth not God's word counteth him false and a liar, and believeth not that he may and will fulfil his word; and so he denieth both the might of God, and God himself.

Proposition.—Faith is the gift of God.

Argument.—Every good thing is the gift of God. Faith is a good thing; therefore faith is the gift of God.

Proposition.—Faith is not in our power.

Argument.—The gift of God is not in our power. Faith is the gift of God; therefore faith is not in our power.

Proposition.—He that lacketh faith cannot please God. For saith the apostle Paul—"Without faith it is impossible to please God," Hebrews xi. 6; and "whatsoever is not of faith is sin," Romans xiv. 23; and sin, being a transgression of his law, must be displeasing to him.

Hence he that lacketh faith, trusteth not God; he that trusteth not God, trusteth not his word; he that trusteth not his word, holdeth him false and a liar; he that holdeth him false and a liar, believeth not that he may do that he promiseth, and so he denieth that he is God. Therefore, "a primo ad ultimum," he that lacketh faith cannot please God.

If it were possible for any man to do all the good deeds that ever were done, either of men or angels, yet being in this case it is impossible for him to please God.

accurate as possible. The edition of 1806 was left in a state of great incorrectness in this part, which above all others seemed to demand and deserve the greatest precision. To have again left such a blot on Hamilton's memory would have been unpardonable.

Proposition.—All that is done in faith pleaseth God.

“Right is the word of God, and all his works are done in truth.” Psalm xxxiii. 4. “O Lord, are not thine eyes upon the truth.” Jer. v. 3. That is as much as to say, Lord, thou delightest in faith; as faith can have to do only with truth.

Proposition.—He that hath faith, and believeth God, cannot displease him.

He that hath faith, believeth God; he that believeth God, believeth his word; he that believeth his word knoweth well that he is true and faithful, and cannot lie, knowing that he both can and will fulfil his word. Therefore he that hath faith cannot displease God, neither can any man do a greater honour to God, than to count him true.

Objection.—Thou wilt then say, that theft, murder, adultery, and all vices that a believer may be tempted to commit, are pleasing to God.

Nay, verily, for they cannot be done in faith: “For a good tree beareth good fruit, and corrupt fruit is borne by an evil tree.” Matt. vii. 17, 18.

Proposition.—Faith is certainty or assuredness.

“Faith is a sure confidence of things which are hoped for, and certainty of things which are not seen.” Heb. xi. 1. “The same Spirit certifieth our spirit, that we are the children of God.” Rom. viii. 16. Moreover, he that hath faith knoweth well that God will fulfil his word. Whereby it appeareth, that faith is a certainty or assuredness. “These things have I written unto you that believe on the name of the Son of God; that ye may know that ye have eternal life, and that ye may believe on the name of the Son of God.” 1 John v. 13.<sup>m</sup>

#### A MAN IS JUSTIFIED BY FAITH.

“Abraham believed God, and it was imputed unto him for righteousness.” Rom. iv. 3. “We conclude therefore, that a man is justified by faith, without the deeds of the law.” Rom. iii. 28. “He that worketh not, but believeth on him that justifieth the wicked, his faith is counted to him for righteousness.” Rom. iv. 5. “The just liveth by his faith.” Hab. ii. 4. Heb. x. 38. “We know that a man is not justified by the deeds of the law, but by the faith of Jesus Christ; and we believe in Jesus Christ, that we may be justified by the faith of Christ, and not by the deeds of the law.” Gal. ii. 16.

#### WHAT IS THE FAITH OF CHRIST ?

The faith of Christ is to believe in him; that is, to believe in his word, and believe that he will help us in all our need, and deliver us from all evil. If it be asked—what word? I answer with St. Paul, “The word

<sup>m</sup> In the articles that were objected to this noble soul by the priests, was this: “A person professing the gospel, and who is not assured of his own salvation, is unworthy of being called a believer, since the very belief is itself the evidence of his conversion.” Such was the faith of martyrs, and such *must* be the faith of all who believe that Jesus is the Christ. We say not that nothing is faith short of this full assurance of personal salvation; but we say that every holy believer sooner or later acquires it, and is unworthy of the name if he live and die without it.

of truth, and gospel of salvation." Eph. i. 13. "He that believeth in Christ shall be saved." Mark xvi. 16. "He that believeth the Son hath everlasting life." John iii. 36. "Verily I say unto you, he that believeth in me hath everlasting life." John vi. 24. "This I write unto you, that you believe on the Son of God, that ye may know that you have eternal life." 1 John v. 13. "All the prophets to him bear witness, that whosoever believeth in him shall have remission of their sins." Acts x. 43. "What must I do to be saved?" was the question of the jailer. The apostle answered, "Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved." Acts xvi. 30, 31. "If thou acknowledge with thy mouth that Jesus is the Lord, and believest with thine heart that God raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved." Rom. x. 9.

He that believeth *not* in Christ shall be condemned.—"He that believeth not the Son shall never see life, but the wrath of God abideth on him." John iii. 18, 36. "The Holy Ghost shall reprove the world of sin, because they believe not in me." John xvi. 9.

They that believe in Jesus Christ are the sons of God.—"Ye are all the sons of God, because ye believe in Jesus Christ." Gal. iii. 26. "He that believeth that Christ is the Son of God is safe." John i. 12. "Peter said, 'Thou art Christ the Son of the living God.' Jesus answered and said unto him, 'Happy art thou Simon the son of Jonas, for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in Heaven.'" Matt. xvi. 17. "These things are written that ye might believe, that Jesus is Christ the Son of God, and that ye in believing might have life." John xx. 36.

Proposition.—He that believeth the gospel believeth God.

Argument.—He that believeth God's word believeth God. The gospel is God's word; therefore, it follows that he that believeth the gospel believeth God. Now to believe the gospel is this, "That Christ is the Saviour of the world." John iv. 42. And then faith is more particular, and saith, Christ is our Saviour. Christ bought us with his blood. Christ washed us with his blood. Christ offered himself for us. Christ bare our sins in his own flesh.

Proposition.—He that believeth not the gospel believeth not God.

Argument.—He that believeth not God's word, believeth not God himself. The gospel is God's word; therefore, we infer that he that believeth not the gospel believeth not God himself; and consequently he that believeth not those things above written, and such other as God has revealed, believeth not God. What then is the sum of all? He that believeth the gospel shall be saved. "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature: he that believeth and is baptised shall be saved: but he that believeth not shall be condemned." Mark xvi. 16.

#### A COMPARISON BETWEEN FAITH AND INCREDULITY.

Faith is the root of all good. Incredulity is the root of all evil.

Faith maketh God and man good friends. Incredulity maketh them foes.

Faith bringeth God and man together. Incredulity sundereth them.



All that faith doth pleaseth God. All that incredulity doth displeaseth God.

Faith only maketh a man good and righteous. Incredulity only maketh him unjust and evil.

Faith maketh a man a member of Christ. Incredulity maketh him a member of the devil.

Faith maketh a man an inheritor of heaven. Incredulity maketh him an inheritor of hell.

Faith maketh a man a servant of God. Incredulity maketh him a servant of the devil.

Faith sheweth us God to be a sweet father. Incredulity sheweth him a terrible judge.

Faith holdeth stiff by the word of God. Incredulity wavereth here and there.

Faith counteth and holdeth God to be true. Incredulity holdeth him false and a liar.

Faith knoweth God. Incredulity knoweth him not.

Faith loveth both God and his neighbour. Incredulity loveth neither of them.

Faith only saveth us. Incredulity only condemneth us.

Faith extolleth God and his deeds. Incredulity extolleth herself and her own deeds.

#### DISSERTATION ON HOPE.

Hope is a trusty looking after the thing that is promised us to come, as we hope after the everlasting joy, which Christ hath promised unto all that believe in him. Our hope and trust should be fixed on divine power and grace, and on them alone. "It is good to trust in God and not in man." Psalm cxviii. 8. "He that trusteth in his own heart is a fool." Prov. xxviii. 26. "It is good to trust in God, and not in princes." Psalm. cxviii. 9. "They shall be like unto the images which they make, and all that trust in them." Psalm cxv. 8. "He that trusteth in his own thoughts doth ungodly." Prov. xii. 5. "Cursed is he that trusteth in man." Jer. xvii. 5. "Bid the rich men of this world that they trust not in their unstable riches, but that they trust in the living God." 1 Tim. vi. 17. "It is hard for them that trust in money to enter into the kingdom of Heaven." Luke xviii. 24.

Moreover, we should trust in him only that may help us; God only may help us, therefore we should trust in him only.—"Well are they that trust in God, and woe to them that trust not in him." Psalm ii. 12. Jer. xvii. 7. "He that trusteth in him shall understand the verity." Wisd. iii. 13. "They shall rejoice that trust in thee: they shall ever be glad, and thou wilt defend them." Psalm v. 11.

#### OF CHARITY.

Charity is the love of our neighbour. The rule of charity is this: do as thou wouldst be done to; for Christ holdeth all alike, the rich and the poor, the friend and the foe, the thankful and the unthankful, the

kinsman and the stranger. Wouldst thou know the line between this and the other christian virtues, faith and hope? then remember well that faith cometh of the word of God, hope cometh of faith, and charity springeth of them both. Faith believeth the word; hope trusteth after that that is promised by the word: charity doth good unto her neighbour, through the love that it hath to God, and gladness that is within herself. Faith looketh to God and his word; hope looketh unto his gift and reward: charity looketh on her neighbour's profit. Faith receiveth God; hope receiveth his reward: charity loveth her neighbour with a glad heart, and that without any respect of reward. Faith pertaineth to God only; hope to his reward: and charity to her neighbour. Faith is the leading grace; hope follows to anticipate the enjoyment of what faith believes: but charity endures when these have done their office—according to the apostle, “Now *abideth* faith, hope, charity, these three; but the greatest—that is, the most abiding—of these is charity. 1 Cor. xiii. 13.

#### THE DOCTRINE OF GOOD WORKS.

No works of our own make us righteous before God. The apostle saith—“We believe that a man shall be justified without works.” Rom. iii. 20. “No man is justified by the deeds of the law, but by the faith of Jesus Christ, and we believe in Jesus Christ that we may be justified by the faith of Christ, and not by the deeds of the law; for if righteousness come by the law, then died Christ in vain.” Gal. ii. 16. 17.

Moreover since Christ the maker of heaven and earth, and all that is therein, behoved to die for us, we are compelled to grant that we were so far drowned and sunken in sin, that neither our deeds, nor all the treasures that ever God made or might make, could have holpen us out of them; therefore no deeds or works may make us righteous.

Nor are works necessary to make us unrighteous.

If any evil works make us unrighteous, then the contrary works should make us righteous. But it is proved that no works can make us righteous: therefore no works make us unrighteous—that is, are necessary to constitute us guilty before God. It is proved that works neither make us righteous nor unrighteous; for righteous and good are one thing, and unrighteous and evil likewise one. Good works make not a good man, nor evil works an evil man: but a good man bringeth forth good works, and an evil man evil works. Good fruit maketh not the tree good, nor evil fruit the tree evil: but a good tree beareth good fruit, and an evil tree evil fruit. A good man cannot do evil works, nor an evil man good works; for a good tree cannot bear evil fruit, nor an evil tree good fruit. A man is good ere he do good works, and evil ere he do evil works: for the tree is good ere it bear good fruit, and evil ere it bear evil fruit.

The conclusion from this is, that every man, and the works of man, are either good or evil. Every tree, and the fruits thereof, are either good or evil. “Either make ye the tree good, and the fruit good also, or else make the tree evil, and the fruit of it likewise evil.” Mat. xii. 33. A good man is known by his works: for a good man doeth good works, and an evil man evil works. Ye shall know them by their fruit; for

a good tree beareth good fruit, and an evil tree evil fruit. A man is likened to the tree, and his works to the fruit of the tree. "Beware of the false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves: ye shall know them by their fruits." Matt. vii. 15. If works make us neither righteous nor unrighteous, then thou wilt say, It maketh no matter what we do. I answer, If thou do evil, it is a sure argument that thou art evil, and wantest faith. If thou do good it is an argument that thou art good, and hast faith; for a good tree beareth good fruit, and an evil tree evil fruit. Yet good fruit maketh not the tree good, nor evil fruit the tree evil; so that man is good ere he do good deeds, and evil ere he do evil deeds.

Faith maketh the good tree, and incredulity the evil tree: such a tree, such fruit, such a man, such works. For all things that are done in faith please God, and are good works; and all that are done without faith displease God, and are evil works. Whosoever believeth or thinketh to be saved by his works, denieth that Christ is his saviour, that Christ died for him, and all things that pertain to Christ. For how is he thy saviour if thou mightest save thyself by thy works? or whereto should he die for thee, if any works might have saved thee? What is this to say, Christ died for thee? Verily that thou deservedst to have died perpetually; and Christ to deliver thee from death died for thee, and changed thy perpetual death into his own temporary death: for thou madest the fault, and he suffered the pain, and that for the love he had to thee before thou wast born, when thou hadst done neither good nor evil.

Now seeing he hath paid thy debt, thou needest not endeavour to pay it, neither couldst thou pay it; but shouldst be damned if his blood were not to ransom thee. But since he was punished for thee, thou shall not be punished. For remember he hath delivered thee from thy condemnation and all evil, and desireth nought of thee, but that thou wilt acknowledge what he hath done for thee, and bear it in mind, and that thou wouldst help others for his sake both in word and deed, even as he hath holpen thee for nought, and without reward. O how ready should we be to help others, if we knew his goodness and gentleness towards us; he is a good and a gentle Lord, for he doth all for nought. Let us I beseech you, therefore, follow his footsteps, whom all the world ought to praise and worship.<sup>n</sup>

He that assumeth to save himself by his works calleth himself Jesus, a saviour, a name belonging not to any mere man, but to him alone who was the Son of God, and who was Christ as well as Jesus, anointed of God for our salvation. What is a saviour, but he that saveth? and he

<sup>n</sup> Some of the objectors to this doctrine contend, that it leads its professors to deny good works. They do certainly deny them as being the ground and cause of salvation, but they follow them as the *consequence* of salvation, they being the natural fruits of faith. A person cares but little for offending one who hates him; but if a person loves him, it is a grief to offend that person. "A child governed by fear," says a philosopher, "is always the weaker for it," and the obedience of fear can never be sincere. It is the known love of God shed abroad in the heart that is the best incentive to obedience; and that obedience, which is accompanied by love, is the best offering that can be made to God. It is the grossest mockery in the world, for persons to join singing the praises and glory of God, who are in doubt as to their being acceptable; such melody may please themselves, it may please men; but it can never please him who seeks to be worshipped in *truth*.

that saith, I saved myself, is as much as to say, I am Christ; for Christ only is the Saviour of the world. We should do no good works to the intent of getting the inheritance of heaven, or obtaining remission of sin. For whosoever believeth to get the inheritance of heaven, or remission of sin, through works, he believeth not to get the same for Christ's sake; and they that believe not that their sins are forgiven them, and that they shall be saved for Christ's sake, they believe not the Gospel: for the Gospel saith, "You shall be saved for Christ's sake, your sins are forgiven for Christ's sake." He that believeth not the gospel, believeth not God. So it followeth, that they which believe to be saved by their works, or to get remission of their sins by their own deeds, believe not God, but account him a liar, and so utterly deny him to be God.

Objection.—Thou wilt say, shall we then do no good deeds?

I answer not so, but I say we should do no good works to the intent to get the inheritance of heaven, or remission of sin. For if we believe the inheritance of heaven to be through good works, then we believe not to get it through the promise of God. Or if we think to get remission of our sins by our deeds, then we believe not that they are forgiven us, and so we count God a liar. For God saith, "Thou shalt have the inheritance of heaven for my Son's sake; thy sins are forgiven thee for my Son's sake:" and you say it is not so, "But I will win it through my works." Thus you see I condemn not good deeds, but I condemn the false trust in any works; for all the works wherein a man putteth any confidence, are therewith poisoned and become evil.

Wherefore thou must do good works, but beware thou do them not to deserve any good through them; for if thou do, thou receivest the good not as the gift of God, but as a debt to thee, and makest thyself fellow with God, because thou wilt take nothing of him for nought. And what needeth he any thing of thine, which giveth all things, and is not the poorer? Therefore do nothing to him, but take of him, for he is a gentle Lord, and with a glad will giveth us all that we need, rather than we can deserve it of him. Press not therefore to the inheritance of heaven through presumption of thy good works; for if thou do, thou countest thyself holy and equal to God, because thou wilt take nothing of him for nought; and so shalt thou fall as Lucifer fell for his pride.

The force of these truths, the firmness of the martyr's death, and the singular catastrophe of the Friar Campbell, made strong impressions on the people, and excited them to examine the principles which wrought such surprising effects. And now that these points began to be enquired into, many received them. Seaton, a dominican, the king's confessor, preaching in Lent, described the nature of true repentance, and the means of it, without mixing the directions which the friars commonly gave on that subject: and when another friar shewed the defectiveness of what he had taught, he defended himself in another sermon, and reflected on those bishops who did not preach, and called them dumb-dogs. But the clergy would not meddle with him, till they found him in ill terms with the king: and the freedom he used in reproving him for his vices, quickly alienated royal favour from him, upon which they resolved to fall on him. However, he withdrew into England, and wrote

to the king, taxing the clergy for their cruelty, and praying him to restrain it.

Henry Forest, a young man of Lithquow, soon appeared on the stage of reform. His first offence was in saying that Patrick Hamilton died a martyr, and that his articles were true: for which he was apprehended, and put in prison by James Beaton, archbishop of Saint Andrews. He shortly after caused a certain friar, named Walter Laing, to hear his confession. When Henry in secret confession had declared his conscience, that he thought Patrick to be a good man, and wrongfully put to death, and that his articles were true and not heretical, the friar came and uttered to the bishop the confession he had heard, which before was not thoroughly known. The consequence was that his confession being brought as sufficient probation against him, he was summoned before the council of the clergy and doctors, there concluded to be a heretic, and decreed to be given to the secular judges to suffer death.

When the day of his death came, and that he should first be degraded, he was brought before the clergy on a green between the castle of St. Andrews and a place called Monymail. As soon as he entered in at the doors, and saw the faces of the clergy, perceiving whereunto they tended, he cried with a loud voice, "Fie on falsehood, fie on false friars, revealers of confession: after this day let no man trust any friars, contemners of God's word and deceivers of men." They then proceeded to degrade him of his orders, and he said with a loud voice, "Take from me not only your own orders, but also your own baptism:" meaning thereby whatever is besides that which Christ himself instituted. Then after his degradation, they condemned him as a heretic equal with Patrick: and he suffered death for his faithful testimony of the truth of Christ and of his gospel, at the north church-stile of the abbey church of St. Andrews, a conspicuous spot selected to the intent that all the people might see the fire, and thus might be deterred from falling into the like doctrine, which they term by the name of heresy. Forest died with firmness; but he was not the last martyr of the age.

Several others were brought into the bishops' courts, of whom the greatest part abjured; but two suffered death, imitating the constancy of their friends, and rejoicing in the love of Christ.

Their names were Norman Gurly and David Stratton. Gurly had said that there was no such place as purgatory, and that the pope was not a christian bishop, but antichrist, and had no jurisdiction in Scotland. Stratton was a fisherman; he also said there was no purgatory, that the passion of Christ was the only expiation for sin, and that the tribulations of this world were the only sufferings that the saints underwent. When the vicar asked him for his tithe-fish, Stratton cast them to him out of the boat, so that some fell into the sea; on which the other accused him as having said that no tythes should be paid. These two shrewd and firm men, though greatly solicited by the king, refused to recant, and were accordingly condemned by the bishop of Ross as heretics, and burned upon the green side between Leith and Edinburgh, with a view to strike terror into the surrounding country. Several others were accused, and would have suffered; but some fled to England, others to Germany, and all eventually escaped.

The changes made in England raised in all the people a curiosity of searching into matters of religion, which is always fatal to superstition. Pope Clement the seventh wrote earnestly to the king of Scotland, to continue firm to the Catholic faith: upon which he called a parliament, and made new laws for maintaining the pope's authority, and proceeding against heretics. But the pope could not engage him to make war on England. King Henry sent Barlow, bishop of St. David's, to him with some books that were written in defence of his proceedings, and desired him to examine them impartially. He also proposed an interview at York, and a match between him and lady Mary, the king's eldest daughter; and promised that he should be made duke of York, and lord-lieutenant of the whole kingdom. Yet the clergy diverted him from this welcome prospect, and working on his fears, persuaded him to go in person to France and court Madelaine, daughter of the French king. He accordingly gratified their wishes, and married her in January 1537; but she died in May. This princess had been bred in the queen of Navarre's court, and was well disposed towards the reformation. Upon her death the king married Mary of Guise; she was a branch of the family of all Europe that was most zealously addicted to the old superstition; and her interest, joined with the influence of the clergy, engaged the king to become a violent persecutor of all who were of another mind.

The king of Scotland was very expensive both in his pleasures and buildings, so that he came to want money more than ever. The nobility proposed to him seizing on the abbey-lands as his uncle had done. The clergy, on the other hand, advised him to proceed severely against all suspected of heresy; by which means, according to the lists they shewed him, he might raise 100,000 crowns a year. They also advised him to provide his children with abbeys and priories; and represented to him, that if he continued stedfast in the old religion, he would still have a great party in England, and might be made the head of a league which was then in project against the English king. This so far prevailed with him, that as he made four of his sons abbots and priors, so he gave way to the persecuting spirit of the clergy: upon which many reformers were cited to answer for heresy; some of these abjured, and some were banished. A canon regular, a secular priest, two friars, and a gentleman were burnt.

Forest, the canon regular, had been reprov'd by his ordinary, the bishop of Dunkall, for meddling with the Scriptures too much. The bishop told him he had lived long, and had never known what was in the Old or New Testament; but contented himself with his portoise and pontifical; and that Forest might come to repent it if he troubled himself with such fancies. The archbishop of Glasgow was a moderate man, and disliked cruel proceedings. Russel, a friar, and Kennedy, a young man of good family, were brought before him; they expressed wonderful joy, and a steady resolution in their sufferings. And after a long dispute between Russel and the archbishop's divines, Russel concluded, "This is your hour, and the power of darkness; go on, and fill up the measure of your iniquities."

The archbishop was unwilling to give sentence; he said, he thought

these executions did the church more hurt than good. But those about him said that he must not take a different way from the rest of the bishops, and threatened him till he pronounced sentence. They were accordingly burned; but they gave such demonstrations of patience and joy, as made no small impression on all who saw or heard of their conduct. Among those who were in trouble was George Buchanan, who, at the king's instigation, had written a very sharp poem against the Franciscans, but was now abandoned by him. He made his escape, and lived twenty years in foreign parts, and at last returned to do his country honour; and what by his poems and by his history of Scotland he showed how great a master he was in the Roman tongue, and how true a judge he was, both in wit against church abuses, and in the knowledge of human affairs.

King Henry, finding that his nephew did not come to meet him, stayed not long at York. He issued a proclamation inviting all that had been of late oppressed, to come to him and make their complaints, and he promised to repair them. This was done to cast the load of all past errors upon Cromwell. The king was greatly delighted by the charms of his new wife; so that on the first of November he gave public thanks to God for the happy choice he had made: but he had soon cause to change his tone and opinion; for the next day Cranmer came, and gave him an account of the queen's ill life, which one Lassels had revealed to him, as having learnt it from his sister. She had been very lewd before her marriage with two persons, one named Deirham and the other named Mannock. Cranmer, by the advice of the other privy-counsellors, put this in writing, and delivered it to Henry, not knowing how to open it in discourse. The king was struck with it, and was at first inclined to believe it a forgery; he, however, ordered a strict enquiry to be made into it, and quickly found proof enough; for the queen had so far cast off both modesty and the fear of discovery, that several women had been witnesses to her lewdness. It also appeared, that she intended to continue in that ill course; for she had brought Deirham into her service; and at Lincoln, by the lady Rochford's means, one Culpeper was brought to her in the night, and stayed many hours with her, and at his going away she gave him a gold chain. The queen, after a slight denial at first, did at last confess all. Deirham and Culpeper were executed, and a parliament was called upon it.

At the first meeting a committee was sent to examine the queen: their report is recorded only in general terms, that she confessed; but no particulars are mentioned. Upon this they passed an act in the form of a petition, in which they prayed the king, that the queen and her accomplices, with her bawd the lady Rochford, might be attainted of treason; and that all those who knew of the queen's vicious course before her marriage might be attainted of misprision of treason for not revealing it to the king before he married her. Among these were her father and mother, and her grandmother, the duchess of Norfolk. It was also declared treason to know any thing of the incontinence of any queen for the future, and not to reveal it. And it was made treason in any whom the king intended to marry judging they were maids, not to reveal it if they were not such. The queen and the lady Rochford

were beheaded on the 14th of February. The former confessed her incontinence before her marriage, but denied to the last that she had broken her marriage vow, though the lasciviousness of her former life easily inclined the world to believe the worst of her.

All reflecting persons observed the judgment of God on the lady Rochford, who had been so instrumental in the ruin of Anne Boleyn and her own husband : and when she, to whose artifices their fall was in a great measure ascribed, was found to be so vile a woman, it removed every remaining doubt of their innocence. The attainting the unhappy queen's kindred and parents, for not discovering her former lewdness, was thought extreme severity ; for it had been a hard piece of duty to the king for them to have discovered such a secret : hence though they lay some time in prison, the king, when his anger was abated, pardoned them. That other proviso, obliging a young woman to discover her own faultiness, if the king should make love to her, was thought a piece of grievous tyranny : so that it was not so much choice as necessity, that made him marry a widow two years after. Some hospitals were this year resigned to the king ; but there was good ground to question the validity of the deeds, because by their statutes it was provided, that the consent of all the fellows was necessary to make any deeds relating to them good in law : on this account those statutes were by a special act annulled, and this made way for the dissolution of many hospitals.

The bishops sitting in convocation, took great pains to suppress the English Bible ; but the king could not be prevailed on directly to call it in. They therefore complained much of the translation then set out ; and pretended to procure a condemnation of it on the plea that they would set about a new one ; in which it would be easy to put such delays that it should not be finished in many years. Gardiner also proposed a singular conceit, namely, that many of the Latin words should be still retained in the English ; for he thought they had either such a majesty, or so peculiar a signification, that they could not be fitly translated. He proposed an hundred of these, and it seems hoped that if this could be carried, the translation would be so full of Latin words, that the people could not at last understand it. Cranmer, perceiving that the Bible was the great annoyance to the papal party, and that they were resolved to suppress it by all the means they could think of, procured an order from the king, referring the correction of the translation to the two universities. The bishops took this very ill, and all of them, except those of Ely and St. David's, protested against it.

In the former times there had been few or no sermons, except in Lent ; for on holy days the sermons were panegyrics on the saints, and on the virtue of their relics. But in Lent there was a more solemn way of preaching ; and the friars maintained their credit much by the pathetic sermons they preached at that season, and by which they wrought much on the feelings of the people ; yet these for the most part tended to extol some of the laws of the church, as fasting, confession, and other austerities, with undertaking pilgrimages ; but they were careful to acquaint the people as little as possible with the true simplicity of Christianity, and they seemed designed rather to raise a sudden heat, than to



work a real change in their auditors. They also mixed so much of legends with their sermons, that the people came to disbelieve all that they said for the sake of those fabulous things, with which every discourse was debased. The reformers, on the other hand, took pains to instruct their hearers in the fundamentals of religion, of which they had known little formerly: this made the nation follow the new teachers with a wonderful zeal: but some of these mixed more sharpness against the friars in their sermons than perhaps became their profession, although the hypocrisy of the latter did in a great measure excuse those heats. It was observed that our Saviour had exposed the Pharisees in so plain a manner, that it justified resentment for the cruelties which they or their friends had suffered by treating them in return with roughness; it is not, however, to be denied but that such measures might have too much influence on them. This made it necessary to suffer none to preach, at least out of their own parishes, without licence, and many were licensed to preach as itinerants. There was also published a book of homilies on all the epistles and gospels in the year, which contained a plain paraphrase of those parts of scripture, together with some practical exhortations founded on them. Many complaints were made of those who were licensed to preach, and that they might be able to justify themselves, they began generally to write and read their sermons; and thus commenced a practice more discouraging to the advance of a zealous piety than can easily be found among the lawful customs of the English church.

Plays and interludes were a great abuse in that time; in them mock representations were made both of the clergy and of the pageantry of their worship. The clergy complained much of these as an introduction to atheism, when things sacred were thus burlesqued and laughed at. They said that such as began to laugh at abuses, would not cease till they had represented all the mysteries of religion as ridiculous: the more enlightened reformers also condemned it, and judged it an improper method of treating the subject.\*

In 1543, a bill was proposed by Cranmer for the advancement of true religion, for the spirits of the popish party were much fallen ever since the last queen's death; yet at this time a treaty was set on foot between the king and the emperor, which raised them a little: for the king being likely to engage in a war with France, it was necessary for him to make

\* The editor wishes not to be suspected of offering an apology for a theatrical representation of religious subjects or ceremonies of any kind: such a mode of amusing the world is made at too great an expense of sacred propriety and feeling not to be at once condemned. He must, however, be allowed to say that for much of this practice in England at the period now in view, and on the continent to the present day, papists must be content to consider themselves responsible. How can they blame men for rehearsing in other places the comedies and tragedies which they themselves perform in their several churches! What are these churches but so many theatres for the exhibition of scenes, which are a much greater burlesque on christian devotion than any theatrical exhibition can be of the general worship of catholic priests and people! If any doubt this, let them go behind the scenes—there the editor has been more than once or twice, and he is assured that no collection of *properties* behind the scenes of a theatre can surpass in ridiculous mummery the collection of stars and crowns, of caps and garments, of plans and frames, of crosses and banners, and other unmentionable trumpery, to be found in the recesses of every considerable popish church.

the emperor his friend. Cranmer's motion was much opposed, and the timorous bishops, who at first joined him, forsook him; yet he proceeded with it as far as it would go, though in most points things went against him. By it Tindal's translation of the Bible was condemned as crafty and false, and also all other books contrary to the doctrine set forth by the bishops. But bibles of another translation were still allowed to be kept, only all prefaces or annotations that might be in them were to be erased. The king's injunctions were confirmed: no books of religion were to be printed without licence; there was to be no exposition of scripture in plays or interludes; none of the laity might read the scripture, or explain it in any public assembly: but a proviso was made for public speeches, which then began generally with a text of scripture, and were like modern sermons. Noblemen, gentlemen, and their wives, or merchants, might have bibles; but no ordinary woman, tradesman, apprentice, or husbandman, was allowed to retain any: every person might have the book set out by the bishops, the psalter, and other rudiments of religion, in English. All churchmen who preached contrary to that book, for the first offence were only required to recant; for the second to abjure and carry a fagot; but for the third they were to be burnt. The laity, for the third offence, were only to forfeit their goods and chattels, and to be liable to perpetual imprisonment; but they were to be proceeded against within a year. The parties accused were not allowed witnesses for their defence. The act of the six articles was confirmed, and it was left free to the king to change this act or any proviso in it. There was also a new act passed, giving authority to the king's proclamations, and any nine privy-counsellors were empowered to proceed against offenders. To this the lord Mountjoy dissented, and it is the only instance of protestation against any of the public acts which passed in this reign.

The act being put entirely in the king's power, he had now the reformers at his mercy; for he could bind up the act, to execute it as he pleased; and he affected much to have his people depend entirely upon him. The league offensive and defensive for England and Calais, and for the Netherlands, was sworn to by the king and the emperor: and assurances were given, that though the king would not declare lady Mary legitimate, upon which the emperor insisted much, yet she should be put in the succession to the crown next to prince Edward. The emperor was glad thus to engage the kings of England and France in a war, by which the Germans being left without support, enabled him to carry on his great design of making himself master of Germany.

The war with France, accordingly, began the same year, and one of the reasons which Henry assigned for it was, that Francis had failed in the matter of shaking off the pope's authority, and advancing a reformation, in which he had promised to second him. In the same year the king espoused Catherine Parr, widow to Nevill, lord Latimer. This lady secretly favoured the reformation, but could not divert a storm which fell on a family at Windsor. This family consisted of the following persons, whose shameful persecution it will be proper to examine at some length: Robert Testwood, Henry Filmer, Henry Pearson, John Marbeck, Robert Benet, Sir Philip Hobby and his wife, Sir Thomas Cardine

and his wife, Edmund Harman, Thomas Weldon, William Snowball and his wife of the king's chamber, and Dr. Haynes, dean of Exeter.

The commencement of this persecution was thus: Robert Testwood dwelling in the city of London, had by his knowledge in music attained so great a name that the musicians in Windsor college thought him worthy to have a place among them; whereupon they informed doctor Sampson, then their dean, of him and their purpose. But as some of the canons had heard of Testwood that he smelled of the new learning, as they called it, they would not consent to it at first. Notwithstanding, with the earnest suit of the musicians made to one doctor Tate,<sup>p</sup> a place being void, Testwood was sent for to be heard. Being there four or five days among the choir-men, he was so well liked, both for his voice and skill, that he was admitted and settled in Windsor with his household, and held in estimation with the dean and canons a great while; but when they perceived him by his talk at their tables (for he could not well dissemble his religion) that he leaned to Luther's sect, they began to dislike him. It was his chance one day to be at dinner with one of the canons, named doctor Rawson, at which was one of king Edward's four chantry priests, named Ely, an old bachelor of divinity. Mr. Ely, in his talk at the board, began to rail against laymen who took upon them to meddle with the scriptures, and to be better learned, knowing only the English tongue, than they who had been students in the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Testwood, perceiving he meant that for him, could bear his railing no longer, and said, "Mr. Ely, by your patience, I think it be no hurt for layman as I am to read and to know the scriptures."

"Which of you," quoth Ely, "that be unlearned, knoweth them or understandeth them? St. Paul saith, 'If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink; and in so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire upon his head.' Now, sir," quoth Ely, "what meaneth St. Paul by those coals of fire?" "Marry, sir," quoth Testwood, "he meaneth nothing else by them, as I have learned, but burning charity, that by doing good to our enemies we should thereby win them." "Ah, sirrah," quoth he, "you are an old scholar indeed!" Then they began disputing about the pope, whose supremacy was much spoken of at that time, but not known to be so far in question in parliament as it was. In their talk Ely demanded of Testwood, whether the pope ought to be the head of their church or no; against which Testwood durst not say his full mind, but reasoned a great while. When they were both well stricken in a heat, Testwood, forgetting himself, chanced to say, "Every king, in his own realm and dominion, ought to be the head of the church under Christ." At these words Ely was so chafed, that he rose up from the table in a great fume, calling Testwood a heretic, and so went brawling and chiding away, to the great disquiet of all the company that were there. Testwood was sorry to see the old man act such a part, and after dinner he went and sought him, and found him walking in the body of the church, thinking to have talked with him charitably; but as Testwood pressed towards him, the other shunned him, and would not

<sup>p</sup> This was an ancestor, we believe grandfather or great grandfather, to the Nahum Tate to whom we are indebted for the new version of the Psalms.

come nigh him ; saying to others that walked by, “ Beware of this fellow, for he is the greatest heretic and schismatic than ever came into Windsor.”

Now began the matter to brew. When Ely had made his complaint to the dean’s deputy and other of the canons, they were all against Testwood, purposing at the dean’s coming home to accuse him ; but it was not twelve days ere the king’s supremacy passed in the parliament-house. Whereupon the dean, Dr. Sampson, came home suddenly in the night late, and sent his verger about to all the canons and ministers of the college, from the highest to the lowest, commanding them to be in the Chapter-house by eight o’clock in the morning. Then Ely consulted with the canons overnight, and thought on the next day to have put Testwood to great distress. “ But he that layeth a snare for another man shall be taken in it himself.” Thus it was with Ely : for when the dean and other officials were in the Chapter-house, and the dean had commended the ministers of the church for their diligence in attending the choir, exhorting them also to continue in the same ; he began, contrary to every man’s expectation, to inveigh against the bishop of Rome’s supremacy and authority, confounding the same by manifest scriptures and probable reasons so earnestly, that it was a wonder to hear him ; and at length declared openly, that by the unanimous consent of parliament, the pope’s supremacy was utterly abolished out of this realm of England for ever ; and so commanded every man there, upon his allegiance, to call him pope no more, but bishop of Rome, and whosoever he was that would not so do, or did from that day forth maintain or favour his cause by any means, he should not only lose the benefit of that house, but be reputed as an utter enemy to God and to the king. The canons on hearing this were all thunder-struck. Ely’s heart was ready to burst, and he began to belch forth his fury against Testwood ; but the dean, breaking his tale, called him an old fool, and took him up so sharply, that he was obliged to hold his peace. Then the dean commanded all the pope’s pardons which hung about the church to be brought into the Chapter-house, and burnt before all their faces.

As Testwood one day walked in the church and beheld the pilgrims, especially of Devonshire and Cornwall, come in with candles and images of wax in their hands, to offer to good king Henry of Windsor as they called him, it pitied his heart to see such great idolatry committed and how vainly the people spent their goods in coming so far to kiss a spur, and to have an old hat set upon their heads. He was so ardent that he could not refrain, seeing a certain company which had done their offering stand gazing about the church, went to them, and began to exhort them to leave such false worshipping of dumb creatures, and to learn to worship the true living God, putting them in remembrance what those things were which they worshipped, and how God many times had plagued his people for running to such stocks and stones, and so would plague them and their posterity, if they would not keep themselves from idols. He admonished them so long, till at last his words affected some of them, that they said they never would go a pilgrimage more. Then he went further, and found another kissing a white lady made of alabaster, which was in a wall behind the high altar, and adorned with a fringe made like

branches with hanging apples and flowers. On seeing several so superstitiously use the image, as to wipe their hands upon it, and then to stroke them over their heads and faces, as though there had been great virtue in touching the picture, he lifted up his hand, in the which he had a key, and smote a piece of the border about the image, and with a slight inadvertent stroke chanced to break off the idol's nose. "Lo, good people," quoth he, "you see what it is, nothing but earth and cannot help itself; and how then will you have it to help you? For God's sake, brethren, be no more deceived." And as he went home to his house the rumour was so great, that many came to see the image as it was defaced; and among others one William Simons, a lawyer, who seeing the image to lack its nose, took the matter grievously, and looking down upon the pavement, he spied the broken fragment, which he took up and put in his purse, saying it should be a dear nose to the infidel Testwood.

Many were offended with Testwood: the canons for his speaking against their profit, the wax merchants for hindering their market, and Simons for an art which threatened to deprive him of certain fees and gains. There were of the canons men that threatened to kill him: whereupon Testwood kept his house, and durst not come forth, but sent the whole matter in writing by his wife to Cromwell, the king's secretary, who was his special friend. The canons hearing that Testwood would send to Cromwell, sent the verger unto him, to induce him to come to the church; but he sent them word again that he was in fear of his life, and therefore would not come. Then they sent two of the elder minor canons to entreat him, and to assure him that no man should do him harm. He made them a plain answer, that he had no trust in their promises, but would complain to his friends. Then not knowing what shift to make, for of all men they feared Cromwell, they sent post haste for an old gentleman named Ward, a justice of peace, dwelling three or four miles off, who on hearing the matter was loath to meddle in it. But through their entreaty he went to Testwood, and had much ado to persuade him; but at last he did faithfully promise him, by the oath he had made to God and the king, to defend him from all danger and harm, and Testwood was content to go with him. When they were come into the church, and were going toward the Chapter-House, where the canons abode their coming, one of the men drew his dagger at Testwood, and would have killed him; but Ward with his man resisted, and got Testwood into the Chapter-house, causing the assassin to be called in and sharply rebuked. Testwood, being alone in the Chapter-House with the canons and Ward, was gently treated, and the matter so pacified that Testwood might quietly come and go to the church, and do his duty as he had done before.

Upon a relic Sunday, when every minister after their custom should have borne a relic in a procession, one was brought to Testwood, which as they said, was a rochet of bishop Becket's. But as the sexton would have put the rochet in Testwood's hands, he pushed it from him, saying, if he did give it to him, he would use it for an unclean purpose; and so the rochet was given to another. This is one among several instances of the rash and indecent conduct of the zealous protestants of that age. They might doubtless often have escaped annoyance and suffering had

they adopted a gentler and more prudent course. The taste of the times, however, and the irritating provocation they received, offer considerable apology for their ebullitions of displeasure and impropriety.

In the days of Mr. Franklin, who succeeded Dr. Sampson in the deanery of Windsor, there was set up at the choir door a certain foolish printed paper in rhyme to the praise and commendation of our lady, ascribing unto her our justification, our salvation, our redemption, the forgiveness of sins, to the great derogation of Christ: this paper one of the canons, named Magnus, caused to be set up in despite of Testwood and his sect. When Testwood saw the paper, he plucked it down secretly. The next day another was set up in the same place. Then Testwood coming into the church, and seeing another paper set up, and also the dean coming a little way off, made haste to be at the choir door, while the dean stayed to take holy water; then reaching up his hand as he went he plucked away the paper with him. The dean being come to his stall called Testwood to him, and said, that he marvelled greatly how he durst be so bold to take down the paper in his presence; Testwood answered again, that he marvelled much more that his reverence would suffer such a blasphemous paper to be set up, beseeching him not to be offended with what he had done, for he would stand to it. After this were no more papers set up, but poor Testwood was reviled as a heretic deserving of death. Such were the principal causes which moved Testwood's enemies to seek his destruction; but they could not attain their purpose, till that wicked Haman Dr. Loudon came into office at Windsor as one of the prebendaries.

ANTHONY PEARSON frequently went to Windsor, about the year of our Lord 1540, and using the talent that God had given him in preaching, was greatly esteemed among the people, who flocked so much to his sermons both in town and country, that the great priests of the castle, with other papists in the town, especially Simons, were sore offended: inso-much, that Simons at the last began to take down his sermons, and to mark his auditors; whereof ensued the death of many honest men. About a year and more after Dr. Loudon, warden of the New College in Oxford, was admitted one of the prebendaries of Windsor, who, at his first coming to Windsor, began to betray his bitter aversion to the friends of the Lutheran doctrine. At his first residence dinner which he made to the clerks, who for the most part at that time favoured the gospel, all his whole talk to two gentlemen, strangers at his board, was nothing else but of heretics, and what a desolation they would bring the realm to, if they were to be suffered. "And by St. Mary, masters," quoth he to the clerks at last, "I cannot tell, but there goeth a shrewd report abroad of this house." Some made answer, it was undeserved. "I pray God it be. I am but a stranger, and have but small experience amongst you; but I have heard it said before I came hither, that there be some in this house that will neither have prayer nor fasting."

Then Testwood could not refrain, but said, "By my troth, sir, I think that was spoken in malice: for prayer, as you know better than I, is one of the first lessons that Christ taught us." "Yea sir," quoth he, "but the heretics will have no invocation to saints, which all the old fathers do allow." "What the old fathers do allow," quoth Testwood,

“ I cannot tell ; but scripture doth appoint us to go to the Father, and to ask our petitions of him in Christ’s name.” “ Then you will have no mean between you and God,” quoth the doctor. “ Yes, sir,” quoth Testwood, “ our mean is Christ, as St. Paul saith, ‘ There is one mediator between God and man, even Jesus Christ.’ ” “ Give us water,” quoth the enraged doctor, as though he were rendered impure by heretical company. Water being set on the board, he said grace and washed, and so falling into other communication with the stranger, the clerks took their leave and departed.

When this new and haughty prebendary had been at Windsor awhile among his catholic brethren, and learned what Testwood was, and also of Simons what a sort of heretics were in the town and about the same, and how they increased daily by reason of a priest called Anthony Pearson, he was so maliciously set against them, that he appeared almost infernally bent on doing them injury. To bring his wicked purpose about he conspired with Simons, a meet clerk to serve such a curate, how they might compass the matter, first to have all the arch-heretics, as they termed them, in Windsor and thereabout indicted, and if possible punished and destroyed. They had good ground to work upon, as they thought, which was the six articles, on which foundation they began to build. First, they drew out certain notes of Anthony Pearson’s sermons, which he had preached against the sacrament of the altar, and their popish mass. That done, they accused Sir William Hobby with his wife, Sir Thomas Cardine, Mr. Edmund Harman, Mr. Thomas Weldon, with one Snowball and his wife, as chief aiders and maintainers of Anthony Pearson. Also they noted Dr. Haynes, dean of Exeter, and a prebendary of Windsor, to be a common receiver of all suspected persons. They wrote the names of all such as commonly attended Anthony Pearson’s sermons, and of all such as had the Testament and favoured the gospel.

They employed spies to walk up and down the church, to hear what men said, and to mark who did not reverence the sacrament at the elevation time, and to bring the name of every offender. Of these spies some were chantry priests : among which there was one notable spy, Sir William Bows, a fleering priest, as would be in every corner of the church pattering to himself, with his portoise in his hand, to hear and note the gesture of men towards the sacrament. Thus, when they had gathered as much as they could, and made a perfect book thereof, Loudon, with two of his catholic brethren, gave them to the bishop of Winchester, Stephen Gardiner, with a great complaint against the heretics that were in Windsor, declaring the town was disquieted through their doctrine and evil example, and beseeching his lordship’s help, in purging both town and castle of such wicked persons. The bishop hearing their complaint and seeing their book, praised their doings, and bade them make friends and go forward, and they should not want his help. Then they applied to the matter seriously, sparing no money nor pains, as Marbeck says that he heard one of them say, who was afterwards sorry for what he had done, that it cost him that year, for his part only, an hundred marks, besides the death of three good horses.

Bishop Gardiner now brought Wriothsley and other of the council on

his side, and went to the king, complaining what sort of heretics he had in his realm, and how they not only crept into every corner of his court, but even into his privy chamber, beseeching his majesty that his laws might be executed. The king, giving credit to the council's words, was content his laws should be executed on such as were offenders. Then had the bishop what he desired, and forthwith procured a commission for private search to be made in Windsor for books and letters that Anthony Pearson intended to send abroad: this commission the king granted to take place in the town of Windsor, but not in the castle.

About the same time the canons of Exeter, especially Suthran, treasurer of the church, and Brurewood the chancellor, had accused Dr. Haynes, their dean, to the council, for preaching against holy bread and water, and that he had said in one of his sermons that *marriage and hanging were destiny*; upon which they imputed treason to him, because of the king's marriage. The bishop of Winchester had also informed the council of Sir W. Hobby, how he was a supporter of Anthony Pearson, and a great maintainer of heretics: whereupon both he and Dr. Haynes were apprehended and sent to the Fleet. But not very long after, by the mediation of friends, they were both released; it was supposed by the king's command, because marriage was too tender a subject for him to allow to be discussed.

As to the commission for searching for books, Ward and Fachel of Reading were appointed commissioners, and came to Windsor the Thursday before Palm-Sunday, in the year 1543, and began their search about eleven o'clock at night. There were then apprehended Robert Benet, Henry Filmer, John Marbeck, and Robert Testwood, for certain books and writings found in their houses against the six articles: they were kept till Monday after, and then fetched up to the council, excepting Testwood, with whom the bailiffs of the town were charged, because he lay diseased of the gout. The other three, being examined before the council, were committed to prison; Filmer and Benet to the bishop of London's gaol, and Marbeck to the Marshalsea. His examination we shall here give, to the great goodness of the council, and the cruelty of the bishop. We are of opinion, and are convinced that our readers will coincide with us, that it would deteriorate the importance of these arguments, were we strictly to modernize the style in which they were delivered: we have, therefore, only changed such expressions as, being now obsolete, would not be understood by the general reader; and the speeches, in consequence, remain nearly as they were uttered by the Christians and their accusers.

Marbeck had begun a great work in English, called *The Concordance of the Bible*; which not being half finished, was among his other books taken in the search, and given up to the council. When he came into their presence to be examined, the whole work lay before the bishop of Winchester, Stephen Gardiner, at the upper end of the board. Looking steadfastly at the poor man awhile the bishop said, "Marbeck, dost thou know wherefore thou art sent for?" "No my lord," quoth he. "No!" quoth the bishop; "that is a marvellous thing." "Forsooth my lord," quoth he, "unless it be for a certain search made of late in Windsor, I cannot tell wherefore it should be." "Then thou knowest the matter well



enough," quoth the bishop; and taking up a quire of the Concordance in his hand, said, "Understandeth thou the Latin tongue?" "No, my lord," quoth he, "but simply." "No!" quoth the bishop. And with that spake Mr. Wriothsley, then secretary to the king, "He saith but simply." "I cannot tell," quoth the bishop, "but the book is translated word for word out of the Latin Concordance," and so began to declare to the rest of the council the nature of a Concordance, and how it was first compiled in Latin by the great diligence of the learned men for the ease of preachers; concluding with this reason, that if such a book should go forth in English, it would destroy the Latin tongue. Then casting down the quire, he reached another book, the book of Isaiah the prophet, and turning to the last chapter, gave the book to Marbeck, and asked him who had written the note in the margin. Marbeck looking upon it, said, "Forsooth, my lord, I wrote it." "Read it," quoth the bishop. Then he read it thus: "Heaven is my seat, and the earth is my foot-stool." "Nay," quoth the bishop, "read it as thou hast written it." "Then shall I read it wrong," quoth he, "for I had written it false." "How hadst thou written it?" quoth the bishop. "I had written it," quoth he, "Heaven is my seat, and the earth is *not* my foot-stool." "Yea," quoth the bishop, "that was thy meaning." "No my lord," quoth he, "it was but an oversight in writing; for, as your lordship seeth, this negative is blotted out." At this time came other matters into the council, so that Marbeck was sent out to the next chamber. When he had stayed there awhile, one of the council, named Sir Anthony Wingfield, captain of the guard, came forth, and calling for Marbeck, committed him to one Belson of the guard, saying to him, "Take this man and have him to the Marshalsea, and tell the keeper that it is the council's pleasure that he should be treated gently, and if he have any money in his purse, as I think he hath not much, take it from him, lest the prisoners take it, and minister it to him as he shall have need." The messenger departed with Marbeck to the Marshalsea, and did his commission faithfully. The hope of the prisoner that he should soon be released was revived by the result of this examination.

However on the next day, at eight o'clock in the morning, there came one of the bishop of Winchester's gentlemen into the Marshalsea, whose man brought after him two great books under his arm, and finding Marbeck walking up and down in the chapel, demanded of the keeper why he was not in irons. "I had no such command," quoth he, "for the messenger who brought him yesternight from the council, said it was their pleasure he should be gently used." "My lord," quoth the gentleman, whose name was Knight, "will not be content with you;" and so taking the book of his man, he called for a chamber, to which he commanded the prisoner, and casting the books from him upon a bed, sat down and said, "Marbeck, my lord doth favour thee well for certain good qualities that thou hast, and hath sent me hither to admonish thee to beware, lest thou cast away thyself wilfully. If thou wilt be plain, thou shalt do thyself much good; if not, thou shalt do thyself much harm. I assure thee, my lord laments thy case, for as much as he hath always heard good report of thee; wherefore now see to thyself, and play the wise man. Thou art acquainted with great heretics, as Hobby and

Haynes, and with many others beside, and knowest much of their secrets; if thou wilt open them at my lord's request, he will procure thy deliverance out of hand, and prefer thee to a better living."

"Alas, Sir," quoth he, "what secrets do I know? I am but a poor man, and was never worthy to be so conversant either with Mr. Hobby or Mr. Haynes, as to know any part of their minds." "Well," quoth the gentleman, "make it not so strange, for my lord doth know well enough in what estimation they held both thee and Anthony Pearson, for your religion." "For Anthony Pearson," quoth he, "I can say nothing, for I never saw him with them in all my life; and as for myself, I cannot deny but that they have always, I thank them, taken me for an honest man, and shewed me much kindness; but as for their secrets, they were too wise to commit them to any such as I am." "Perhaps," quoth the gentleman, "thou fearest to utter any thing of them, because they were thy friends, lest hearing thereof they might hereafter withdraw their friendship from thee: which thou needest not to fear, I warrant thee, *for they are safe enough, and never likely to pleasure thee any more, or any man else.*"

With that the water stood in Marbeck's eyes. "Why weepest thou?" quoth the gentleman. "Oh Sir," quoth he, "I pray you pardon me; these men have done me good, wherefore I beseech the living God to comfort them as I would be comforted myself." "Well," quoth the gentleman, "I perceive thou wilt play the fool;" and then he opened one of the books and asked him, if he understood any Latin? "But a little, sir," quoth he. "How is it then," quoth the gentleman, "that thou hast translated thy book out of the Latin Concordance, and yet understandest not the tongue?" "I will tell you," quoth he: "in my youth I learned the principles of my grammar, whereby I have some understanding therein, though it be very small." Then the gentleman began to try him in the Latin Concordance and English Bible which he had brought; and when he had so done, and was satisfied, he called up his man to fetch away the book, and so departed, leaving Marbeck alone in the chamber, the door fast shut upon him.

About two hours after, the gentleman came again, with a sheet of paper folded in his hand, and sat down upon the bedside, and said, "By my troth, Marbeck, my lord seeth so much wilfulness in thee, that he saith it is pity to do thee good. When wast thou last with Haynes?" "About three weeks ago," said he, "I was at dinner with him." "And what talk," quoth the gentleman, "had he at his board?" "I cannot tell now," quoth he. "No!" said the gentleman, "thou art not so dull witted, to forget a thing in so short a space." "Yes, sir," quoth he, "such familiar talk as men use at their tables, is most commonly by the next day forgotten, and so it was with me." "Didst thou never," quoth the gentleman, "talk with him, nor with any of thy fellows, of the mass, or of the blessed sacrament?" "No," answered Marbeck, firmly. "Now forsooth," quoth the gentleman, "thou liest; for thou hast been seen to walk with Testwood, and other of thy fellows, an hour together in the church, when honest men have walked up and down beside you, and as they have drawn near you, ye have stopped your talk till they have passed you, because they should not hear whereof

you talked." "I deny not," quoth he, "but I have talked with Testwood and other of my fellows, I cannot tell how often, which makes not that we talked either of the mass, or of the sacrament: for men may commune and talk of many matters, that they would not wish every man should hear, and yet far from any such thing; therefore it is good to judge the best." "Well," quoth the gentleman, "thou must be plainer with my lord than this, or else it will be wrong with thee, and that sooner than thou weenest." "How plain will his lordship have me to be, Sir?" quoth he. "There is nothing that I can do or say with a safe conscience, but I am ready to do it at his lordship's pleasure." "What tellest thou me," quoth the gentleman, "of thy conscience? Thou mayst with a safe conscience tell of those that be heretics, and so doing thou canst do God and the king no greater service." "If I knew, sir," quoth he, "who was a heretic indeed, it were another thing; but if I should accuse him to be a heretic that is none, what a worm would that be in my conscience so long as I lived? yea it were a great deal better for me to be out of this life, than to live in such torment." "In faith," quoth the gentleman, "thou knowest as well who are heretics of thy fellows at home, and who are not, as I know this paper to be in my hand: but it is no matter, for they shall all be sent for and examined: and thinkest thou that they will not utter and tell of thee all that they can? Yes, I warrant thee. And what a foolish dolt art thou, that wilt not utter aforehand what they are, seeing it standeth upon thy deliverance to tell the truth?" "Whatsoever," quoth he, "they shall say of me, let them do it in the name of God, for I will say no more of them, nor of any man else, than I know." "Well," quoth the gentleman, "if thou wilt so do, my lord requireth no more. And forasmuch as now thy wits are troubled, so that thou canst not call things to thy remembrance, I have brought the ink and paper, that thou mayest write such things as shall come to thy mind." "O God!" quoth Marbeck, "what will my lord do? Will his lordship compel me to accuse men I know not whereof?" "No," quoth the gentleman, "my lord compelleth thee not, but gently intreateth thee to tell the truth; therefore make no more ado, but write, for my lord will have it so." So he laid down the ink and paper, and went his way.

Marbeck was now so full of sorrow, that he knew not what to do, nor how to set the pen to the book to satisfy the bishop's mind, unless he accused men, to the wounding of his own soul. And thus being compassed with nothing but sorrow and care, he cried out to God in his heart, falling down weeping, and said—"O most merciful Father of heaven, thou that knowest the secret doings of all men, have mercy upon thy poor prisoner who is destitute of all help and comfort. Assist me, O Lord, with thy special grace, for to save this frail and vile body which shall turn to corruption at his time, I have no power to say or to write any thing that may be to the casting away of my christian brother; but rather, O Lord, let this vile flesh suffer at thy will and pleasure. Grant this, O most merciful Father, for thy dear Son Jesus Christ's sake."

Then he rose up and began to search his conscience what he might write, and at last framed out these words: "Whereas your lordship will have me to write such things as I know of my fellows at home; pleaseth

it your lordship to understand, that I cannot call to remembrance any manner of thing whereby I might justly accuse any one of them unless it be the reading of the New Testament, which is common to all men; more than this I know not."

The gentleman came again, and found Marbeck walking up and down the chamber. "How now," quoth he, "hast thou written nothing?" "Yes, Sir," quoth he, "as much as I know." "Well said," quoth the gentleman; and took up the paper. But when he had looked over it, he cast it from him in a great fume, swearing by our Lord's body, that he would not for twenty pounds carry it to his lord and master. "Therefore," quoth he, "go to it again, and advise thyself better, or else thou wilt set my lord against thee, and then art thou utterly undone." "By my troth, sir," quoth Marbeck, "if his lordship shall keep me here these seven years I can say no more than I have said." "Then wilt thou repent it," quoth the gentleman; and so putting up his pen and inkhorn, departed with the paper in his hand.

The next and third examination of this excellent man was by Gardiner himself, who seemed impatient of the result, and fearful to trust any more to his deputy. The next day, by eight o'clock in the morning, the bishop sent for Marbeck to his house at St. Mary Overy's, and as he was entering into the hall, he saw the bishop himself coming out at a door in the upper end thereof, with a roll in his hand, and going toward the great window, who called to him and said, "Marbeck, wilt thou cast away thyself?" "No, my lord," quoth he, "I trust." "Yes," quoth the bishop, "thou goest about it, for thou wilt utter nothing. What the devil made thee meddle with the scriptures?<sup>a</sup> Thy vocation was another way, wherein thou hast a goodly gift, if thou didst esteem it." "Yes, my lord," quoth he, "I do esteem it, and have done my part therein, according to the little knowledge that God hath given me." "And why the devil," quoth the bishop, "didst thou not hold thee there?" And with that he went away from the window out of the hall, the poor man following him from place to place, till he had brought him into a long gallery, and being there, the bishop began on this wise: "Ah, sirrah, the nest of you is broken, I trow." And unfolding his roll, which was about an ell long, he said, "Behold, here be your captains, both Hobby and Haynes, with all the whole pack of thy sect about Windsor, and yet thou wilt accuse none of them." "Alas, my lord," quoth he, "how should I accuse them, of whom I know nothing?" "Well," quoth the bishop, "if thou wilt needs cast away thyself, who can help thee? what helpers hadst thou in setting forth thy book?" "Forsooth, my lord," quoth he, "none." "None!" quoth the bishop, "how can that be? It is not possible that thou shouldst do it without help." "Truly, my lord," quoth he, "I cannot tell in what part your lordship doth take it, but howsoever it be, I will not deny but I did it without the help of any

<sup>a</sup> If this be a faithful record, it would appear true, as asserted of Gardiner, that he was a profane as well as a cruel man. Indeed, these base qualities are generally found in union. A modern member of the episcopal bench, of splendid talents, and high reputation for his orthodox and gifted publications, is said to have been in his violent passions a most profane swearer. Judging by the fury with which he sometimes treats his literary opponents, he might, in the age of Gardiner, have been an inquisitor equally barbarous.

one save God alone." "Nay," quoth the bishop, "I do not discommend thy diligence, but why shouldst thou meddle with that thing which pertaineth not to thee?"

On speaking these words, one of his chaplains, called Mr. Medow, came up, and stopped at a window, to whom the bishop said, "Here is a marvellous thing: this fellow hath taken upon him to set out the Concordance in English, which book when it was set out in Latin, was not done without the help and diligence of a dozen learned men at the least, and yet will he insist that he hath done it alone. But say what thou wilt," quoth the bishop, "except God himself would come down from heaven, and tell me so, I will not believe it:" and so going forth to a window where two great bibles lay upon a cushion, the one in Latin and the other in English, he called Marbeck unto him, and pointing his finger to a place in the Latin bible, said, "Canst thou English this sentence?" "Nay, my lord," quoth he, "I trow I be not so clever to give it perfect English, but I can make out the English thereof in an English bible." "Let us see," quoth the bishop. Then Marbeck turning the English bible, found out the place, and read it to the bishop. So he tried him three or four times, till one of his men came up and told him the priest was ready to go to mass.

As the bishop was going, the gentleman who had examined Marbeck in the Marshalsea the day before, said, "Shall this fellow write nothing while your lordship is at mass?" "It is no matter," quoth the bishop, "for he will tell nothing;" and so went down to hear mass, leaving Marbeck alone in the gallery. The bishop was no sooner down, but the gentleman came up again with ink and paper. "Come, sir," quoth he, "my lord will have you occupied till mass be done;" persuading him with fair words that he would soon be dispatched out of trouble, if he would use truth and plainness. "Alas, sir," quoth he, "what would my lord have me to do? For more than I wrote to his lordship yesterday, I cannot." "Well, well, go to," quoth the gentleman, "and make speed," and so went his way. There was no remedy, but Marbeck must now write something; wherefore he, calling to God again in his mind, wrote a few words, as near as he could frame them, to those he had written the day before. When the bishop was come from mass, and had looked on the writing, he pushed it from him, saying, "What will this do? It hath neither head nor foot. There is a marvellous sect of them," quoth the bishop to his men, "for the devil cannot make one of them betray another." Then was there nothing among the bishop's gentlemen, as they were making him ready to go to the court, but *erucifige*<sup>r</sup> upon the poor man. And when the bishop's white rochet was on him—"Well, Marbeck," quoth he, "I am now going to the court, and intended, if I had found thee tractable, to have spoken to the king's majesty for thee, and to have given thee thy meat, drink, and lodging here in mine house; but seeing thou art so wilful and so stubborn, thou shalt go to the devil for me."

Then was he carried down by the bishop's men, with many railing

<sup>r</sup> This appears to have been a slang word of frequent use in that day—a term of abuse, as though they would say eruptionize him, belch him, let him be emptied—that is compel him to confess.

words. And coming through the great chamber there stood Dr. Loudon, with two more of his fellows, waiting the bishop's coming by them into the hall; he was there received by his keeper, and carried to prison again. In half an hour after, the bishop sent one of his gentlemen to the under keeper, called Stokes, commanding him to put irons upon Marbeck, and to keep him fast shut in a chamber alone, and when he should bring him down to dinner or supper, to see that he spake to no man, and no man to him. Further, that he should suffer no manner of person, not even his own wife, to come and see him, or give any thing to him. When the porter, who was the cruellest man that could be to all such as were imprisoned for any matter of religion, and yet providentially favourable to Marbeck, had received this command from the bishop, he put irons upon him, and shut him up, giving warning to all the house, that no man should speak or talk to Marbeck, whensoever he was brought down: and so he continued the space of three weeks or more, during which time, however, his wife was suffered to visit him once or twice at least.

About three weeks before Whit Sunday, Marbeck was sent for to the bishop of London's house, where sat in commission Dr. Capon, bishop of Salisbury; Dr. Skip, bishop of Hereford; Dr. Goodrick, bishop of Ely; Dr. Oking, Dr. May, and the bishop of London's clerk, having before them all Marbeck's books. Then said the bishop of Salisbury, "We are here in commission from the king, to examine thee of certain things whereof thou must be sworn to answer us faithfully and truly." "I am content, my lord," quoth he, "to tell you the truth so far as I can," and so took his oath. Then the bishop of Salisbury laid before him his three books of notes, demanding whose hand writing they were. He answered they were his own, and notes which he had gathered out of other men's works six years ago. "For what cause," quoth the bishop of Salisbury, "didst thou gather them?" "For no other cause, my lord, but to come to knowledge. For I being unlearned, and desirous to understand some part of Scripture, thought by reading learned men's works, to come the sooner thereby; and where I found any place of scripture opened and expounded by them, that I noted, as ye see, with a letter of his name in the margin, that had set out the work." "So methinks," quoth the bishop of Ely, who had one of the books in his hand all the time of their sitting, "thou hast read all sorts of books, both good and bad, as seemeth by the notes." "So I have, my lord," quoth he. "And to what purpose?" quoth the bishop of Salisbury. "By my troth," quoth he, "for no other purpose but to see every man's mind." Then the bishop of Salisbury drew out a quire of the Concordance, and laid it before the bishop of Hereford, who looking upon it awhile, lifting up his eyes to Dr. Oking, standing next him, and said, "This man hath been better occupied than a great many of our priests." To which he made no answer.

Then said the bishop of Salisbury, "Whose help hadst thou in setting forth this book?" "Truly my lord," quoth he, "no help at all."—"How couldst thou," quoth the bishop, "invent such a book, or know what a concordance meant, without an instructor?" "I will tell you, my lord," quoth he, "what instructor I had to begin it. When Thomas

Matthew's Bible came out in print, I was much desirous to have it, and being a poor man, not able to buy it, determined with myself to borrow one amongst my friends, and to write it forth. And when I had written out the five books of Moses in fair great paper, and was entered into the book of Joshua, my friend Turner, chanced to steal upon me unawares, and seeing me writing out the Bible, asked me what I meant thereby. And when I had told him the cause—'Tush,' quoth he, 'thou goest about a vain and tedious labour. But this were a profitable work for thee, to set out a concordance in English.' 'A concordance,' said I, 'what is that?' Then he told me it was a book to find out any word in the bible by the letter, and that there was such an one in Latin already. Then I told him I had no learning to go about such a thing. 'Enough,' quoth he, 'for that matter, for it requireth not so much learning as diligence. And seeing thou art so industrious a man, and one that cannot be unoccupied, it were a good exercise for thee.' And this, my lord, is all the instruction that ever I had, before or after, of any man." "And who is that Turner?" quoth the bishop of Salisbury. "Marry," quoth Dr. May, "an honest learned man, and a bachelor of divinity, and some time a fellow in Magdalen College, in Oxford." "How couldst thou," quoth the bishop of Salisbury, "with this instruction, bring it to this order and form as it is?" "I borrowed a Latin Concordance," quoth he, "and began to practise, and at last, with great labour and diligence, brought it into this order, as your lordship doth see." "It is a great pity," quoth the bishop of Ely, "he had not the Latin tongue." "So it is," quoth Dr. May. "Yet I cannot believe," quoth the bishop of Salisbury, "that he hath done any more in this work than written it out after some other that is more learned than himself."

"My lords," quoth Marbeck, "I shall beseech you all to pardon me what I shall say, and grant my request if it shall seem good unto you." "Say what thou wilt," quoth the bishop. "I do marvel greatly wherefore I should be so much examined for this book, and whether I have committed any offence in doing it or no? If I have, then were I loth any other should be molested or punished for my fault. Therefore, to clear all men in this matter, this is my request, that ye will try me in the rest of the book that is undone. Ye see that I am yet but at the letter L, begin now at M, and take out what word ye will of that letter, and so in every letter following, and give me the words on a piece of paper, and set me in a place alone where it shall please you, with ink and paper, the English Bible, and the Latin Concordance; and if I bring you not these words written in the same order and form that the rest before is, then was it not I that did it, but some other."

"By my truth, Marbeck," quoth the bishop of Ely, "that is honestly spoken, and then shalt thou bring many out of suspicion." "That he shall," quoth they all. Then they bade Dr. Oking draw out such words as he thought best on a piece of paper, and so rose up; and in the mean time fell into familiar talk with Marbeck (as the bishops of Ely and Hereford were both acquainted with him afore, and his friends, so far as they durst), who perceiving the bishops so pleasantly disposed, besought them to tell him in what danger he stood. "I shall tell thee,

Marbeck," quoth the bishop of Sarum, "thou art in a better case than any of thy fellows, of whom there be some would give forty pounds to be in no worse case than thou art," whose sayings the others affirmed. Then came Dr. Oking with the words he had written; and while the bishops were perusing them over, Dr. Oking said to Marbeck, very friendly, "Good Mr. Marbeck make haste, for the sooner you have done, the sooner you shall be delivered." And as the bishops were going away, the bishop of Hereford took Marbeck a little aside, and informed him a word which Dr. Oking had written false, and also to comfort him, said, "fear not, there can no law condemn you for any thing that ye have done; for if ye had written a thousand heresies, so long as they be not your sayings nor your opinions, the law cannot hurt you." And so they all went with the bishop of Sarum to dinner, taking the poor man with them, who dined in the hall at the steward's board, and had wine and meat sent down from the bishop's table.

When dinner was over, the bishop of Sarum came down into the hall, commanding ink and paper to be given to Marbeck, and the two books to one of his men to go with him; at whose going he demanded of the bishop, what time his lordship would appoint him to do it in. "Against to-morrow this time," quoth the bishop, which was about two of the clock, and so departed. Marbeck now being in his prison-chamber fell to his business, and so applied himself, that by the next day, when the bishop sent for him again, he had written so much, in the same order and form he had done the rest before, as contained three sheets of paper and more, which, when he had delivered to the bishop of Sarum, Dr. Oking standing by, he marvelled and said, "Well, Marbeck, thou hast put me out of all doubt, I assure thee;" and added, putting up the paper into his bosom, "the king shall see this ere I be twenty-four hours older." But he dissembled every word. For afterwards the matter being come to light, and known to the king what a book the poor man had begun, which the bishops would not suffer him to finish, the king said he was better occupied than they that took it from him. So Marbeck departed from the bishop of Sarum to prison again, and heard no more of his book till at Whitsuntide he was ordered to prepare for another and a fifth examination at the same place.<sup>9</sup>

On Whit Sunday following in the afternoon, Marbeck was sent for again to St. Mary Overy's, where he found Dr. Oking and another gentleman in a gown of damask, with a chain of gold about his neck, sitting together in one of the stalls, their backs towards the church door, looking upon an epistle of John Calvin's which Marbeck had written out; and when they saw the prisoner come, they rose and had him up to a side altar, leaving his keeper in the body of the church alone. Now as soon as Marbeck saw the face of a gentleman which before he knew not by reason of his apparel, he saw it was the same person that first examined him in the Marshalsea, and caused him to write in the bishop's

<sup>9</sup> It may please the antiquarian reader to be reminded that these lively and crafty examinations took place in a chapel, which has lately excited no small portion of interest in the public mind—our *Lady's chapel*, at the east end of St. Saviour's church, and which, in a restored and beautified state, now adorns the western scene of the new London bridge.



gallery, but never knew his name till now he heard Dr. Oking call him Mr. Knight. This man held forth the paper to Marbeck, and said, "Look upon this, and tell whose hand it is."

When Marbeck had taken the paper and seen what it was, he confessed it to be all his hand, saving the first leaf and the notes that were placed in the margin. "Then I perceive," quoth Mr. Knight, "thou wilt not go from thine own hand." "No, Sir," quoth he, "I will deny nothing that I have done." "Thou dost well in that," quoth Knight; "for if thou shouldst, we have testimonies enough to try thy hand by: but I pray thee tell me whose hand is the first leaf?" "That I cannot tell you," quoth Marbeck. "Then how camest thou by it?" quoth Knight. "There was a priest," answered he, "dwelling with us five or six years ago, called Marshall, who sent it unto me with the first leaf written, desiring me to write it out with speed, because the copy could not be spared but an hour or two, and so I wrote it out, and sent him both the copy and it again." "And how came this hand in the margin," quoth he, "which is a contrary hand to both the others?" "That I will tell you," quoth Marbeck. "When I wrote it out at the first, I made so much haste that I understood not the matter, whereof I was desirous to see it again, and to read it with more deliberation: and being sent to me the second time, it was thus quoted in the margin as you see. And shortly after this it was his chance to go beyond the seas, by reason whereof the epistle remaineth with me; but whether the first leaf or the notes in the margin were his hand, or whose hand else, that I cannot tell." "Tush," quoth Dr. Oking to Mr. Knight, "he knoweth well enough that the notes be Haynes's own hand." "If you know so much," quoth Marbeck, "you know more than I do; for I tell you truly, I know it not." "By my faith, Marbeck," quoth Knight, "if thou wilt not tell by fair means, those fingers of thine shall be made to tell." "By my truth, Sir," quoth Marbeck, "if you do tear my whole body in pieces, I trust in God you shall never make me accuse any man wrongfully." "If thou be so stubborn," quoth Dr. Oking, "thou wilt die for it." "Die! Mr. Oking," quoth he; "wherefore should I die? You told me the last day before the bishops, that as soon as I had made an end of the piece of concordance they took me, I should be delivered; and shall I now die? This is a sudden mutation. You seemed then to be my friend. But I know the cause; ye have read the ballad I made of Moses' chair, and that hath set you against me; but whenever ye shall put me to death, I doubt not but that I shall die God's true man and the king's." "How so?" quoth Knight, "How canst thou die a true man unto the king, when thou hast offended his laws? Are not this epistle, and most of thy notes thou hast written, directly against the six articles?" "No, sir," quoth Marbeck, "I have not offended the king's laws therein; for since the first time I began with the concordance, which is almost six years ago, I have been occupied in nothing else; so that both this epistle, and all the notes I have gathered, were written a great while before the six articles came forth, and are clearly remitted by the king's general pardon." "Trust not to that," quoth Knight, "for it will not help thee." "No, I warrant him," quoth Dr. Oking; and so going down

to the body of the church, they committed him to his keeper, who led him away to prison again.

Some particulars of other interesting characters must now receive our attention. When the time drew nigh that the king (who was newly married to lady Catharine Parr) should make his progress abroad, the bishop of Winchester had so compassed his matters, that no man bore so great sway about the king as he did: at which the reformers were so concerned, that the best of them looked every hour to be destroyed. The saying went abroad, that the bishop had bent his bow to shoot at some of the head deer. In the mean time three or four of the leading men were caught—Anthony Pearson, Henry Filmer, and John Marbeck—and sent to Windsor by the sheriff's men, the Saturday before St. James' day, and laid fast in the town jail; and Testwood, who had kept his bed, was brought out of his house upon crutches, and laid with them; but as for Benet, who should have been the fifth man, his chance was to be sick of the pestilence, and was therefore left behind in the bishop of London's jail.

These men being brought to Windsor, there was a session specially procured to be holden the Thursday following, which was St. Anne's day. Against these sessions, by the counsel of Dr. Loudon, and Simons, were all the farmers belonging to the college of Windsor warned to appear, because they could not select papists enough in the town to go upon the jury. The judges that day were, Dr. Capon, bishop of Salisbury; Sir William Essex; Sir Thomas Bridges; Sir Humfrey Foster; Mr. Franklen, dean of Windsor; and Fachel of Reading. When they had taken their places, and the prisoners were brought forth before them, Robert Ockam, occupying for that day the clerk of the peace's room, called Anthony Pearson, according to the manner of the court, and read his indictment, as follows:—

That he had preached, two years before, in a place called Winkfield, and there said, that "like as Christ was hanged between two thieves, even so when the priest is at mass, and hath consecrated and lifted him over his head, there he hangeth between two thieves, except he preach the word of God truly, as he hath taken upon him to do." Also that he said to the people in the pulpit—"Ye shall not eat the body of Christ, as it did hang upon the cross, gnawing it with your teeth, that the blood may run about your lips; but you shall eat him this day as ye eat him to-morrow, the next day, and every day; for it refresheth not the body but the soul." Also, that after he had preached and commended the scripture, calling it the word of God, he said as follows: "This is the word, this is the bread, this is the body of Christ." Also he said, that Christ, sitting with his disciples, took bread, and blessed, and brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, "Take and eat, this is my body. What is this to us, but to take the scripture of God and to break it to the people?"

To these things Anthony answered, "I will be tried by God and his holy word, and by the true church of Christ, whether this be heresy or no, whereof ye have indicted me this day. So long as I preached the bishop of Rome, and his filthy traditions, I never was troubled; but since I have taken upon me to preach Christ and his gospel, ye have

always sought my life. But it maketh no matter, for when you have taken your pleasure of my body, I trust it shall not lie in your power to hurt my soul." "Thou callest us thieves," quoth the bishop. "I say," quoth Anthony, "ye are not only thieves, but murderers, except ye preach and teach the word of God purely and sincerely to the people; which ye do not, nor ever did, but have allured them to idolatry, superstition, and hypocrisy, for your own lucre and honour's sake, through which ye are become rather *bite-sheeps*, than true bishops; biting and devouring the poor sheep of Christ, like ravening wolves, never satisfied with blood; which God will require at your hands one day, doubt it not." Then spoke Simons his accuser, standing within the bar—"It is a pity this fellow had not been burnt long ago, as he deserved." "In faith," quoth Anthony, "if you had as you deserved, you are more worthy to stand in this place than I am; but I trust, in the last day, when we shall both appear before the tribunal of Christ, it will be known which of us hath best deserved this place." "Shall I have so long a day?" quoth Simons, holding up his finger; "nay, then I care not;" and thus the most solemn of all seasons and subjects was turned into laughter, which the grave bishop did not suppress.

Testwood was next called, and his indictment read, which was that he should say in the time the priest was lifting up the sacrament—"What wilt thou lift up so high? what higher? take heed, let him not fall." To this charge Testwood answered it was but a thing maliciously forged by his enemies to bring him to death. "Yes," quoth the bishop, "thou hast been seen, that when the priest should lift up the consecrated host over his head, then wouldst thou look upon thy book, or some other way, because thou wouldst not abide to look upon the blessed sacrament." "I beseech you, my lord," quoth Testwood, "whereon did he look that marked me so well?" "Marry," quoth Bucklayer, the king's attorney, "he could not be better occupied, than to mark such heretics that so despised the blessed sacrament." A striking proof this of the arrant sophistry with which the judicious arguments of the reformers were met by their enemies.

After Testwood, Filmer was called, and his indictment read; that he should say that the sacrament of the altar is nothing but a similitude and a ceremony; and also if God be in the sacrament of the altar, he had eaten many Christs in his day. Here it should be understood, that these words were gathered of certain communications which passed between Filmer and his brother. The story was as follows:—Henry Filmer coming on a Sunday from Clewer, his parish church, in the company of one or two of his neighbours, chanced in his way to meet his brother, who was a poor labouring man, and asked him whither he went? "To the church," said he. "And what to do?" quoth Filmer, "To do," quoth he, "as other men do." "Nay," quoth Filmer, "you go to hear mass, and to see your Christ." "What if I do so?" quoth he. "If that be Christ," Filmer said, "I have eaten twenty Christs in my days. Turn again, fool, and go home with me, and I will read thee a chapter out of the Bible, that will be better than all that thou shalt see or hear there."

This tale was no sooner brought to Dr. Loudon, by Simons, Filmer's

utter enemy, but he sent for the poor man home to his house, telling him he should never want so long as he lived, so that Filmer, thinking to have a daily friend in the doctor, was content to do so, and say whatsoever he and Simons would have him against his own brother. And when the doctor had thus won the poor man, he retained him as one of his household, until the court day was come, and then sent him up to witness this aforesaid tale against his brother: which tale Filmer denied utterly, saying that Dr. Loudon, for a little meat and drink, had set him on and made him say what he pleased. "Wherefore my lord," quoth Filmer to the bishop, "I beseech your lordship weigh the matter indifferently, forasmuch as there is no man, in all this town, that can or will testify that ever he heard any such talk between him and me; and if he can bring forth any that will witness it, I refuse not to die." But say what he could it would not prevail.

On Filmer seeing that his brother's accusation would take place, he said, "Ah, brother, what cause hast thou to shew me this unkindness? I have always been a natural brother unto thee and thine, and helped thee all in my power, from time to time, as thou thyself knowest; and is this a brotherly part, thus to reward me now for my kindness? God forgive thee, my brother, and grant thee grace to repent." Then Filmer, looking over his shoulder, desired some good person to let him see the book of statutes. His wife being at the end of the hall, and hearing her husband call for the book of statutes, ran down to the keeper, and brought up the book, and got it conveyed to her husband. The bishop seeing the book in his hand, started up from the bench in a great fume, demanding who had given the prisoner that book, commanding it to be taken from him, and to make search who had brought it, swearing by the faith of his body that he should go to prison. Some said it was his wife, some said the keeper. "Like enough, my lord," quoth Simons, "for he is one of the same sort, and as worthy to be here as the best, if he were rightly served." But whosoever it was, the truth was not known, and so the bishop sat down again.

Then said Filmer, "O my lord, I am this day judged by a law, and why should I not see the law that I am judged by? The law is, I should have two lawful witnesses, and here is but one, who acts not by his own will, but is forced thereunto by the suggestion of mine enemies." "Nay," quoth Bucklayer, the king's attorney, "thine heresy is so heinous, and so much against thine own brother, that it forceth him to witness against thee, which is more than two other witnesses." Thus was Filmer brought unjustly to his death by the malice of Simons and Dr. Loudon, who had incited his wretched brother to work his destruction. But God, who is a just avenger of all falsehoods and wrongs, would not suffer that wretch to live long upon earth; but the next year he was taken up for a labourer to go to Boulogne, and had not been there three days, when a spring-gun took him and tore him all to pieces. Thus were the words of Solomon fulfilled—"A false witness shall not remain unpunished."

John Marbeck was now called, and his indictment was nearly the same as that of the others—that he should say that the holy mass, which the priest consecrates into the body of our Lord, is polluted, deformed, sinful, and open robbery of the glory of God, from which a christian

heart ought both to abhor and flee. And the elevation of the sacrament is the similitude of setting up the images of the calves in the temple built by Jeroboam: and that it is greater abomination than the sacrifices made by the Jews in Jeroboam's temple to those calves. And that certain and sure it is, that Christ himself is made in the mass man's laughing-stock.

To this Marbeck answered and said, that the words whereof they had indicted him were not his, but the words of a learned man called John Calvin, drawn out of a certain epistle which Calvin had made, which epistle he had only written out, and that long before the six articles came forth; so that now he was discharged of that offence by the king's general pardon, desiring that he might enjoy the benefit thereof.

Then was the jury called, who were all farmers belonging to the college of Windsor, whereof few or none had ever seen the men before, on whose life and death they sat. Wherefore the prisoners, counting the farmers as partial, desired to have the townsmen, or such as did know them, and had heard their daily conversations, in place of the farmers, or else to be equally joined with them; but this justice was not allowed, for the matter was otherwise foreseen and determined.

When the jury had taken their oath, Bucklayer, the king's attorney, began to speak; first he alleged many reasons against Anthony Pearson, to prove him a heretic: and when Anthony would have disproved them, the bishop said, "Let him alone, sir, he speaketh for the king:" and so went Bucklayer on, making every man's cause as heinous to the hearers as he could devise. When he had done, Sir Humfrey Foster spoke in favour of Marbeck, as follows: "Masters, you see there is no man here that accuseth or layeth any thing to the charge of this poor man, Marbeck, saying he hath writ certain things of other men's sayings, with his own hand, whereof he is discharged by the king's general pardon; therefore ye ought to have a conscience therein." Then started up Fachel, at the lower end of the bench, and said, "How can we tell whether they were written before the pardon, or after? they may as well be written since as before, for any thing that we know." These words of Fachel, as every one said, were the cause of Marbeck's being cast that day.

Then the jury went up to the chamber, and when they had been together there about the space of a quarter of an hour, Simons went up to them. After that came one of them down to the bishop, and talked with him and the other two a good while: whereby many conjectured that the jury could not agree. But whether it was so or no, it was not long after his going up again, ere that they came down to give their verdict; and being required according to the form of the law to say their minds, one Hide, the foreman, said the prisoners were all guilty of the charges brought against them.

The judges, beholding the prisoners a good while—some of them even with tears—contended who should give judgment. Fachel requiring the bishop to do it, he said, "I may not." The others also being required, said, "We will not." Then said Fachel, "It must be done; one must do it, and if no man will, then will I." And so he, though he was the lowest of all the bench, gave judgment. Then Marbeck, being the last upon whom sentence was given, cried to the bishop,

saying, "Ah, my lord, you told me otherwise when I was before you and the other two bishops. You said then, that I was in better case than any of my fellows, and is your saying come to this? Ah, my lord, you have deceived me!" Then the bishop, casting up his hand, said, "I cannot do so with all,"—evidently meaning that, as he could not spare all, all must die.

The prisoners being condemned and had away, prepared to die on the morrow, comforting one another in the death and passion of their master Christ, who had led the way before them, trusting that the same Lord, who had made them worthy to suffer thus far for his sake, would not now withdraw his strength from them, but give them stedfast faith and power to overcome all fiery torments, and of his free mercy and goodness, for his promise sake, receive their souls. Thus lay they all the night long, calling to God for his aid and strength, and praying for their persecutors, who from blind zeal and ignorance had done they knew not what; that God of his merciful goodness would forgive them, and turn their hearts to the love and knowledge of his blessed and holy word. Indeed, such heavenly talk was amongst them that night, that the hearers watching the prison without, and of whom the sheriff himself was one, with many gentlemen more, were constrained to shed tears, as they themselves confessed

On the morrow, which was Friday, as the prisoners were all preparing themselves to suffer, word was brought that they should not die that day. The cause was this: the bishop of Sarum had sent a letter to the bishop of Winchester, who was with the court at Okingham, in favour of Marbeck; at the sight of which the bishop straightway went to the king, and obtained his pardon. This being granted, he caused a warrant to be made for the sheriff's discharge, delivering the same to the messenger, who returned with speed, bringing news of the pardon, whereat many rejoiced. Of the cause of this pardon were divers conjectures made; some said it was through the suit of the good sheriff Sir William Barrington, and Sir Humfrey Foster, with other gentlemen who favoured Marbeck, to the bishop of Sarum and the other commissioners, that the letter was again sent. Some said again that it came through the bishop of Sarum, and because Fachel himself was troubled in conscience for having convicted Marbeck. Others thought again that it was a policy of the bishops of Winchester and of Sarum, and of Dr. Loudon, because they would for once at least seem to be merciful.

On Saturday in the morning, when the prisoners were to go to execution, came into the prison two of the canons of the college, the one called Dr. Blithe, and the other Mr. Arch, who were both sent to be their confessors. Mr. Arch asked them, if they would be confest? and they said, "Yea." Then he demanded if they would receive the sacrament? "Yea," said they, "with all our hearts." "I am glad," quoth Arch, "to hear you say so; but the law is, that it may not be ministered to any that are condemned of heresy: however, it is enough for you that ye desire it." And so he had them up to the hall to hear their confessions, because the prison was full of people. Dr. Blithe took Anthony Pearson to confess, and Mr. Arch the other two. But howsoever the matter went between the doctor and Anthony, he was not long

with him, but came down again, saying, "I will have no more of his doctrine." Soon after the other two came down also. Then Anthony, seeing many people in the prison, began to say the Lord's prayer, wherein he continued till the officers came to fetch them away; then taking their leave of Marbeck, they praised God for his deliverance, wishing him an increase of godliness and virtue, and last of all besought him heartily to help them with his prayer unto God, to make them strong in their afflictions: and so kissing him one after another, they departed.

As the prisoners passed through the people in the street, they desired all the people to pray for them, and to stand fast in the truth of the gospel, and not to be moved at their afflictions, for it was the happiest thing that ever came to them. And as Dr. Blithe and Arch, who rode on each side the prisoners, would persuade them to turn to their mother holy church—"Away," would Anthony cry, "away with your Romish doctrine and all your trumpery, for we will have no more of it." When Filmer came to his brother's door, he stayed and called for his brother; but he could not be seen, for Dr. Loudon had kept him out of sight. When he had called for him three or four times, and saw he came not, he said, "And will he not come? Then God forgive him, and make him a good man." Thus they came to the place of execution, where Anthony Pearson, with a cheerful countenance, embraced the post in his arms, and kissing it said, "Now welcome mine own sweet wife; for this day shalt thou and I be married together in the love and peace of God."

When they were all three bound to the post, a young man of Filmer's acquaintance brought him some liquor, asking if he would drink? "Yea," quoth Filmer, "I thank you. And now, my brother, I shall desire you in the name of the living Lord to stand fast in the truth of the gospel of Jesus Christ, which you have received;" and so taking the cup into his hand, asked his brother Anthony if he would drink. "Yea, brother Filmer," quoth he, "I pledge you in the Lord."

When he had drunk, he gave the cup to Anthony, and Anthony gave it to Testwood, of which their adversaries made a jest, reporting abroad that they were all drunk, and knew not what they said; though they were no otherwise drunk than the apostles were, when the people said they were full of new wine, as their deeds declared; for when Anthony and Testwood had both drunk, and given the cup from them, Filmer, rejoicing in the Lord, said, "Be merry, my brethren, and lift up your hearts and hands unto God, for after this sharp breakfast I trust we shall have a good dinner in the kingdom of Christ, our Lord and Redeemer." At these words Testwood, lifting up his hands and eyes to heaven, desired the Lord above to receive his spirit. Anthony Pearson, pulling the straw towards him, laid a good deal thereof upon the top of his head, saying, "This is God's hat; now I am dressed like a true soldier of Christ, by whose merits only I trust this day to enter his joy." Thus yielded they up their souls to the Father of Heaven, in the faith of his dear Son Jesus Christ, with such humility and stedfastness, that many who saw their patient suffering, confessed that they could have found in their hearts to have died with them.

About the same time suffered, for the cause of God and truth, Adam Damlip, who was martyred at Calais, then belonging to the English, and was an Englishman. The spot is still shewn, just without the city, where he and others, at different times, endured with greater or less constancy the fiery trial by which the reformed faith was thus early put to the test. Calais would have witnessed many more martyrdoms, but that England began to lose its hold of the place as the persecutions advanced.

Adam Damlip, otherwise George Bucker, went to Calais, in the year 1539. He had formerly been a zealous papist, and chaplain to Fisher, bishop of Rochester. After the death of the bishop, he travelled through France, Holland, and Italy, and as he went conferred with learned men concerning matters of controversy in religion, and thence proceeded to Rome, where he thought to have found all godliness and sincere religion; but instead of this, he found there, according to his assertion, such blasphemy of God, contempt of Christ's true religion, looseness of life, and abundance of all abominations and impurities, that his heart abhorred any longer to remain there. He was indeed earnestly requested by cardinal Pole, who wished him to read three lectures in the week in his house, for which he offered him great entertainment; but he preferred returning homeward by way of Calais. As he was waiting without the gate of the place for a passage to England, he was perceived by certain Calais men, named William Steven, and Thomas Lancaster, through conference of talk, to be a learned man, and also well affected; and that being of late a zealous papist, he was now turned to a more perfect knowledge of true religion; they therefore heartily entreated him to stay at Calais awhile, and to read there a day or two, to the intent he might do some good in the city, after his painful travel. To this request Adam gladly consented, if he could be licensed by such as were in authority so to do.

Whereupon Steven, at the opening of the gates, brought him to lord Lisle, the king's deputy of the town and marshes of Calais, to whom he declared thoroughly what conference had been between Damlip and him; which known, the lord deputy instantly desired Damlip to stay there, and to preach three or four days or more at pleasure, saying, that he should have both his licence and that of Sir John Butler, his commissary, for that purpose. Having preached three or four times, he was so liked, both for his learning, his utterance, and the truth of his doctrine, that not only the soldiers and commoners, but the lord deputy and a great part of the council, gave him great praise and thanks for it; and the lord deputy offered him a chamber in his own house, and to dine and sup at his own mess, to have a man or two of his to wait upon him, and to have whatsoever he lacked, if it were to be had for money: he also offered him his purse to buy books, or otherwise, so that he would remain with them, and preach only so long as it should seem good to himself. Damlip refused with much gratitude these liberal offers of his lordship, requesting him to be only so good as to appoint him some quiet and decent place in the town where he might not be disturbed or molested, but have opportunity to give himself to his books, and he would daily, once in the forenoon and again at one o'clock in the



afternoon, by the grace of God, preach among them according to the talent that God had lent him. At this the lord deputy greatly rejoiced, and sent for William Stevens, whom he earnestly requested to lodge Damlip in his house, promising whatsoever he should demand, to see it paid; and moreover would send every meal from his own table of the best unto them: and indeed so he did, although Damlip refused that offer, shewing his lordship that thin diet was most convenient for students; yet could he not thus restrain the generous noble, who sent the choicest food.

This godly man, for the space of twenty days or more, once every day at seven o'clock, preached very learnedly and plainly the truth of the blessed sacrament of Christ's body and blood, inveighing against all papistry, and confuting the same, but especially those two most pernicious errors—transubstantiation, and the propitiatory sacrifice of the Romish Mass. This he did by true conference of the scriptures, and applying of the ancient doctors, earnestly therewith oftentimes exhorting the people to return from their delusion, declaring how popish he himself had been, and how by the detestable wickedness that he saw universally in Rome, he was now become an enemy, through God's grace, to all papistry, shewing therewith that if gain or ambition could have moved him to the contrary, he might have been entertained by cardinal Pole; but for conscience sake, joined with true knowledge, grounded on God's most holy word, he now utterly abhorred the superstition, and willed them most earnestly to do the same.

Thus he continued awhile reading in the Chapter-house of the White Friars; but the place not being large enough, he was desired to read in the pulpit,<sup>t</sup> and so proceeded in his lectures to declare how the world was deceived by the Roman bishops, who had set forth the damnable doctrine of transubstantiation, and the real presence in the sacrament. He came at length to speak against the pageant, or picture set forth of the resurrection in St. Nicholas' church, declaring the same to be but mere idolatry, and an illusion of the French, which the English should remove. The consequence of this was, there came a commission from the king to the lord deputy, that search should be made whether there were three hosts lying upon a marble stone besprinkled with blood; and if they found it so, that immediately it should be plucked up, and so it was. For in searching thereof, as they brake up a stone in a corner of the tomb, they found soldered, in the cross of marble lying under the sepulchre, three plain white counters, which had been painted like unto hosts, and a bone; all this trumpery Damlip shewed to the people the Sunday following from the pulpit, and after that they were sent by the deputy to the king.

Very soon, however, a prior of the White Friars, named Dove, with Buttoll, chaplain to the lord Lisle, began to speak against him. Yet after Adam had in three or four sermons confuted the erroneous doctrine of transubstantiation, and of the propitiatory sacrifice of the mass; the

<sup>t</sup> This must have been the public *rostrum* of the city, then fixed in front of the town-hall, and near the centre of the great market-place; and not the pulpit of the single church in Calais, which is in a remote corner of the place, and must then have been closed against all reformers.

friar outwardly seemed to give place, ceasing openly to inveigh, yet secretly practised to impeach him by letters sent unto the clergy in England; so that within eight or ten days after, Damlip was sent for to appear before the archbishop of Canterbury, with whom was assistant the bishop of Winchester, the bishop of Chichester, and divers others, before whom he constantly affirmed and defended the doctrine which he had taught, answering, confuting, and solving the objections; so that his adversaries, among whom was the learned and pious Cranmer, marvelled at it, and said plainly, that the scriptures knew not such a term as transubstantiation. Then began the other bishops to threaten him, shortly to confute him with their accustomed argument of fire and fagot, if he would still stand to the defence of that he had spoken. To this he constantly answered, that he would the next day deliver unto them fully as much in writing as he had said, whereunto also he would stand; and so he was dismissed.

The next day at the appointed hour for his appearance, when they looked surely to have apprehended him, he came not; for he had secret intimation from the archbishop of Canterbury, that if he again personally appeared, he would be committed to ward and not likely to escape a cruel death. On this he sent them four sheets of paper, learnedly written in the Latin tongue, containing his faith, with his arguments, conferences of the scriptures, and allegations of the doctors, by a friend of his; which done, he with a little money given him, stepped aside and fled into the west country; where he continued teaching a school about a year or two, after which he was again apprehended by the inquisition of the six articles, and brought to London. Gardiner commanded him into the Marshalsea, and there he lay the space of other two years, or about that time.

During his confinement in the Marshalsea, John Marbeck was committed to the same prison, on the morrow after Palm Sunday. It should be understood that at Easter every person must needs come to confession; whereupon Marbeck, who had never seen him before, entering into conference with him, perceived what he was, what he had been, what troubles he had sustained, how long he had lain in prison, which Damlip related to him. "And now," said he, "because I think they have forgotten me, I am fully minded to make my humble suit to the bishop of Winchester, in an epistle, declaring therein mine obedience, humble submission, and earnest desire to come to examination. I know the worst: I can but lose my life at present, which I had rather do, than remain here and not be suffered to use my talent to God's glory; wherefore, God willing, I will surely put it to the proof."

Damlip, for honest and goodly behaviour, was beloved of all the house; but especially by the keeper himself whose name was Massy, whom he always called master; and being suffered to go at liberty within the premises whither he would, he did much good among the common and dissolute sort of prisoners, in rebuking vice and sin, and thus kept them in such good order and awe, that the gaoler thought him a great treasure. And no less also Marbeck himself confessed to have found great comfort from him. For notwithstanding the strict command given by the bishop of Winchester, that no man should come

to him, nor he to speak with any man, yet Adam many times would find the means to comfort his companion.

Now when he had made known and drawn out his epistle, he delivered it to the keeper on Saturday in the morning, which was about the second week before Whit Sunday, desiring him to deliver it at the court to the bishop of Winchester. The keeper said he would, and so did. Having done it, he came home at night very late, and when the prisoners, who had waited supper for his coming, saw him sad and heavy, they deemed something to be amiss. At last casting his eyes upon Damlip, he said, "O George,<sup>u</sup> I can tell thee tidings." "What is that, master?" quoth he. "Upon Monday next, thou and I must go to Calais." "To Calais! what to do?" "I know not," quoth the keeper, and pulled out of his purse a piece of wax, with a little label of parchment, hanging out thereat, which seemed to be a precept. When Damlip saw it, he said, "Well, well, master, now I know what the matter is." "What?" quoth the keeper. "Truly, master, I shall die in Calais." "Nay," quoth the keeper, "I trust it will not be so." "Yes, yes, master, it is most true; and I praise God for his goodness therein." And so the keeper with Damlip and Marbeck went together to supper, with heavy cheer for Sir George, as they used to call him. He notwithstanding was merry himself, and ate his meat as well as ever: insomuch that some of the board told him they marvelled how he could eat so well, knowing he was so near his death. "Ah, masters," quoth he, "do you think that I have been God's prisoner so long in the Marshalsea, and have not yet learned to die? Yes, yes, and I doubt not but God will strengthen me therein."

On Monday, early in the morning, the keeper, with three others of the knight-marshal's servants, setting out of London, conveyed Adam Damlip to Calais, upon Ascension Eve, and there committed him to the mayor's prison. On the same day, John Butler, the commissary aforesaid, and Sir Daniel, the curate of St. Peter's, were also committed to the same prison, and commandment given for no man to speak with Butler especially, nor generally to the rest.

The following Saturday was the day of execution for Damlip. The cause which they laid to his charge was heresy; but by reason of an act of parliament all such offences, done by a certain day, were pardoned. Through this act he could not be burdened with any thing that he had preached or taught before; yet for receiving a French crown of cardinal Pole, which he gave him merely to assist him in his travelling expences, he was condemned of treason, and cruelly put to death, being hung, drawn, and quartered.

The day before his execution, came unto him one Mr. Mote, then parson of our Lady's church in Calais, saying, "Your four quarters shall be hanged at four parts of the town." "And where shall my head be?" said Damlip. "Upon the Lantern gate," said Mote. "Then," answered Damlip, "shall I not need to provide for my burial." At his death, Sir R. Ellerker, then knight-marshal there, would not suffer the innocent and godly man to declare either his faith, or the cause he died

<sup>u</sup> His names, as before observed, were George Bucker, Adam Damlip.

for; but said to the executioner, "Dispatch the knave, have done!" Mote was appointed there to preach, and declared to the people how Damlip had been a sower of seditious doctrine; and albeit he was for that absolved by the general pardon, yet he was condemned for being a traitor against the king. To which when Adam Damlip would have replied, Ellerker would not suffer him to speak a word, but commanded him to be had away. Thus most meekly, patiently, and joyfully, the blessed and innocent martyr took his death; Ellerker saying, that he would not away before he had seen the traitor's heart plucked out of his body. Divine Providence, however, shortly after overtook this sanguinary monster with a just punishment: for in a skirmish between the French and English at Boulogne, he was among others slain. His mere death sufficed not his enemies: but after they had stripped him naked, they cut the heart out of his body, and so left him a terrible example to all bloody and merciless men. For no cause was known why they shewed such indignation against Sir Ralph Ellerker more than against the rest, but that it is written, *Faciens justitias Dominus & judicia omnibus injuria pressis*. Among others who suffered there, was a certain scholar, counted to be a Scotchman, named Dod, who coming out of Germany was taken with certain German books about him, and being examined, and standing constantly to the truth that he learned, was condemned to death, and burned in the same city.

The chief thing now aimed at by the whole popish party was Cranmer's ruin. Gardiner employed many to insinuate to the king, that he gave the chief encouragement to heresy of any in England, and that it was in vain to lop off the branches, and leave the root still growing. The king, till then, would never hear the complaints that were made him: but now, to penetrate into the depths of this design, he was willing to draw out all that was to be alleged. Gardiner reckoned that this point being gained, all the rest would follow; and judging that the king was now alienated from him, more instruments and artifices than ever were accordingly made use of. A long paper containing many particulars, both against Cranmer and his chaplains, was put in the king's hands. Upon this the king sent for him; and after he had complained much of the heresy in England, he said he resolved to find out the chief promoter of it, and to make him an example. Cranmer wished him first to consider well what heresy was, that so he might not condemn those as heretics who stood for the word of God against human inventions. Then the king told him frankly, that he was the man complained of as most guilty; and shewed him all the informations he had received against him. Cranmer confessed he was still of the same mind that he had when he opposed the six articles, and submitted himself to a trial; he confessed many things to the king—in particular that he had a wife, but he had sent her out of England when the act of the six articles passed; and expressed so great a sincerity, and put so entire a confidence in the king, that, instead of being ruined, he was now better established with him than ever.

The king was so well pleased that he even commanded him to appoint some to examine the contrivance that was laid to destroy him. Cranmer answered that it was not decent for him to nominate the judge in a

cause in which himself was concerned; but the king being positive, he named some to undertake it, and the whole secret was found out. It appeared that Gardiner had been the chief instrument, and had encouraged informers to appear against him. Cranmer did not press the king to give him any reparation; for he was so noted for his readiness to forgive injuries, and to do good for evil, that it was commonly said by the king himself, that the best way to obtain his favour, was to do him an injury. Of this he gave signal proof at this time, both in relation to some of the clergy and laity who sought to undermine him: by which it appeared that he was actuated by that meek and lowly spirit which became all the followers of Christ; and more particularly one who was so great an instrument in reforming the Christian church, and who therefore was publicly pledged to eminent acts of charity, and himself to practise that which he taught others to do.

A parliament was now called, in which the great act of succession to the crown passed. By it the crown was first to descend to prince Edward and his heirs, or the heirs by the king's present marriage: after them to the lady Mary, and lady Elizabeth; and in case they had no issue, or did not observe such limitations and conditions as the king should appoint, then it was to fall to any other whom he should name, either by letters patent, or by his last will signed with his own hand. An oath was appointed both against the pope's supremacy, and for maintaining the succession according to this act, which all were required to take under the penalty of treason. It was made treason to say or write any thing contrary to this act, or to the slander of any of the king's heirs named in it. Another act passed, qualifying the severity of the act of the six articles: none were to be imprisoned but upon a legal presentment, except upon the king's warrant. None were to be challenged for words but within a year; nor for a sermon, but within forty days. This was made to prevent such conspiracies as had been discovered the former year. Another act passed, renewing the authority given to thirty-two commissioners to reform the ecclesiastical law, which Cranmer promoted much; and, to push it forward, he put out of the canon law, a collection of many things against the regal, and for the papal authority, with several other very extravagant propositions, to shew how indecent a thing it was to let a book, in which such things were, continue still in any credit in England: but he could not bring this to any good issue. A general pardon now was granted, out of which heresy was excepted.

The king was now engaged in a war both with France and Scotland. The earl of Hertford was sent with an army by sea to Scotland, who, landing at Grantham a little above Leith, burnt both Leith and Edinburgh; but neither stayed to take the castle of Edinburgh, nor did he fortify Leith, but only wasted the country from that to Berwick. He did too much, if it was intended to gain the hearts of that nation; and too little, if it was intended to subdue them; for this only inflamed their spirits more, and rendered them so united in their aversion to England, that the Earl of Lennox, who had been cast off by France and was gone over to the English interest, could make no party in the west, but was forced for his own preservation to flee into concealment. Audley, the

chancellor, dying at this time, Wriothesly, who was of the popish party, was put in his place. On the other hand Dr. Petre, hitherto Cranmer's friend, was made secretary of state: so equally did the king keep the balance between both parties. Being to cross the seas, he left a commission for the administration of affairs during his absence, to the queen, the archbishop, the chancellor, the earl of Hertford, and secretary Petre; with the proviso that if they should have any occasion to raise any force, he appointed the earl of Hertford his lieutenant. He gave orders also to translate the prayers, processions, and litanies, into the English tongue, which gave the reformers some hope that he had not quite cast off his design of reforming such abuses as had crept into the worship of God. And they also hoped that the reasons which prevailed with the king for this, would also induce him to order a translation of all the other offices into the English tongue.

The king crossed the sea with great pomp, the sails of his ship being of cloth of gold. He sat down before Boulogne, and took it after a siege of two months. It was soon after almost retaken by a surprise; but the garrison were quickly put in order, and beat out the French. Thus the king returned victorious, and was as much flattered for taking this single town as if he had conquered a kingdom. The next year the king of France set out a fleet of above 300 ships; and the king of England set out an hundred sail: on both sides they were mostly mere merchantmen hired for the occasion. The French made two descents upon England, but were beaten back with loss. The English made a descent in Normandy, and burnt some towns. The people of Germany saw their danger if this war went on; for the pope and the emperor had made a league for procuring obedience to the council now opened at Trent. The emperor was raising an army, though he had made peace both with France and the Porte; and he was resolved to make good use of this opportunity, the two crowns being now at war. So the Germans sent to mediate a peace between them: but it stuck long at the business of Boulogne.

Lee, archbishop of York, died at this time, and Holgate was removed from Landaff thither, who in his heart favoured the reformation. Kitchen was put in Landaff, who turned with every change that was made—was “tossed to and fro with every wind of doctrine.” Heath was removed from Rochester to Worcester, Holbeck was put into Rochester, and Day was appointed bishop of Chichester. All those were moderate men, and well disposed to a reformation, at least to comply with it. Still the punishments for pretended heresy went on, and the year 1546 was celebrated by the persecution and death of that glorious martyr, George Wishart, in Scotland. But, before we proceed to him, we shall relate the sufferings of some other martyrs of that country, who, although not so conspicuous in history, were equally deserving public admiration and gratitude, being all of one spirit, and that “the spirit of wisdom and knowledge in the revelation of Jesus Christ.”

Not long after the burning of Stratton and Gurley, by the influence of David Beaton, bishop and cardinal of St. Andrew's, and George Treighton, bishop of Dunkeld, there arose a canon of St. Colmes and

vicar of Dolone, called dean Thomas Forret, who preached every Sunday to his parishioners out of the epistle or gospel as it fell for the time; which then was a great novelty in Scotland, scarcely any one ever preaching except a black or a grey friar. Therefore the friars envied Forret, and accused him to the bishop of Dunkeld, in whose diocese he remained, as a heretic, and one that showed the mysteries of the scriptures to the vulgar in English, to make the clergy detestable in the sight of the people.

The bishop, moved by the friars' instigation, called Forret before him and said, "I love you well, and therefore must give you my council how you should rule and guide yourself in these days. My dear dean Thomas, I am informed that you preach from the epistle or gospel every Sunday to your parishioners, and that you take not the cow, nor the uppermost cloth from your parishioners, which is very prejudicial to the churchmen; and, therefore, I would you took your cow and your uppermost cloth as other churchmen do, or else it is too much to preach every Sunday; for in so doing you may make the people think that we should preach likewise." But it is enough for you, when you find any good epistle, or any good gospel, that setteth forth the liberty of the holy church, to preach that, and let the rest be."

Thomas answered, "My lord, I think that none of my parishioners will complain that I take not the cow nor the uppermost cloth, but will gladly give me the same, together with any other thing that they have; and I will give and communicate with them any thing that I have; and so, my lord, we agree right well, and there is no discord among us. In regard to what your lordship saith, 'it is too much to preach every Sunday,' indeed I think it is too little; and also would wish that your lordship did the like." "Nay, nay, dean Thomas, let that be," said the bishop, "for we are not ordained to preach." Then said Thomas, "Where your lordship biddeth me preach, when I find any good epistle, or a good gospel, truly, my lord, I have read the new Testament and Old, and all the epistles and gospels, and among them all I could never find an evil epistle or an evil gospel; but if your lordship will shew me the good epistle and the good gospel, and the evil epistle and the evil gospel, then I shall preach the good and omit the evil." Then spake my lord stoutly, and said, "I thank God that I never knew what the Old and New Testament was;"<sup>v</sup> therefore, dean Thomas, I will know nothing but my portuise and my pontifical. Go your way, and let be all these fantasies, for if you persevere in these erroneous opinions, ye will repent when ye may not mend it."

Thomas said, "I trust my cause to be just in the presence of God; and, therefore, I pass not much what do follow thereupon;" and thus my lord and he parted at that time. Soon after a summons was directed

<sup>v</sup> What a vile criminal was this reformer, Forret, for waving his right to the cow and the upper garment of his poor parishioners, that their families might have more milk and be better clothed than usual, and then to think of supporting his charitable conduct by appealing to the gospels and epistles of the New Testament! And what a holy churchman was the bishop of Dunkeld to insist upon both these novel practices being discontinued!

<sup>w</sup> From this arose the proverb so common in Scotland—"You are like the bishop of Dunkeld, you know not either the old or the new one."

from the cardinal of Saint Andrew's and the bishop of Dunkeld, upon the dean Thomas Forret, upon two black friars, called Kelow and Benarage, and upon a priest of Striveling, called Duncane Sympson, and a gentleman called Robert Foster, with three or four others of the town of Striveling; who, at the day of their appearance, were condemned to death, without any place for recantation; because, as was alleged, they were heresiarchs, or chief heretics and teachers of heresy; and especially because many of them were at the bridal of a priest, the vicar of Twybody, and did eat flesh in Lent at the said bridal. These were the heinous crimes of the several prisoners, and for which they were altogether burnt upon the castle-hill at Edinburgh, where they that were first bound to the stake piously and marvellously did comfort them which came behind, and by their example induced them to be equally courageous and submissive.

Robert Lambe, William Anderson, James Hunter, James Ravelson, James Founleson, and Hellen his wife, were not long after the victims of a cruel persecution in the city of Perth; the occasion and preparation of which was chiefly as follows. There was a certain act of parliament made in the time of the lord Hamilton, earl of Arran, and governor of Scotland, giving privilege to all men of the realm of Scotland to read the scriptures in their mother tongue and language; yet forbidding all reasoning, conference, and convocation of people to hear the scriptures read or expounded. This liberty of private reading, being granted by public proclamation, lacked not his own fruit, so that in sundry parts of Scotland thereby were opened the eyes of the people of God to see the truth and abhor the papistical abominations. Among these were certain persons in Perth, then called by the ancient and ecclesiastical name of St. Johnstone.

At this time there was a sermon by friar Spense, in Perth, affirming prayers made to saints to be so necessary, that without them there could be no hope of salvation to man. This blasphemous doctrine a burges of the town, called Robert Lambe, could not abide, but accused the friar in open audience of erroneous doctrine, and abjured him in God's name to utter the truth. The friar, being stricken with fear, promised to do this, but the trouble and tumult of the people increased so, that he could have no audience; and yet Lambe with great danger of his life, escaped the hands of the multitude, chiefly made up of women, who contrary to nature addressed themselves to extreme cruelty against him. The enemies of truth proceeded so far as to procure John Chartuous, who favoured the truth, and was provost of the city of Perth, to be deposed from his office by the governor's authority: a papist, named Alexander Marbeck, was chosen in his room, that they might the more easily accomplish their ungodly enterprise.

After deposing the former provost, and electing the other, which took place in the month of January on St. Paul's day, there came to Perth the governor, the cardinal, the earl of Argyle, justice Campbel of Lunde, justice Defort, the lord Borthwike, the bishops of Dunblane and Orkeney, with certain others of the nobility and gentry. And although there were many accused of the crime of heresy, as they term it, yet these persons only were at this time apprehended: Robert Lambe,



William Anderson, James Hunter, James Raveleson, James Founleson, and Hellen his wife. They were cast that night in the Spay Tower of the said city, to abide judgment on the morrow. When they then were brought forth to judgment, there was laid in general to all their charge, violating of the act of parliament before expressed, and their conference and assemblies in hearing and expounding scripture against the tenor of the said act. Robert Lambe was specially accused for interrupting the friar in the pulpit; which he not only confessed, but also affirmed constantly that it was the duty of no man, who understood and knew the truth, to hear the same impugned without contradiction; and therefore any who were there present in judgment, who withheld their defence of the truth, should bear the burden in God's presence for neglecting the same.

William Anderson and James Raveleson, were accused of hanging up the image of St. Francis in a cord, nailing ram's horns to his head, and a cow's rump to his tail, and for eating a goose on Allhallows eve. James Hunter, being a simple man and without learning, and a fletcher<sup>x</sup> by occupation, so that he could be charged with no great knowledge in doctrine, yet because he was often found in the company of the rest was accused with them.

The woman, Hellen, was charged with not calling upon the name of the Virgin Mary, being exhorted thereto by her neighbours, but only upon God for Jesus Christ's sake; and because she said in like manner that if she herself had been in the time of Virgin Mary, God might have looked to her humility and base estate, as he did to the Virgin's, in making her the mother of Christ: thereby meaning, that there was no merit in the Virgin, which procured her the honour to be made mother of Christ, and to be preferred before other women; but only God's free mercy exalted her to that estate. These words were counted most execrable in the face of all the clergy, and of the whole multitude. James Raveleson building a house, set upon the round of his fourth pair of stairs the triple crown of the pope in carved work, which the cardinal took as done in derision of St. Peter, the pope, and himself; and this procured no favour to James at his hands.

These persons, on the morrow after St. Paul's day, were condemned to death, and that by an assize, for violating the act of parliament, for reasoning and conferring upon scripture, for eating flesh upon days forbidden, for interrupting the holy friar in the pulpit, for dishonouring images, and blaspheming the Virgin Mary. After sentence was given, their hands were bound, and they were cruelly treated; all but the woman; when she desired likewise to be bound by the sergeants with her husband for the sake of Christ.

There was great intercession made by the people of the town to the governor for the life of these persons, and he seemed willing so to have done, that they might have been delivered. But the governor was so subject to the tyranny of the cruel priests, that he could not do that which he would. They even menaced to assist his enemies and to depose

<sup>x</sup> This was a *maker of arrows*, an occupation which the discovery of gunpowder and other modern means of warfare were fast reducing in importance; but which at earlier periods was one of the most prosperous and active concerns in the land.

him, except he assisted their cruelty. There were certain priests in the city who had eaten and drunken before in the honest men's houses and were much indebted to them. These priests were earnestly desired to intreat for their friends at the cardinal's hands; but altogether refused, desiring rather their death than their preservation. In fact no means could be found to save them, and they were carried by a great band of armed men to the place of execution, which was common to the worst criminals, and that to make their cause appear more odious to the people.

Robert Lambe made his exhortations to the people, desiring them to fear God, and leave the leaven of papistical abominations. He prophesied of the ruin and plague which came upon the cardinal thereafter. The rest were also firm and resigned, so that every one comforting another, and assuring themselves that they should sup together in the kingdom of heaven that night, they commended their souls to God, died in the Lord, and were truly blessed. The woman desired earnestly to die with her husband, but she was not allowed; yet, following him to the place of execution, she gave him comfort, exhorting him to perseverance and patience for Christ's sake, and parting from him with a kiss, said: "Husband, rejoice, for we have lived together many joyful days; but this day, in which we must die, ought to be the most joyful unto us both, because we must have joy for ever; therefore I will not bid you good night, for we shall very very soon meet with joy in the kingdom of heaven." The woman was taken to a place to be drowned, and though she had a child sucking on her breast, yet this moved not the unmerciful hearts of her enemies. So after she had commended her children to the neighbours of the town for God's sake, and the sucking infant was given to the nurse, she sealed the truth by her death.

The reader will now be introduced to George Wishart, or Wisheart, another Scottish martyr, who suffered in 1546 at St. Andrews; but before we enter upon the examination of this bright luminary of the church of Christ, we will give a testimonial of his manners, written by one of his scholars to Mr. Fox. He was commonly called Mr. George, of Bennet's college, was a man of tall stature, bald-headed, and wore a round French cap: judged to be of melancholy complexion by his physiognomy, black-haired, long-bearded, comely of personage, well spoken after his country of Scotland, courteous, lowly, lovely, glad to teach, desirous to learn, and was well travelled, wearing never but a mantle or frieze gown to the shoes, and plain black hose, coarse canvass for his shirts, and white falling bands. All this apparel he gave to the poor, some weekly, some monthly, some quarterly, as he liked, saving his French cap, which he kept at least a whole year.

He was modest and temperate, fearing God and hating covetousness; his charity had never end, night, noon, nor day; he forbore one meal in three, one day in four, for the most part, except what was necessary to sustain nature. He lay upon straw, and coarse canvass sheets, which when he changed he gave away. He had commonly by his bed-side a tub of water, in which he used to bathe himself. He taught the young with great modesty and gravity. Some of his people thought him severe, and would have slain him, but the Lord was his defence. And he, after

due correction for their malice, by good exhortation amended them and went his way. His learning was no less sufficient than his desire; always pressed and ready to do good in that he was able, both in the house privately and in the school publicly, professing and reading divers authors. If we should declare his love to all men, his charity to the poor, in giving, relieving, caring, helping, providing, yea, infinitely studying how to do good unto all, and hurt to none, we should sooner want words than just cause to commend him. This is the testimony of a young servant and friend of the name of Tylney, who knew Wishart well, and who was every way worthy of credit and confidence.

Wishart was by birth a Scotchman, but received his education at Cambridge. The year before his death he returned to his own country, and on his way preached in many places against idolatry. He made some stay at Dundee; but by means of Beaton he was expelled thence, and at his departure, he denounced heavy judgment on them for rejecting the gospel. He then went and preached in many other places, and entrance to the churches being denied him, he preached in the fields. He would not suffer the people to open the church doors by violence, for that he said became not the gospel of peace which he preached. He heard the plague had broken out in Dundee, within four days after he was banished; so he returned thither, and took care of the sick, and did all the offices of a faithful pastor among them. He shewed his gentleness towards his enemies, by rescuing a priest who was coming to kill him, but was discovered, and was almost torn in pieces by the people. He foretold several extraordinary things; particularly his own sufferings, and the spread of the reformation over the land. He preached last in Lothian, and there the earl of Bothwell took him, but promised upon his honour that no harm should be done him; yet he delivered him to the cardinal, who brought him to St. Andrews, and called a meeting of bishops thither to destroy him with the more solemnity.

While imprisoned in the castle, the dean of St. Andrews was sent by the cardinal to summon him to appear before the judge on the following morning, to render an account of his seditious and heretical doctrine, as they termed it. Wishart answered—"What need my lord cardinal to summon me, when I am thus in his power and bound in irons? Can he not compel me to answer; or does he believe that I am unprovided with the means of defending my doctrine? But to manifest yourselves, ye do well to keep your old ceremonies and constitutions made by men."

The next morning, the lord cardinal caused his servants to clothe and arm themselves in their warlike array, with jack, knapskal, splent, spear, and axe, more seeming for the battle, than for defending the true word of God. When the procession of these armed champions marching in warlike order had conveyed the bishops into the abbey church, they sent for Wishart, who was conducted into church by the captain of the castle accompanied by a hundred men thus equipped, like a lamb led to the sacrifice. As he entered the abbey church door, there was a poor man lying, vexed with great infirmities, asking of him alms, to whom he flung his purse. And when he came before the lord cardinal, the superior of the abbey, called dean John Winryme, stood up in the pulpit, and made a

sermon to all the congregation, taking his matter out of the 13th chapter of Matthew, and dividing his sermon into four principal parts.

The first part was a brief and short declaration of the Evangelist. The second, part of the interpretation of the good seed. He called the word of God the good seed, and heresy the evil seed, and declared how heresy should be known; which he defined thus: "Heresy is a false opinion defended with pertinacy, clearly impugning the word of God." The third part of the sermon was, the cause of heresy in that realm and all other realms. "The cause of heresy, is the ignorance of them which have the cure of men's souls: to whom it belongeth to have the true understanding of the word of God, that they may be able to refute heresies with the word of God; as saith St. Paul: "A bishop must be faultless, as becometh the minister of God, not stubborn nor angry, no drunkard, no fighter, not given to filthy lucre, but one that loveth goodness, sober-minded, righteous, holy, temperate, and that cleaveth to the true word, that he may be able to exhort with wholesome learning, and to answer that which they say against him." The fourth part was, how heresies should be known. "Heresies are known after this manner; as the goldsmith knoweth fine gold by the touchstone; so likewise may we know heresy by the undoubted touchstone, the true and undefiled word of God." At last he added, that heretics should be put down in this present life. Here he faltered, because the gospel said, "Let both grow together till the harvest," and "The harvest is the end of the world." Nevertheless, he affirmed that they should be put down by the civil magistrate and law in this life.

When he ended his sermon, they caused Wishart to ascend the pulpit, there to hear his accusation and articles. Over against him stood one of the fed flock, John Lauder, laden full of cursings written on paper. Of these he took out a roll, both long and also full of devilish spite and malice, saying to the innocent George so many cruel and abominable words, and striking him so spitefully with the pope's thunder, that the ignorant people dreaded lest the earth would have swallowed him up quick. Notwithstanding he stood still with great patience, hearing the dreadful sayings, not once moving or changing his countenance. When Lauder had read throughout his menacings, he spat in Wishart's face, saying, "What answerest thou to these sayings, thou runagate, traitor, which we have duly proved thee to be by sufficient witness?" Wishart hearing this, kneeled down in the pulpit, making his prayer to God. When he had ended his prayer, sweetly and christianly, he answered as follows:—

"Many horrible sayings unto me a Christian man, many words abominable to hear, ye have spoken this day, which not only to teach, but also to think, must be great abomination. Wherefore I pray your discretion quietly to hear me, that ye may know what were my sayings, and the manner of my doctrine. This my petition, my lord, I desire to be heard for three causes. First, because by means of preaching the word of God, his glory is made manifest. It is reasonable therefore, for advancing the glory of God, that ye hear me, teaching truly, as I do, the pure word of God without any dissimulation. Second, because your health springeth of the word of God; for he worketh all things by his word. It were therefore an unrighteous thing if ye should stop your ears

from me, teaching truly the word of God. Third, because you utter many blasphemous and abominable words, not coming of the inspiration of God, but of the devil, with no less peril than of my life. It is just therefore and reasonable, that your discretion should know what my words and doctrine are, and what I have ever taught in this realm, that I perish not unjustly to the great peril of your souls. Wherefore both for the glory and honour of God, your own health, and safeguard of my life, I beseech your patience to hear me, and in the mean time I shall recite my doctrine without any colour."

"Since the time I came into this realm, I taught nothing but the ten commandments of God, the twelve articles of the faith, and the prayer of the Lord in the mother tongue. Moreover, in Dundee, I taught the epistle of St. Paul to the Romans. And I shall shew you faithfully what manner I used when I taught without any human dread; so that your discretion give your ears benevolence and attention." This was more than his enemies could endure, and with a high voice the accuser cried out, "Thou heretic, runagate, traitor, and thief, it was not lawful for thee to preach. Thou hast taken the power in thine own hand, without any authority of the church. We forethink that thou hast been a preacher so long." Then all the congregation of the prelates, with their accomplices, said: "If we give him licence to preach, he is so crafty, and in the Holy Scriptures so exercised, that he will persuade the people to his opinion, and raise them against us."

Seeing their malicious and wicked intent, Wishart appealed from the lord cardinal to the lord governor, as to an indifferent and equal judge. To whom Lauder answered, "Is not my lord cardinal the second person within this realm, chancellor of Scotland, archbishop of St. Andrews, bishop of Meropois, commendator of Aberbroshok, *Legatus natus, Legatus à Latere?*" thus reciting all his unworthy honours. "Is not he an equal judge of thy cause and conduct? what other desirest thou to be thy judge?" "I refuse not my lord Cardinal," said Wishart, "but I desire the word of God to be my judge, and the temporal estate, with some of your lordships mine auditors, because I am here my lord governor's prisoner." Whereupon the proud and scornful people that stood by, mocked him, saying, "Such man, such judge! speaking seditious and reproachful words against the governor and other nobles meaning them also to be heretics." Then without delay and without further process they would have given sentence upon him, had not certain men present counselled the Cardinal to read again the articles, and to hear his answers thereupon, that the people might not complain of his unjust condemnation.

These were the articles following, with his answers, so far as they would give him leave to speak. For when he intended to mitigate their falsehoods, and shew the manner of his doctrine, they stopped his mouth with some new charge. Thus ran their bitter invectives—"Thou false heretic, runagate, traitor, and thief, deceiver of the people, thou despisest the holy church, and contemnest my lord governor's authority. And this we know, that when thou didst preach in Dundee, and wast charged by my lord's authority to desist, nevertheless thou wouldst not obey, but persevered in the same; and therefore the bishop of Brothen

cursed thee, and delivered thee into the devil's hands, and gave thee in commandment that thou should preach no more: notwithstanding, thou didst continue obstinately."

Wishart availed himself of a pause and said—"My lords, I have read in the Acts of the Apostles, that it is not lawful to desist from preaching the gospel for the threats and menaces of men. There it is written, 'We should rather obey God than man.' I have also read in the prophet Malachi, 'I shall curse your blessings, and bless your cursings;' and I believe firmly that the Lord will turn your cursing into blessings."

No longer could he speak, for they cried out—"Thou false heretic didst say that the priest, standing at the altar saying mass, was like a fox wagging his tail in July." Wishart answered—"My lords, I said not so, these were my sayings—The moving of the body outward, without the inward moving of the heart, is nought else but the playing of an ape, and not the true serving of God: for God is a secret searcher of men's hearts; therefore whoever will truly adore and honour God, must in spirit and verity serve and worship him."

Again they sought a new charge, and said—"Thou preachedst against the sacrament, saying, that there were not seven sacraments." To this absurdity he replied with caution and wisdom.—"My lords, if it be your pleasure, I never taught the number of the sacraments, whether they were seven or eleven. So many as are instituted by Christ are shewed to us by the evangelists, and all these I profess openly. Except it be the word of God, I dare affirm nothing."

Without striving to refute him, they railed again—"Thou hast openly taught that auricular confession is not a blessed sacrament, and sayest that we should only confess to God, and not to any priest." To this he answered—"My lords, I say that auricular confession, seeing that it hath no promise of the gospel, it therefore cannot be a sacrament. Of the confession to be made to God, there are many testimonies in scripture, as when David saith, 'I said I would acknowledge mine iniquity unto the Lord, and he forgave the punishment of my sin.' In this Psalm xxxii, David's confession signifieth the secret knowledge of our sins before God. When I exhorted the people in this manner I reprov'd no manner of confession; but I taught what St. James saith, 'Acknowledge your faults one to another, and pray one for another, that you may be healed.'" On his speaking thus cautiously, the bishops and their accomplices cried and grinned, saying—"See ye not what colour he hath in his speaking, that he may beguile and seduce us to his opinion?" One of them said, "Heretic, thou didst say openly, that it was necessary to every man to know and understand his baptism, and what it was, contrary to general councils and the estate of the holy church."

He answered—"My lords, I believe there be none so unwise here that will make merchandise with a Frenchman, or any other unknown stranger, except he know and understand first the condition or promise made by such foreigners: so likewise I would that we understood what thing we promise in the name of the infant unto God in baptism. For this cause I believe ye have confirmation." Bleiter, the chaplain, then furiously interposed, and insinuated that he had the devil within him, and the spirit of error. On which a little child who was present, and

heard the chaplain, said, "The devil cannot speak such words as yonder man doth speak."

This enraged his foes to madness, and one cried out—"Heretic, traitor, thief, thou saidst that the sacrament of the altar was but a piece of bread baked upon the ashes, and no other thing; and that all which is there done is but a superstitious rite against the commandment of God." To this abuse he boldly replied thus—"As concerning the sacrament of the altar, my lords, I never taught any thing against the Scripture, which I shall, by God's grace, make manifest this day, being ready therefore to suffer death."

No one interposing, he went on—"The lawful use of the sacrament is most acceptable unto God; but the great abuse of it is very detestable unto him. But what occasion they have to say such words of me, I shall shortly shew your lordships. I once chanced to meet with a Jew when I was sailing upon the Rhine. I did enquire of him what was the cause of his pertinacy, that he did not believe that the true Messiah was come, considering that he had seen all the prophecies which were spoken of him to be fulfilled. Moreover the prophecies taken away, and the sceptre of Judah departed; and by many other testimonies of scripture I convinced him that Messiah was come, whom they called Jesus of Nazareth. This Jew answered me that 'when the Messiah cometh, he shall restore all things, and he shall not abrogate the law, which was given to our fore-fathers, as ye do. For why? ye see the poor almost perish through hunger amongst you; yet you are not moved with pity toward them: but amongst us, though we be poor Jews, there are no beggars found.'<sup>†</sup>

"It is forbidden by the law to feign any kind of imagery of things in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the sea under the earth; but one God only is to be honoured: while your sanctuaries and churches are full of idols. Moreover, I must repeat what the Jew said, that a peace of bread baked upon the ashes ye adore and worship, and say, that it is your God. I have rehearsed here but the sayings of the Jew, which I never affirmed to be true." Some one replied—"Thou saidst, that extreme unction was not a sacrament." He denied the charge, "I never taught any thing of extreme unction in my doctrine, whether it were a sacrament or not." Again they accused him—"Thou saidst that holy water is not so good as wash, and such like. Thou condemnest conjuring, and saidst holy churches' cursings avail not." To this he was as usual quick in answering—"As for holy water, what strength it is of I never taught in my doctrine. Conjurings, and exorcisms, if they are conformable to the word of God, I would commend them; but inasmuch as they are not conformable to the commandment and word of God, I reprove them."

Again—"Heretic and runagate, thou hast said, that every layman is a priest, and such like; thou saidst that the pope had no more power than any other man." Wishart now felt greater need of prudence, and said—"My lords, I have taught nothing but the word of God; I remember that I have read in some places in St. John, and St. Peter, 'He hath

<sup>†</sup> This speech, though found among the answers of Wishart, and introduced in the place in which he uttered it, does not appear to be so appropriate as his other replies.

made us kings and priests,' and 'He hath made us a royal priesthood.' Wherefore I have affirmed that any man wise in the word of God, and the true faith of Jesus Christ, hath this power given him from God; not by the power or violence of men, but by the virtue of the word of God, which word is called the power of God, as St. Paul witnesseth evidently enough. And again I say, that any unlearned man, not exercised in the word of God, nor yet constant in his faith, whatsoever estate or order he be of, I say, he hath no power to bind or loose, seeing he wanteth the instrument, by which he bindeth or looseth; that is to say, the word of God."

After he had uttered this admirable speech, all the bishops laughed and mocked him. "Laugh ye, my lords?" said he; "though these sayings appear scornful and worthy of derision to your lordships, nevertheless they are very weighty to me, and of great value, because they stand not only upon myself, but also the honour and glory of God." While many godly men beholding the obstinacy and cruelty of the bishops and invincible patience of Wishart, greatly mourned and lamented, his implacable foes added to their impieties and insults, and cried out—"False heretic, thou saidst that a man hath no free will, but like as the stoics say, that it is not in man's will to do any thing, but that all cometh by God, whatsoever kind it be of." To which he wisely answered "My lords, I said not so, truly; but I said that as many as believe in Christ firmly, unto them is given freedom, conformable to the saying of St. John—'If the Son make you free, then shall ye verily be free.' Of the contrary, as many as believe not in Christ Jesus, they are bond-servants of sin—'He that sinneth is bound to sin.'"

"Thou saidst," they exclaimed again, "it is as lawful to eat flesh upon the Friday as on Sunday." With another firm appeal to scripture, he replied—"I have read in the epistles of St. Paul, that 'Whoso is clean, unto him all things are clean.' On the contrary, 'To the filthy man all things are unclean.' A faithful man, clean and holy, sanctifieth by the word the creature of God; but the creature maketh no man acceptable unto God. So that a creature may not sanctify any impure and unfaithful man; but to the faithful man all things are sanctified by the word of God and prayer."

At this all the bishops, with their accomplices, said—"What need we any witness against him? hath he not here openly spoken blasphemy? Heretic, thou dost say, that we should not pray to saints, but to God only. Say whether thou hast said this or not?" To which he answered—"My lord there are two things worthy of note; the one is certain, the other uncertain. It is found plainly and certain in scripture, that we should worship and honour one God, according to the saying of the first commandment, thou shalt worship and honour thy Lord God only, with all thy heart. As for praying to and honouring saints, there is great doubt among many whether they hear or not any invocation made unto them. Therefore I exhorted all men equally in my doctrine, that they should leave the uncertain way, and follow that way which was taught us by our master Christ. He is the only mediator, and alone maketh intercession for us to God his father. He is the door by which we must enter in: he that entereth not by this door, but climbeth another way, is a



thief and a murderer. He is the verity and life. Every one that goeth out of this way, there is no doubt but he shall fall into the mire; yea verily, is fallen into it already. This is the fashion of my doctrine, which I have ever followed. Verily, that which I have heard and read in the word of God I taught openly, and in no corners. And now ye shall witness the same, if your lordships will hear me. Except it stand by the word of God, I dare not be so bold as to affirm any thing."

Without attempting to answer these scriptural testimonies and appeals, his enemies multiplied their absurd accusations, and said—"Thou hast preached plainly, saying there is no purgatory, and that it is a feigned thing for any man after this life to be punished in purgatory." Wishart reminded them of his former answers—"As I have said heretofore, without express witness and testimony of the scripture I dare affirm nothing. I have oft read over the bible, and yet such a term found I never, nor yet any place of scripture applicable to it. Therefore I was ashamed ever to teach that thing which I could not find in the scripture." Then said he to Lauder, his accuser—"If you have any testimony of the scripture, by which you may prove any such place, shew it now before this auditory." Lauder had not a word to say for himself, but was as dumb as a beetle, except in devising a fresh charge.

This was—"Thou hast taught against the vows of monks, friars, nuns, and priests; saying that whosoever was bound to such vows, vowed themselves to the estate of damnation. Moreover, that it was lawful for priests to marry." In answer, he again appealed to scripture—"My lords, I have read in the gospel, that there are three kinds of chaste men: 'some are eunuchs from their birth; some are made such by men; and some make themselves such for the kingdom of heaven's sake.' Verily, I say these men are blessed by the scripture of God. But as many as have not the gift of continence, nor yet for the gospel's sake have overcome the concupiscence of the flesh, and have vowed chastity, ye have experience, although I should hold my peace, to what inconvenience they have vowed themselves."

When he had said these words they were all dumb for a time, and then one broke out and said—"False heretic, thou sayest thou wilt not obey our general nor provincial councils." Once more he took the sword of the Spirit: "My lords, what your general councils are I know not, I was never exercised in them; but to the pure word of God I gave my labours. Read here your general councils, or else give me a book wherein they are contained, that I may read them: if they agree with the word of God, I will not dispute or disobey them."

Upon this they cried out—"Why do we suffer him to speak further? Read on the rest of the articles, and do not stay upon them." Among the rest, John 'Grey-fiend' Scot, standing behind Lauder's chair, hastened him to read the rest of the articles, and not to tarry upon answers. "For we may not abide them," quoth he, "any more than the devil may abide the sign of the cross, when it is made." Then he turned to Wishart—"Thou sayest, that it is in vain to build to the honour of God costly churches, seeing that God remaineth not in the churches made with men's hands, nor yet can God be in so little space as between the priest's hands." He had now a sublime reply at hand—"My lords,

Solomon saith, 'If that the heaven of heavens cannot comprehend thee, how much less this house that I have built?' and Job consenteth to the same sentence: 'Seeing that he is higher than the heavens, therefore what canst thou build unto him? He is deeper than hell, then how shalt thou know him? He is longer than the earth and broader than the sea.' So that God cannot be comprehended in any one place, because he is infinite. Notwithstanding, I never said that churches should be destroyed; but the contrary, I affirm ever, that churches should be sustained and upholden, that the people should be congregated into them, there to hear of God. Moreover, wheresoever is the true preaching of the word of God, and the lawful use of the sacraments, undoubtedly there is God himself: so that both these sayings are true together; God cannot be comprehended in any place, and wheresoever two or three are gathered together in his name, there he is present in the midst of them. If you think otherwise, show forth reasons before this auditory." Then Lauder, not answering one word, proceeded forth in his articles—

"False heretic, thou contemneth fasting, and sayest thou didst not fast." Wishart could here be at no loss with scripture and reason before him—"My lords, I find that fasting is commended in the scripture; therefore I were a slanderer of the gospel, if I condemned fasting. And not so only, but I have learned, that fasting is good for the health of the body: but God knoweth who fasteth the true fast."

Lauder proceeded—"Thou hast preached openly, saying, that the soul of man shall sleep till the latter day of judgment, and shall not obtain life immortal until that day." At this foul charge, Wishart was indignant, and said—"God full of mercy and goodness forgive them that say such things of me; I know surely by the word of God, that he which hath begun to have the faith of Jesus Christ, and believeth firmly in him, believeth that the soul of man shall never sleep, but ever shall live an immortal life; which life, from day to day, is renewed in grace and augmented; nor yet shall ever perish or have an end, but ever immortal shall live with Christ. To which life all that believe in him shall come, and rest in eternal glory. Amen."

When the bishops with their accomplices had thus accused this innocent man, they next condemned him to be burnt as a heretic, not having respect to his godly answers and true reasons which he alleged, nor yet to their own consciences, thinking verily that they should do to God good sacrifice, conformable to the saying of St. John—"They shall excommunicate you: yea, and the time shall come that he which killeth you shall think that he hath done God service." First they made the common people, whose desire was always to hear that innocent man speak, to disperse, after which these sons of darkness pronounced their sentence definitive, not having respect to the judgment of God. When all this was done and said, the cardinal caused his warders to return again with the prisoner into the castle, until such time as the fire was made ready. When he arrived at the castle there came Friar Scot and his mate, saying, "Sir, you must make your confession unto us." "I will make no confession unto you," replied Wishart; "go fetch me yonder man that preached this day, and

I will make my confession unto him." Then they sent for the sub-prior of the abbey, who came to him with all diligence; but what was said in this confession is unknown.

When the fire was made ready, and the gallows at the west part of the castle near to the priory, the lord cardinal, dreading that Wishart should have been taken away by his friends, commanded to bend all the ordnance of the castle right against that part, and all his gunners to be ready and stand beside their guns, until such time as he was burned. All this being done, they bound the martyr's hands behind him, and led him forth with their soldiers from the castle to the place of execution. As he came out of the castle gate, there met him certain beggars, asking alms for God's sake; to whom he answered, "I want my hands wherewith to give you alms, but the merciful Lord, of his benignity and abundance of grace that feedeth all men, vouchsafe to give you necessities both unto your bodies and souls." Then afterwards met him two fiends, called friars, saying, "Master George, pray to our lady, that she may be mediatrix for you to her Son." To whom he answered meekly, "Cease, tempt me not, my brethren." After this he was led to the fire with a rope about his neck, and a chain of iron for his girdle.

When he came to the fire he sunk down upon his knees, rose again, and thrice he repeated these words:—"O thou Saviour of the world, have mercy on me. Father of heaven, I commend my spirit into thy holy hands." Then he turned him to the people and said—"I beseech you, Christian brethren and sisters, that ye be not offended with the word of God for the affliction and torments which ye see prepared for me; but I exhort you that you love the word of God, and suffer patiently and with a comfortable heart for the word's sake, which is your undoubted salvation and everlasting comfort. Moreover, I pray you shew my brethren and sisters, which have heard me oft before, that they cease not, nor leave off the word of God which I taught them, after the grace given to me, for any persecutions or troubles in this world, which last not; and shew unto them that my doctrine was no old wives' fable, after the constitution made by men. Had I taught men's doctrine, I had gotten great thanks by men; but for the word's sake and the true gospel, which was given to me by the grace of God, I suffer this day by men, not sorrowfully, but with a glad heart and mind. For this cause I was sent, that I should suffer this fire for Christ's sake. Consider and behold my visage, ye shall not see me change my colour. This grim fire I fear not. If any persecution come to you for the word's sake, do not fear them that slay the body, and afterward have no power to slay the soul. Some have said of me that I have taught that the soul of man should sleep until the last day; but I know surely, and my faith is such, that my soul shall sup with my Saviour Christ this night, ere it be six hours, for whom I suffer this. I beseech thee, Father of Heaven, to forgive them that have of any ignorance or of any evil mind forged lies upon me; for I forgive them with all my heart. I beseech Christ to forgive them that have condemned me to death this day ignorantly; and, last of all, I beseech you brethren and sisters, to exhort your prelates to the learning of the word of God, that they at the last may be ashamed to do evil, and learn to do good. And if they will not

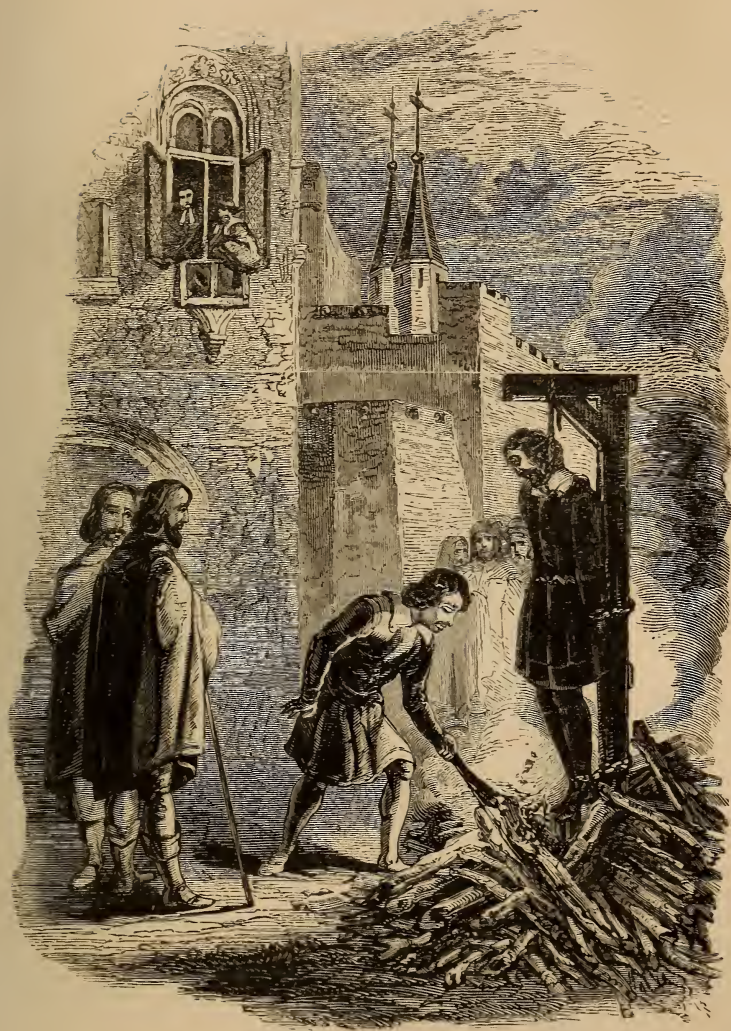
convert themselves from their wicked error, there shall hastily come upon them the wrath of God, which they shall not eschew."

Many other faithful words said he in the mean time, taking no heed or care of the cruel torments which were then prepared for him. At last the hangman fell upon his knees and said—"I pray you forgive me, for I am not guilty of your death." He answered—"Come hither to me." When he was come to him, he kissed his cheek, and said, "Lo! there is a token that I forgive thee. My heart, do thine office;" and presently he was put upon the gibbet and hanged, and there burnt to ashes. The people beheld the glorious exit of this triumphant martyr with sentiments of mingled wonder, sorrow, and indignation.

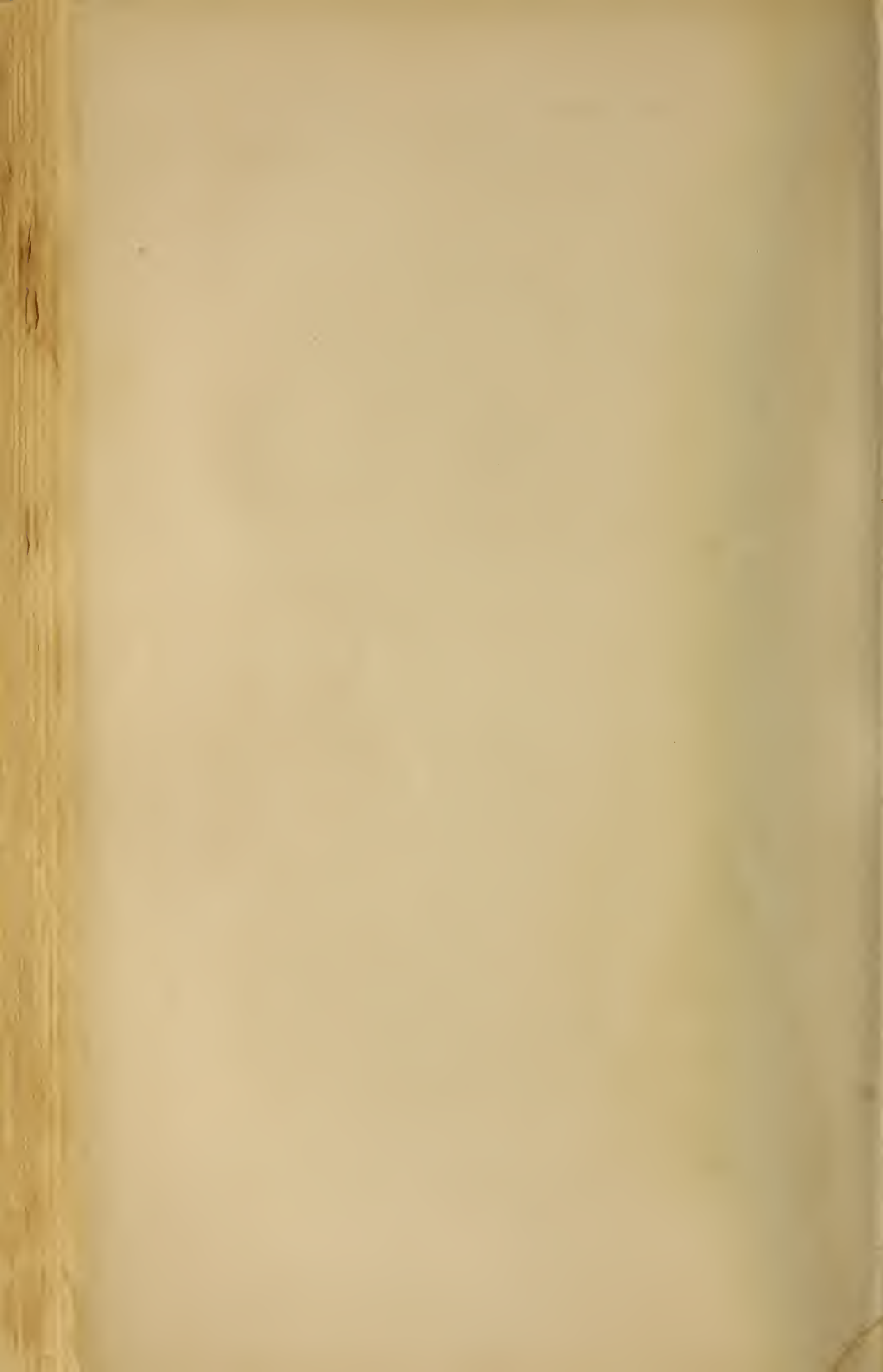
The clergy rejoiced much at his death, and extolled the courage of the cardinal, for proceeding in it against the orders of the governor. But the people looked on Wishart as a martyr and a prophet. It was also said that his death was nothing less than murder, since no writ had been obtained for it; and the clergy had no right to burn any one without a warrant from the secular power. It was therefore inferred that the cardinal deserved to die for his presumption; for if his dignity set him above the law, then private persons might execute that which the governor could not do. Such practices had been formerly too common in the kingdom; and upon this occasion some gentlemen of quality began to think it would be an heroic action to conspire his death. His insolence had rendered him generally hateful; thus public and private resentment concurring, twelve persons entered into an engagement to kill the cardinal privately in his house. On the 30th of May, they surprized the gate early in the morning; and though there were a hundred men in the castle, yet being all asleep, they came to them apart, and either turned them out, or shut them up in their chamber. Having made all sure, they proceeded to the cardinal's chamber; who, perceiving they had a design upon his life, exclaimed, "Alas! alas! slay me not, I am a priest;" but paying as little regard to him as he had done to Wishart, they immediately slew him, and laid out his body in the same window from which he had looked on Wishart's execution. Some justified this act, as the killing of a robber and murderer; but it was generally condemned; yet the accomplishment of Wishart's prediction made great impression on the people.

Before we return to our English history, we shall proceed with an account of the Scottish martyrs who suffered at this time, and the few following years. The violent death of cardinal Beaton was expected to put a stop to all such proceedings; but his successor unhappily resolved to continue them. The famous, or rather infamous, John Hamilton succeeded to the archbishopric of St. Andrews, who, in the spirit of persecution, was not a jot inferior to his predecessor. The year following his elevation, he brought to judgment and martyrdom Adam Wallace.

This excellent man was brought on a charge of heresy into a court assembled at the Black Friars' Church in Edinburgh, composed of many dignitaries and nobles in Scotland. Among them were the dean of Glasgow; the archbishop of St. Andrew's; the bishops of Dunblane and Moray; the abbots of Dunfermline and Glenluce; with other churchmen of lower estimation, as the official of St. Andrew's, and



MARTYRDOM OF GEORGE WISEHART.—PAGE 498.



some doctors of that city. The earl of Argyle, the justice, with his deputy sir John Campbell; the earls of Huntley and Angus; the bishop of Galloway; the prior of St. Andrews; the bishop of Orkney; the lord Forbes; dean John Winryme, sub-prior of St. Andrews, were also present; and behind the seats stood the whole senate, the clerk of the register, and other officers of the court.

At the further end of the chancelary wall, in the pulpit, was John Lauder, accuser, clad in a surplice and red hood, while a large congregation of the people were in the body of the church, standing on the ground. Before the examination of Wallace, John Ker, prebendary of St. Giles's church, was accused, convicted, and condemned, for the making and giving forth a sentence of divorce, whereby he falsely put asunder a man and his lawful wife, in the name of the dean of Restalrige, and certain other judges appointed by the holy father the pope. He confessed the falsehood, and that never any such thing was done indeed, nor yet meant or moved by the aforesaid judges. His sentence was to be banished the realms of Scotland and England for his lifetime, and to lose his right hand if he were found there after, and in the mean time to forfeit his benefices for ever, and they to be vacant.

Adam Wallace was then introduced by a servant of the bishop of St. Andrews, set in the midst of the scaffold, and commanded to look to the accuser. He was a man of simple and humble appearance, but was by no means daunted by the grandeur of his judges. On being asked his name, he answered, "Adam Wallace." The accuser said he had another name, which he granted and said he was commonly called Fean. Then he asked, where he was born? "Within two miles of Fayle," said he, "in Kyle." Then said the accuser, "I repent that such a poor man as you should put these noble lords to so great encumbrance this day by your vain speaking." "I must speak," said he, "as God giveth me grace; and I believe I have said no evil to hurt any body." "Would to God," said the accuser, "ye had never spoken; but you are brought forth for such horrible crimes of heresy, as never were imagined nor heard of in this country before, and shall be sufficiently proved, that ye cannot deny them; and I forethink that they should be punished for hurting of weak consciences. Now I will say no more, but thou shalt hear the points against thee.

"Adam Wallace, alias Fean: thou art openly accused for preaching and teaching of the blasphemies and abominable heresies under-written:—In the first, thou hast said and taught that the bread and wine on the altar, after the words of consecration, are not the body and blood of Christ." On this Wallace turned to the lord governor, and the whole court, saying—"I never said, nor taught any thing but what I found in this book (having a Bible at his belt in French, Dutch, and English), which is the word of God; and if you will be content that the Lord God be judge to me, and this his holy writ, here it is; and wherein I have said wrong, I shall take that punishment you put me to; for I never said any thing concerning this that I am accused of, but that which I found in this blessed book."

"What didst thou say?" said the accuser. "I said," quoth he, "that after our Lord Jesus Christ had eaten the paschal lamb in his last

supper with his apostles, and fulfilled the ceremonies of the old law, he instituted a new sacrament, in remembrance of his death then to come. He took bread, he blessed, and brake it, and gave it to his disciples, and said—‘Take ye, eat ye, this is my body which shall be broken and given for you.’ And likewise the cup he blessed, and bade them drink all thereof, for that was the cup of the New Testament which should be shed for the forgiving of many. ‘How oft ye do this, do it in my remembrance.’”

Then said the bishop of St. Andrew’s, the official of Lothian, and others, “We know this well enough.” The earl of Huntley said, “Thou answerest not to that which is laid to thee; say either nay or yea thereto.” He answered, “If ye will admit God and his word spoken by the mouth of his blessed son Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour, ye will admit that which I have said; for I have said and taught nothing but what the word, which is the trial and touchstone, saith; which ought to be judge to me, and to all the world.

“Why,” said the earl, again, “hast thou not a judge good enough? and thinkest thou that we know not God and his word? Answer to what is spoken to thee.” And then they made the accuser repeat the question.

Wallace answered, “I never said more than the word saith, nor yet more than I have said before. For I know well by St. Paul when he saith, ‘Whosoever eateth this bread and drinketh of this cup unworthily, receiveth to himself damnation.’ And therefore when I taught—which was but seldom, and to them only which required and desired me—I said, that if the sacrament of the altar were truly ministered, and used as the Son of the living God did institute it, where that was done, there was God himself by his divine power, by which he is over all.”

The bishop of Orkney then asked him, “Believest thou not that the bread and wine in the sacrament of the altar, after the words of the consecration, is the very body of Christ, flesh, blood, and bone?” To which he answered—“I know not what the word consecration meaneth. I have not much Latin, but I believe that the Son of God was conceived of the Holy Ghost, and born of the Virgin Mary, and hath a natural body, with hands, feet, and other members; and in the same body he walked up and down in the world, preached and taught, suffered death under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried, and that by his godly power he raised that same body again the third day; and the same body ascended into Heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of the Father, which shall come again to judge both the quick and the dead. I moreover believe that this body is a natural body with hands and feet, and cannot be in two places at once; this he sheweth well himself; for the which everlasting thanks be to him that maketh this matter clear. When the woman brake the ointment on him, answering to some of his disciples which grudged thereat, he said, ‘The poor shall you always have with you, but me ye shall not have always,’ meaning his natural body. And likewise at his ascension said he to the same disciples that were fleshly, and would ever have had him remaining with them corporeally, ‘It is needful for you that I pass away; for if I pass not away, the Comforter the Holy Ghost shall not come to you,’



meaning that his natural body behoved to be taken away from them : ' but be stout and be of good cheer, for I am with you always, unto the world's end.' Thus you must see that the eating of his very flesh profiteth not, as may well be known by his words which he spake in the sixth of John ; where, after he had said, ' Except ye eat my flesh, and drink my blood, ye shall not have life in you,' they murmuring thereat, he reproved them for their gross and fleshly taking of his words, and said, ' What will ye think when ye see the Son of man ascend to the place that he came from ? It is the Spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing,' (to be eaten as they took it, and even so take ye it.)"

"It is a horrible heresy," said the bishop of Orkney. Then the accuser propounded the second article, and said to Wallace, "Thou saidst likewise, and openly didst teach, that the mass is very idolatry, and abominable in the sight of God." To this he ingeniously replied—"I have read the word of God in three tongues, and have understood them so far as God gave me grace, and yet never read I the word 'mass' in any ; but I found that the thing which was highest and most in estimation among men, and not in the word of God, was idolatry, and abominable in his holy sight. And I say the mass is holden greatly in estimation, and high amongst men, and is not founded in the divine word ; therefore I said it was idolatry, and abominable in the sight of God. If any man will find it in the Scripture and prove it by God's word, I will grant mine error, and that I have failed ; otherwise not. In that case I will submit to all lawful correction and punishment."

"Ad tertiam," said the bishop. "To the third charge."

Then said the accuser, "Thou hast said and openly taught, that the God which we worship is but bread sown of corn, growing of the earth, baked of men's hands, and nothing else." To this Wallace answered, "I worship the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, three persons in one Godhead, which made and fashioned the heaven and earth, and all that is therein, of nought. But I know not which God you worship ; and if you will show me whom you worship, I will show you what he is as well as I can by my judgment."

"Believest thou not," said the accuser, "that the sacrament of the altar, after the words of the consecration, by the priest's hands, is the very body and blood of the Son of God, and God himself?"—"What the body of God is," Wallace replied, "and what kind of body he hath, I have shewed you, so far as I have found in the scripture." Then said the accuser—"Thou has preached divers other great errors and abominable heresies against all the seven sacraments, which for shortness of time I pretermit and overpass. Whether dost thou grant thy foresaid articles that thou art accused of, or no ? and thou shalt hear them shortly." And then repeated the accuser the three articles aforesaid shortly over, and asked him whether he granted or denied them ?

Wallace answered, that he had said nothing but what he thought to agree with the holy word, so God judge him, and his own conscience accuse him, and thereby would he abide unto the time he were better instructed by scripture, and the contrary proved, even to the death : and he said to the lord governor and the rest—"If you condemn me for holding by God's word, my blood shall be required at your hands, when ye shall be brought before the judgment seat of Christ, who is mighty

to defend my innocent cause; before whom ye shall not deny it, nor yet be able to resist its wrath, to whom I refer the vengeance, as it is written, 'Vengeance is mine and I will reward.'"

Then they gave sentence, and condemned him by the laws, and so left him to the secular power, in the hands of Sir John Campbell, justice deputy. He delivered him to the provost of Edinburgh to be burnt on the Castle-hill, who put him in the uppermost house in the town, with irons about his legs and neck, and gave charge to Sir Hugh Terry to keep the key of the house. Terry was an ignorant man, and a creature of the bishops, and as directed, sent to the poor man two grey friars, to instruct him, with whom he would enter into no communing. Soon after that were sent in two black friars, an English friar, and another subtle sophist, called Arbuthnot: with the English friar he would have reasoned and declared his faith by the scriptures; but he said he had no commission to enter into disputation with him, and so departed and left him. Then was sent to him a man, not ungodly in the understanding of the truth, the dean of Restalrige, who gave him christian consolation, during which he exhorted him to believe the reality of the sacrament after the consecration; but he would consent to nothing that had not evidence in the holy scripture, and so passed over that night in singing, and praising God, to the ears of divers hearers, having learned the psalter of David without book, to his consolation: for they had before taken from him his bible, which always, till after he was condemned, was with him wherever he went. When Sir Hugh knew that he had certain books to read and comfort his spirit, he came in a rage and took them from him, and gave divers ungodly and injurious provocations by his devilish venom, to pervert him from the patience and hope he had in Christ his Saviour: but God suffered him not to be moved therewith.

All the next morning he remained in irons, and preparation was commanded to be made for his burning against the next day. On that day the lord governor, and all the principal both spiritual and temporal lords, departed from Edinburgh. He soon knew of their departure, when there came the dean of Restalrige to him again, and reasoned with him. But Wallace answered as before, that he would say nothing concerning his faith, but as the scripture testifieth: yea, though an angel came from heaven to persuade him to the same; saving that he confessed himself to have received good consolation of the said dean in other behalf as becometh a christian. Then came in Sir Hugh Terry again, and examined him after his old manner, and said he would force devils to come forth of him before night. Wallace answered, "You should rather give me consolation in my case. When I knew you were come, I prayed God I might resist your temptations; which I thank him, he hath made me able to do; therefore I pray you let me alone in peace." Then he asked one of the officers that stood by—"Is your fire making ready?" who answered him it was. "As it pleaseth God," said Wallace, "I am ready soon or late as it shall please him;" and then he spoke to one true in that company, and bade him commend him to all the faithful, being sure to meet together with them in heaven. From that time, to his coming to the fire, no man spake with him.

At his forth-coming, the provost with great menacing words forbade

him to speak to any one, or any to him, as probably he had commandment of his superiors. Coming from the town to the Castle-hill, the common people said, "God have mercy upon you!" "And on you too," said he. Being beside the fire, he lifted up his eyes to heaven twice or thrice, and said to the people, "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." On this the provost was angry that he spake. Then he looked up to heaven again, and said, "They will not let me speak." The cord being about his neck, the fire was lighted, and so he departed to God constantly, and with good countenance.

About this time a remarkable schism took place in the Scotch church, relative to the Pater-noster. Numbers of the clergy contending that it might be addressed to any saint in heaven; while the less superstitious urged it was proper to be recited only to God. The first of these opinions, in all its extravagance and blasphemy, originated with a grey friar named Tottis, and the following distorted sophistry he used in supporting and defending it. "If we meet an old man in the street, we say to him, Good day, father! and, therefore, much more may we call the saints our fathers; and because we grant, also, that they are in heaven, we may say to them—Our fathers, who art in heaven! God hath made their names holy, therefore may we say to any one of them—hallowed be thy name; and for the same cause, as they are in heaven, we may say to them—thy kingdom come. And except their will had been the will of God, they had never been there; consequently we may say—thy will be done." But when he came to the fourth petition—give us this day our daily bread, he was rather at a loss: he however got over his difficulty, saying, that although the saints certainly could not themselves give us bread, yet they could intercede for us, and that we might consequently address the prayer unto them, that they might pray unto the Father in our behalf. Thus did he impiously gloss over the rest in like manner.

Among other martyrs of Scotland, the constancy of Walter Mille is not to be passed over with silence. Out of his ashes sprang thousands of his opinion and religion in Scotland, who altogether chose rather to die than to be any longer trodden over by the tyranny of the bishops, abbots, monks, and friars: and so began the congregation of Scotland to debate the true religion of Christ against the Frenchmen and papists, who sought always to depress and keep them down. The martyrdom of Mille was brought on by the following events.

In the year of our Lord, 1558, in the time of Mary, duchess of Longueville, queen regent of Scotland, and John Hamilton, bishop of St. Andrew's and primate of Scotland, Walter Mille, who in his youth had been a papist, after he had travelled to Germany, where he had heard the doctrine of the gospel, returned to Scotland, and, contrary to papal celibacy took to himself a wife, which made the bishops of Scotland suspect him of heresy; and after long watching him he was taken by two popish priests, namely, sir George Strachan, and sir Hugh Terry, servants to the said bishop, and imprisoned in the castle of St. Andrew's. While in confinement, the papists earnestly laboured to seduce him, and threatened him with torture and death, to the intent they might

cause him to recant and forsake the truth; but seeing they could profit nothing thereby, and that he remained firm and constant, they laboured to persuade him by fair promises, and offered him a monk's portion for the remainder of his life, in the abbey of Dunfermline, so that he would deny what he had taught, and grant that they were heresies: but he, continuing in the truth to the end, equally despised their threatenings and fair promises.

Then assembled together the bishops of St. Andrew's, Moray, Brechin, Caithness, and Athens; the abbots of Dunfermline, Lindores, Balindrinot, and Cowpers; with doctors in theology of St. Andrew's, as John Grison, black friar, and dean John Winryme, sub-prior of St. Andrew's, William Cranston, provost of the old college, with others, as sundry friars black and grey. These being assembled, and having consulted together, he was taken out of prison, and brought to the metropolitan church, where he was put in a pulpit before the bishops to be accused, the twentieth day of April. Being brought into the church, and climbing up into the pulpit, they seeing him so weak and feeble of person, partly by age and travel, partly by evil treatment, that without help he could not ascend, they were out of hope to have heard him for weakness of voice. But when he began to speak, he made the church to ring and echo, with so great courage and stoutness, that the christians which were present were no less rejoiced than his adversaries were confounded and ashamed. Being in the pulpit, on his knees at prayer, Andrew Oliphant, one of the bishop's chaplains, commanded him to rise and answer to the articles, saying on this manner—"Sir Walter Mille, rise and answer to the articles, for you hold my lord here over long." To whom Walter, after he had finished his prayer, answered, saying, "We ought to obey God more than man; I serve one more mighty, even the Omnipotent Lord; and I beseech you call me Walter, and not *Sir* Walter; I have been over-long one of the pope's knights. Now say what thou hast to say."

*Oliphant.* What think you of priests' marriage?

*Mille.* I hold it a blessed band: for Christ himself maintained it, and approved the same, and also made it free to all men; but you think it not free to you; ye abhor it, and in the mean time take other men's wives and daughters, and will not keep the band God hath made. Ye vow chastity, and break the same. Saint Paul had rather marry than burn; the which I have done, for God never forbade marriage to any man, what state or degree soever he were.

*Oliphant.* Thou sayst there be not seven sacraments.

*Mille.* Give me the Lord's Supper and Baptism, and take you the rest, and part them among you. For if there be seven, why have you omitted one of them, to wit, marriage, and given yourselves to whoredom?

*Oliphant.* Thou art against the blessed sacrament of the altar, and sayst that the mass is wrong, and is idolatry.

*Mille.* A lord or a king sendeth and calleth many to a dinner, and when the dinner is in readiness, he causeth a bell to ring, and the men come to the hall, and sit down to be partakers of the dinner; but the lord, turning his back unto them, eateth all himself, and mocketh them:

so do ye turn your backs in the sacrament on the people you have invited.

*Oliphant.* Thou deniest the sacrament of the altar to be the very body of Christ really in flesh and blood.

*Mille.* The scripture of God is not to be taken carnally, but spiritually, and standeth in faith only; and as for the mass it is wrong, for Christ was once offered on the cross for man's trespass, and will never be offered again, for then he ended all sacrifices.

*Oliphant.* Thou deniest the office of a bishop.

*Mille.* I affirm that they, whom ye call bishops, do no bishops' works; nor use the office of bishops, as Paul biddeth, writing to Timothy, but live after their own sensual pleasure, and take no care of the flock, nor yet regard they the word of God, but desire to be honoured and called, my lords.

*Oliphant.* Thou spakest against pilgrimage, and calledst it a pilgrimage to whoredom.

*Mille.* I affirm and say, that it is not commanded in the scripture, and that there is no greater whoredom in any place, than at your pilgrimages, except it be in common brothels.

*Oliphant.* Thou preachedst secretly and privately in houses, and openly in the fields.

*Mille.* Yea, man, and on the sea also, sailing in a ship, as Christ did.

*Oliphant.* Wilt thou not recant thy erroneous opinions? and if thou wilt not, I will pronounce sentence against thee.

*Mille.* I am accused of my life; I know I must die once, and therefore as Christ said to Judas, what thou doest do quickly. Ye shall know that I will not recant the truth, for I am the corn, I am no chaff; I will not be blown away with the wind, nor burst with the flail; but I will abide both.

These things rehearsed they, with other trifles, to augment their final accusation; and then sir Andrew Oliphant pronounced sentence against him, that he should be delivered to the temporal judge, and punished as a heretic, that is to be burnt. Notwithstanding, his boldness and constancy moved so the hearts of many, that the bishop's steward of his regality, provost of the town, called Patrick Lermond, refused to be his temporal judge, to whom it appertained, if the cause had been just. Also the bishop's chamberlain, being therewith charged, would in no wise take upon him so ungodly an office. Indeed the whole town was so offended with his unjust condemnation, that the bishop's servants could not purchase for their money so much as one cord to tie him to the stake, or a tar-barrel to burn him, but were constrained to cut the cords of their master's own pavilion to serve their turn. At last, however, there was one servant of the bishop's more ignorant and cruel than the rest, named Alexander Somervale, ambitious of the office of a temporal judge in that part, who conveyed him to the fire, where, against all natural reason of man, his boldness and firmness did more and more increase, so that the Spirit of God working miraculously in him, made it manifest to the people, that his cause and articles were most just, and that he died innocently and in the Lord.

All things being ready for his death, he was conducted by armed men to the fire. On arriving there, Oliphant bade him pass to the stake: but

he said, "Nay, but wilt thou put me up with thy hand and take part of my death? thou shalt see me pass up gladly; for by the law of God I am forbidden to put hands upon myself." Then Oliphant put him up with his hand, and he ascended gladly, saying, *Introibo ad altare Dei*, and desired that he might have space to speak to the people; the which Oliphant and other of the burners denied, because he had spoken over-much, for the bishops were altogether offended that the matter was so long continued. Then some of the young men committed both the burners and the bishops their masters to the devil, remarking that they believed they should lament that day, and desired Walter to speak what he pleased.

So after he made his humble supplication to God on his knees, he arose, and standing upon the coals said on this wise: "Dear friends, the cause why I suffer this day is not for any crime laid to my charge, albeit I be a miserable sinner before God, but only for the defence of the faith of Jesus Christ, set forth in the New and Old Testament unto us; for which as the faithful martyrs have offered themselves gladly before, being assured after death of their bodies of eternal felicity; so this day I praise God that he hath called me of his mercy among the rest of his servants to seal up his truth with my life: which as I have received it of him, so willingly I offer it to his glory. Therefore as you will escape the eternal death, be no more seduced with the lies of priests, monks, friars, priors, abbots, bishops, and the rest of the sect of Antichrist, but depend only upon Jesus Christ and his mercy, that ye may be delivered from condemnation." While he spake there was great mourning and lamentation of the multitude; who perceiving his patience, boldness, and constancy, were not only moved and stirred up, but their hearts also were so inflamed, that he was the last martyr that died in Scotland for the religion. After his prayer, he was hoisted up on the stake, and being in the fire, he said, "Lord have mercy on me; pray people whilst there is time:" and thus resigned his soul to Him who gave it.

From Scotland we turn again to England, to the papal history of Henry VIII. This important reign, which draws near to a conclusion, is so replete with incidents, and the political and ecclesiastical affairs are so connected, that we entreat the reader to pardon the breaks and chasms he may observe, for were we to give this long chain of events link by link, as they stand in the pages of general history, we should too much swell the limited size of this work, which, be it remembered, is rather a history of individuals than of countries and general events.

The next English martyrs who stand upon record are Kerby and Roger Clarke. They were apprehended at Ipswich, and brought before lord Wentworth, with other commissioners appointed there to sit upon their examinations. The night before they were arraigned, a bill was fixed upon the town-house door, by whom it was unknown, and brought the next day unto lord Wentworth; who answered, that it was good counsel to render them cautious and prudent. In the mean time, Kerby and Clarke, being in the house of the gaoler, whose name was Bird, there came in Mr. Robert Wingfield, son of Humfrey Wingfield, knight, with Mr. Bruess, of Wenham; who having conference with Kerby,

Wingfield said to him, "Remember the fire is hot, take heed of thine enterprise, that thou take no more upon thee than thou shalt be able to perform. The terror is great, the pain will be extreme, and life is sweet. Better it were betimes to stick to mercy, while there is hope of life, than rashly to begin, and then to shrink." Kerby answered—"Ah, Mr. Wingfield, be at my burning, and you shall say, there standeth a christian soldier in the fire: for I know that fire and water, sword and all other things, are in the hands of God, and he will suffer no more to be laid upon us than he will give strength to bear." "Ah, Kerby," said Mr. Wingfield, "if thou be at that point, I will bid thee farewell; for I promise thee I am not so strong that I am able to burn." And so both the gentlemen saying that they would pray for them, shook hands with them and departed.

When Kerby and Clarke came to the judgment seat, where were present lord Wentworth, the commissary, and others, they lifted up their eyes and hands to heaven with great devotion, making their prayers secretly to God for a space of time. That done, their articles were declared to them with all circumstances of the law: and then it was demanded and required of them, whether they believed, that after the words spoken by a priest, as Christ spake them to his apostles, there were not the very body and blood of Christ, flesh, blood, and bone, as he was born of the Virgin Mary, and no bread after?" To this usual and sweeping question they answered—"No! we do not so believe; but we believe the sacrament which Christ Jesus instituted at his last supper to his disciples, was only to put them in remembrance of his precious death and blood-shedding for the remission of sins; and that there was neither flesh nor blood to be eaten with the teeth, but bread and wine, and yet more than bread and wine, for they are consecrated to a holy use." Then with much persuasions, both with fair means and threats were they beset, but most at the hands of Foster, an inferior justice, a man quite ignorant of what he spoke; yet they both continued faithful and constant, choosing rather to die than to live, and so continued unto the end.

Then sentence was given upon them, Kerby to be burnt in the said town on the next Saturday, and Clarke at Bury on the Monday after. Kerby, when his judgment was given by lord Wentworth, with most humble reverence holding up his hands, and bowing himself devoutly, said—"Praised be Almighty God!" and stood still without any more words. Then did lord Wentworth talk secretly, putting his hand behind another justice that sat near him. Clarke perceiving this, said with a loud voice, "Speak out, my lord; and if you have any thing contrary to your conscience, ask God mercy, and we for our parts forgive you: and speak not in secret, for ye shall come before a judge, and then make answer openly, even before him that shall judge all men." Lord Wentworth, somewhat changing colour, as it was thought through remorse, answered, "I spoke nothing of you, nor have I done any thing unto you, but as the law is." Then were the prisoners sent forth, Kerby to prison there, and Clarke to Bury St. Edmunds. On quitting the court, Clarke exclaimed aloud—"Fight for your God, for he hath not long to continue."

On Saturday, about ten o'clock, Kerby was brought to the market-

place, where a stake with wood and straw was ready. He put off his clothes to his shirt, having a night-cap upon his head, and was then fastened to the stake with irons; there being in the gallery lord Wentworth, with the greater part of the justices of those quarters, where they might see his execution, how every thing should be done, and also might hear what Kerby had to say; there were also a great number of people. Upon the gallery also, by lord Wentworth, stood Dr. Rugham, who was before a monk of Bury, and sexton of the house, having on a surplice and stole about his neck. Then silence was proclaimed, and the doctor began to excuse himself, as not meet to declare the Holy Scriptures, being unprovided because the time was so short, but that he hoped in God's assistance it should come well to pass.

While the executioners were preparing their irons, fagots, and straw, for the martyr, he, as one that should be married with new garments, nothing changed in cheer nor countenance, but with a most meek spirit glorified God. Dr. Rugham at last entered into the sixth chapter of St. John, and in handling that matter, so oft as he alleged the Scriptures, and applied them rightly, Kerby told the people that he said true, and bade them believe him. But when he did otherwise, he told him again, "You say not true; believe him not, good people." Whereupon, as the voice of the people was, they judged Dr. Rugham a false prophet. When he had ended his collation, he said to Kerby, "Thou, good man, dost thou not believe that the blessed sacrament of the altar is the very flesh and blood of Christ, and no bread, even as he was born of the Virgin Mary?" Kerby answering boldly, said—"I do not so believe." "How dost thou believe?" said the doctor. Kerby answered boldly, saying, "I believe that in the sacrament which Jesus Christ instituted at his last supper to his disciples is his death and passion and his bloodshedding for the redemption of the world, to be remembered; and, as I said before, yet bread, and more than bread, for that it is consecrated to a holy use." After this the doctor spake not one word more to Kerby.

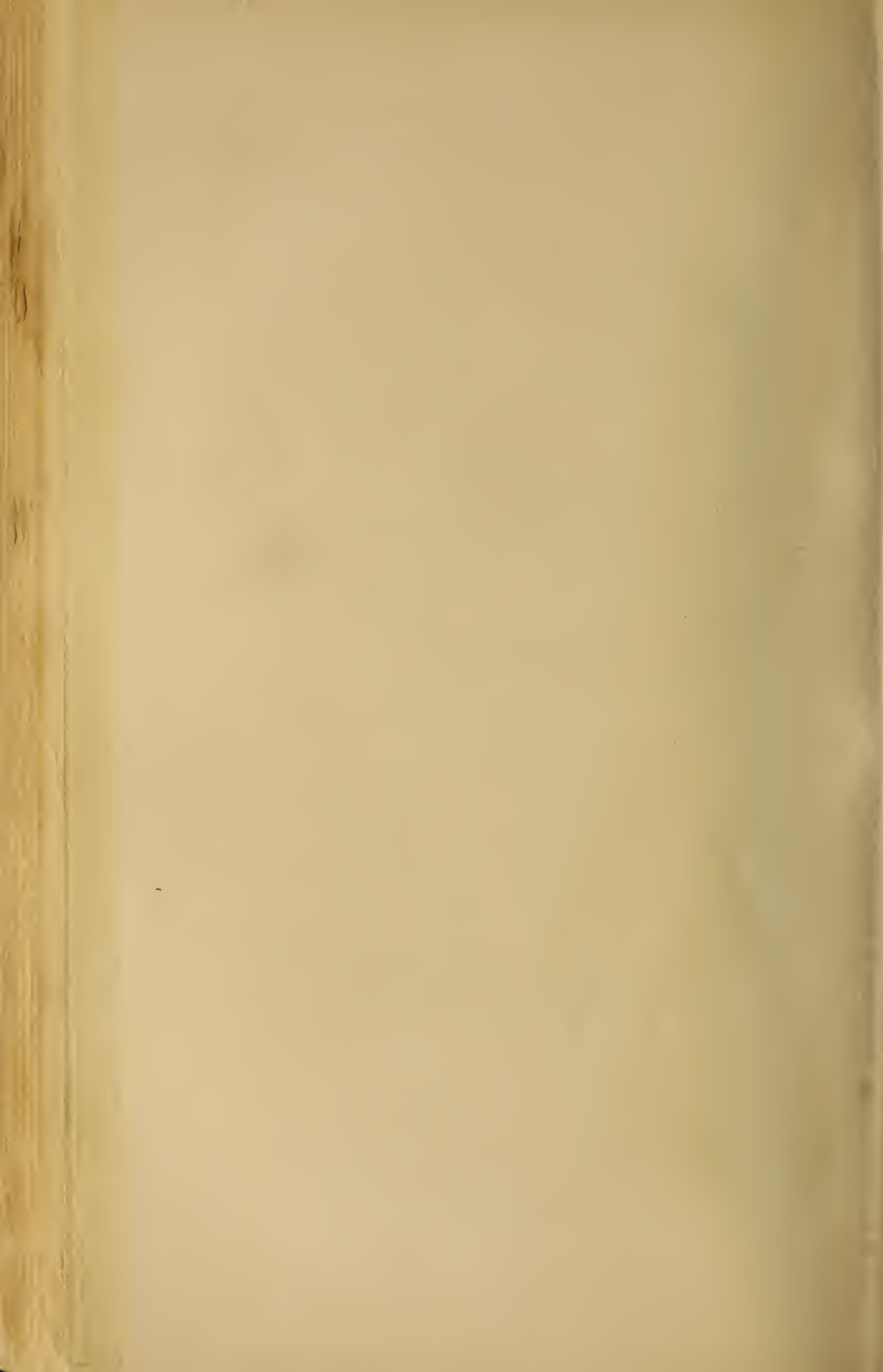
Then the under-sheriff demanded of Kerby whether he had any thing more to say. "Yea, sir," said he, "if you will give me leave." "Say on then," said the sheriff. The martyr summoning all his fortitude, and taking the cap from his head, put it under his arms as though it should have done him service again: but remembering himself, he cast it from him, and lifting up his hands, he repeated the *Te Deum*, and the belief, with other prayers in the English tongue. Lord Wentworth, whilst Kerby was thus doing, concealed himself behind one of the posts of the gallery, and wept, and so did many others. "Then," said Kerby, "I have done: you may execute your office, good sheriff." On this, fire was set to the wood, while with a loud voice he called unto God, striking his breast, and holding up his hands so long as his remembrance would serve; and so ended his life, the people giving shouts, and praising God with great admiration of his constancy, being so simple and unlettered.

On the following Monday, about ten o'clock, Roger Clarke of Mendelsham was brought out of prison, and led on foot to the gate, called Southgate, in Bury. By the way, the procession met with them; but he went on, and would not bow, but with most vehement words rebuked their idolatry





ROGER CLARKE TURNING AWAY FROM THE HOST. — PAGE 448.



and superstition, the officers being much offended. Without the gate, where was the place of execution, the stake being ready, and the wood lying by, he came and kneeled down, and said *Magnificat* in the English tongue, making as it were a paraphrase upon the same, wherein he declared that the blessed Virgin Mary, who might as well rejoice in pureness, as any other, yet humbled herself to our Saviour. "And what sayest thou John Baptist," said he, "the greatest of all the children? 'Behold the lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the world.'" Thus with a loud voice he cried unto the people, while they were fastening him to the stake, and then the fire was set to him. His sufferings were dreadful, for the wood was green, and would not burn, so that he was choaked with smoke: and moreover, being set in a pitch barrel, with some pitch sticking still by the sides, he was therewith sore pained, till he got his feet out of the barrel. At length one standing by took a fagot-stick, and striking at the ring of iron about his neck, and then upon his head, he shrunk down on one side into the fire, and so was destroyed.

The reformation now appeared to go back instead of forward for a time. This year it was ordained and decreed, and solemnly given out in proclamation by the king's name and authority, and his council, that the English procession should be used throughout the kingdom, as it was set forth by his council, and none other to be used throughout the whole realm. In the month of November, after the king had subdued the Scots, and joining with the emperor had invaded France, and had got from them the town of Boulogne, he summoned his high court of parliament; which granted unto him, besides other subsidies of money, all colleges, chantries, free chapels, hospitals, fraternities, brotherhoods, guilds, and perpetuities of stipendary priests, to be disposed of at his will and pleasure. Whereupon in the month of December following, the king after his wonted manner, came into the parliament house to give his royal assent to such acts as were there passed: where after an eloquent oration made to him by the speaker, he answered him, not by the lord chancellor, as the manner was, but in an artful speech which he himself composed and delivered.

He first eloquently and lovingly declared his grateful heart to his subjects for their grants and supplies offered unto him. In the second part with no less vehemency, he exhorted them to concord, peace, and unity; but had he sought the right way to work charity, and to help innocency amongst his subjects, he would have taken away the impious law of the six articles, that mother of all division. For what is it to the purpose, to exhort charity in words, and, at the same time, to put a weapon into the murderer's hand to run upon his naked brother, who never in conscience can leave his cause, nor yet hath power to defend himself? The mischief and misery produced by this law never were more fully shewn than in its operation against two or three martyrs at this time, upon whom it was put in force. Of these the most memorable was Anne Askew, whose bitter persecution and merciless death tended to shew the sanguinary spirit of the times, while they also shew the firmness which a female can attain when aided by the power of religion and truth.

ANNE ASKEW was descended from a good family, and had received an accomplished education; and the reader will best form his judgment of her by what follows of her trial and conduct under it. Her first examination was in the year of our Lord 1545, in the month of March. Christopher Dare examined her at Sadler's Hall, being one of the quest, and asked, if she did not believe that the sacrament hanging over the altar was the very body of Christ really. Then she demanded this question of him, Wherefore was St. Stephen stoned to death? and he said, he could not tell. Then she answered that no more would she answer his vain question. Then he said, that there was a woman, who did testify that Anne Askew should read, how God was not in temples made with hands. On this she shewed him the seventh and seventeenth chapters of the Acts of the Apostles, what Stephen and Paul had said therein. Whereupon he asked her how she took those sentences? She answered, "I would not throw pearls amongst swine, for acorns were good enough."

He proceeded to ask her why she said—"I had rather read five lines in the Bible, than hear five masses in the temple." She confessed she said so, not for the dispraise of either the epistle or the gospel, but because the one greatly edified her, and the other nothing at all. As St. Paul doth witness in the fourteenth chapter of his first epistle to the Corinthians, wherein he saith, "If the trumpet giveth an uncertain sound, who will prepare himself to the battle?" On this she was accused of saying, that if an ill priest ministered, it was the devil and not God. To which her answer was a denial of both the words and the sentiment. Instead of which she only said, "Whoever ministered unto me, his ill conditions could not hurt my faith, but in spirit I received nevertheless the body and blood of Christ." He then asked her what she said concerning confession. She answered, "My meaning was as St. James saith, that every man ought to acknowledge his faults to others, and the one to pray for the other."

Enquiry was made what she said to the king's book; and she answered him that she could say nothing to it, because she never saw it. A priest was then sent for to examine her, and when he came to her, he asked several questions; but the principal one was what she said to the sacrament of the altar, and required much to know her meaning therein. But she desired him again to hold her excused concerning that matter: no other answer would she make him, because she perceived him to be a papist. On her silence he asked her if she did not think that private masses helped the departed souls; she said, it was great idolatry to believe more in them, than in the death which Christ died for us.

Then they brought her unto my lord mayor, and he examined her, as they had before, and she answered him directly in all things in a lively manner, on which the bishop's chancellor rebuked her, and said that she was much to blame for uttering the scriptures. St. Paul, he said, forbade women to speak or to talk of the word of God. She answered him that she knew Paul's meaning as well as he, which was that a woman ought not to speak in the congregation by the way of teaching: and then she asked him how many women he had seen go into the pulpit and preach?

He said he never saw any. Then said she you ought to find no fault with poor women, except they had offended the law. Then the lord mayor was for committing her to prison, when she asked him if sureties would not serve: he made her short answer, that he would take none. Then was she forced to the counter, where she remained eleven days, no friend being admitted to speak with her. In the mean time there was a priest sent unto her, who said that he was commanded by the bishop to examine her, and to give her good counsel, which he did not. But first he asked her, for what cause she was put in the counter, and she told him she could not tell. Then he said, it was great pity that she should be there without cause, and concluded that he was very sorry for her; charging her with denying the sacrament of the altar: which she answered indifferently, observing that what she had said she had said.

The priest then asked her if she were content to be shriven. She told him, so that she might have one of these three, that is to say, Dr. Crome, Sir Guillam, or Huntington, she was contented, because she knew them to be men of wisdom. "As for you, or any other," she said, "I will not dispraise, because I know you not." The priest answered, "Think not but that I, or any other who may be brought you, shall be as honest as they: for if we were not, you may be sure the king would not suffer us to preach." Then she answered with the saying of Solomon, "By communing with the wise I may learn wisdom, but by talking with a fool I shall take scathe." Confounded by her wit, the priest changed his course, and asked, If the host should fall, and a beast did eat it, whether the beast did receive God or no? She answered, "Seeing that you have taken the pains to ask the question, I desire you also to assoil it yourself: for I will not do it, because I perceive you come to tempt me." He said it was against the order of schools, that he which asked the question should answer it: when she told him she was but a woman, and knew not the course of schools.

Then he asked her if she intended to receive the sacrament at Easter or no? She answered, that else she were no Christian woman; and she rejoiced that the time was so near at hand. He then departed with many fair words. On the 23rd of March, her cousin came unto her, and asked her whether she might be put to bail. Then went he immediately to the lord mayor, desiring him to be so good to her, that she might be bailed. My lord answered him, that he would be glad to do the best, but he could not bail her without the consent of a spiritual officer; requiring him to go and speak to the chancellor of London. For as he could not commit her to prison without the consent of a spiritual officer, no more could he bail her without the consent of the same.

Upon that he went to the chancellor, requiring of him, as he did before of my lord mayor. The chancellor answered, that the matter was so heinous, he durst not of himself do it, without my lord of London was made privy thereto. But said he would speak to my lord of it, and bade him repair to him the next morning, and he should know his pleasure. Accordingly upon the day after he came thither, and spoke to both the chancellor and bishop of London. The bishop declared that he was well contented that she should come forth to communication, and

appointed her to appear before him the next day, at three o'clock in the afternoon. Moreover he said, that he wished there should be, at the examination, such learned men as she was affectioned to, that they might see, and also make report, that she was handled with no rigour. He answered him, that he knew no man whom she had more affection to than another. Then said the bishop, "Yes, as I understand, she prefers Dr. Crome, Sir Guillam Whitehead, and Huntington, that they might hear the matter, for she did know them to be learned and of a godly judgment." Also he required her cousin Britain, that he should earnestly persuade her to utter even the very bottom of her heart; and he swore by his fidelity, that no man should take any advantage of her words, neither yet would he lay any thing to her charge for any thing that she should there speak; but if she said any thing amiss, he, with others, would be glad to reform her therein with godly counsel.

Next day in the forenoon, the bishop of London sent for her, and as she came before him, he said he was sorry for her trouble, and desired to know her opinions in such matters as were laid against her. He required her also in any wise boldly to utter the secrets of her heart, bidding her not to fear in any points, for whatever she said in his house, no man should hurt her for it. She answered—"As your lordship has appointed three o'clock; and my friends will not come till that hour, I desire you to pardon my giving answers till they arrive." Then he said that he thought it meet to send for those who were before named and appointed. She desired him not to put them to the trouble, because the two gentlemen who were her friends, were able enough to testify what she should say. Afterwards he went into his gallery with Mr. Spilman, and told him in any wise that he should exhort her to utter all she thought. And in the meanwhile he commanded his arch-deacon to commune with her, who said, "Mistress, wherefore are you accused and thus troubled here before the bishop?" She answered, "Sir, ask my accusers, for I know not as yet." Then he took her hand, and pointing to the bible, said, "Such book as this has brought you to the trouble you are now in. Beware, beware, for he that made this book, and was the author thereof, was a heretic and burned in Smithfield." She asked him if he was certain and sure that it was true what he had spoken. He said he knew well the book was of John Frith's making. She asked him if he was not ashamed to judge of the book before he saw it within, or yet knew the truth thereof; and said also, that such unadvised hasty judgment is a token apparent of a very slender wit. Then she opened the book and shewed it him. He said he thought it had been another, for he could find no fault therein. Then she desired him no more to be so unadvisedly rash and swift in judgment, till he thoroughly knew the truth, and so he departed from her.

Immediately after came her cousin Britain, with divers others, among whom was a Mr. Hall of Gray's-Inn. Then my lord of London persuaded her cousin, as he had done oft before, that she should utter the very bottom of her heart in any wise. My lord said after that unto her that he would she should credit the counsel of such as were her friends and well-wishers in this behalf, which was that she should utter all

things that burthened her conscience; for he assured her that she should not need to stand in doubt. For as he promised them, he promised her, and would perform it; namely, that neither he, nor any man for him, should take her at advantage of any word, and therefore he bade her speak her mind without fear. She answered him, that she had nought to say, for her conscience was burthened with nothing. Then the bishop, Bonner, began to use similitudes, and his first, especially to a delicate female, was not a very savoury similitude: "If a man had a wound, no wise surgeon would minister help unto it before he had seen it uncovered. In the same manner can I give you no good counsel, unless I know wherewith your conscience is burthened." "My conscience," she said, "is clear in all things, and to lay a plaister unto a whole skin would appear much folly." Bonner exclaimed—"Then you drive me to lay to your charge your own report, which is this: You did say, he that doth receive the sacrament by the hands of an ill priest, or a sinner, receiveth the devil, and not God." She answered, "I never spake such words; but, as I said before, that the wickedness of the priest did not hurt me, but in spirit and faith I received no less than the body and blood of Christ." "What saying is this, in spirit?" demanded he; "I will not take you at the advantage." Then she answered, "My lord, without faith and spirit, I cannot receive him worthily."

He said she had affirmed, that "the sacrament remaining in the pix was not bread." She answered, she had never said so; but indeed the quest had asked the question, whereunto she would not reply till they had answered her question, "Wherefore Stephen was stoned to death?" The bishop evidently remembered this, and changing his tone, said, that she had alleged a certain text of the scripture. She answered, "I alleged none other but St. Paul's own saying to the Athenians, in the 17th chapter of the Acts, that God dwelleth not in temples made with hands." Then he inquired what her faith and belief was in that matter? She answered him, "I believe as the scripture doth teach me." On this he inquired, "What if the scripture doth say that it is the body of Christ?" "I believe," she said, "as the scripture doth teach." Then he asked again, "What if the scripture doth say that it is not the body of Christ?" Her answer was still, "I believe as the scripture informeth me." On this argument he tarried a great while, to have driven her to make him an answer to his mind. Howbeit she would not, but concluded this with him, "I believe therein, and in all other things, as Christ and his apostles did leave them."

The bishop, displeased that she said so little, sharply asked, "Why she had so few words?" when she answered, "God hath given me the gift of knowledge, but not of utterance; and Solomon saith, 'That a woman of few words is the gift of God.'" Then he laid to her charge, that she had said that the mass was superstitious, wicked, and no better than idolatry. She answered him that she had not said so: adding, "The quest asked me whether private mass did relieve departed souls or no? Unto whom I answered—O Lord, what idolatry is this, that we should rather believe in private masses than in the death of the dear Son of God?" Then said the bishop again, "What an answer is that?" "Though it be but mean," she said, "yet is it good enough for the

question. And there was a priest who did hear what I said there, before my lord mayor and them." The chancellor then asked the priest, who said she spake it in very deed, before the lord mayor and himself.

There were certain priests, as Dr. Standish and others, who tempted her so much to know her mind. She answered them always thus:—"What I have said to my lord of London, I have said." Then Dr. Standish desired the bishop to bid her speak her mind concerning the text of St. Paul's learning, probably to betray her, that she being a woman should interpret the scriptures in the presence of so many wise and learned men. The bishop then quickly said, "I am informed that one has asked you if you would receive the sacrament at Easter, and you made a mock of it." To this she boldly yet calmly and meekly replied, "I desire that my accuser might come forth"—which he would not allow. But he said again unto her, "I sent one to give you good counsel, and at the first word you called him Papist." "I deny not that," she said, "for I perceived he was no less, and I made him no other reply."

Then he rebuked her, and said that she had reported there were sent against her threescore priests at Lincoln. "Indeed," she answered, "I said so; for my friends told me, if I did come to Lincoln, the priests would assault me, and put me to great trouble, as thereof they had made their boast; and when I heard it I went thither not being afraid, because I knew my matter to be good. Moreover I remained there nine days, to see what would be said to me; and as I was in the Minster, reading the Bible, they resorted unto me by two and two, and by greater numbers, minding to have spoken unto me, yet went they their ways again without speaking." The bishop asked if there were not one who had spoken to her? She answered, "Yes, there was one of them at the last which did speak indeed, but his words were of small effect, so that I do not now remember them." Then said the bishop, "There are many that read and know the scripture, and yet follow it not, nor live thereafter." She said again, "My lord, I would wish that all men knew my conversation and living in all points; for I am sure myself this hour that there are none able to prove any dishonesty against me. If you know that any can do it, I pray you bring them forth." Then the bishop went away, and said he would put some of her meaning in writing; but what it was she was uncertain, for he would not suffer her to have the copy thereof.

A small part of it ran thus:—"Be it known of all men, that I, Anne Askew, do confess this to be my faith and belief, notwithstanding many reports made afore to the contrary. I believe that they which are houseled at the hands of a priest, whether his conversation be good or not, do receive the body and blood of Christ in substance really. Also I do believe, that after the consecration, whether it be received or reserved, it is no less than the very body and blood of Christ in substance. Finally, I do believe in this and in all other sacraments of holy church in all points, according to the catholic faith of the same. In witness whereof, I the said Anne have subscribed my name." It is evident that all this was palmed on Mrs. Askew by the treacherous bishop; and there was somewhat more in it, which because she had not the copy, she



could not remember. He read it to her, and asked if she did not agree to it? To which she said, "I believe so much thereof, as the holy scripture doth agree unto; wherefore I desire you that you will add that thereunto." To this he said, that she should not teach him what he should write; and with that he went forth into his great chamber and read the same bill before the audience, which inveigled and willed her to set to her hand, saying also, that she had been favoured, and that she might thank others, and not herself for the favour she found at his hand; for he considered that she had good friends, and that she came of a good family. Never sure did a bishop shew favour to a lady with so ill a grace.

Christopher, a servant to Mr. Denny, said to his lordship, "Rather ought you, my lord, to have done it in such case for God's sake, than for man's." Then my lord sat down, and took her the writing to set thereto her hand, and she wrote after this manner:—"I Anne Askew do believe all manner of things contained in the faith of the catholic church." Because of the latter words he flung the paper into his chamber in great fury. With that her cousin Britain followed, desiring him for God's sake to be a good bishop to her. He answered, that she was a woman, and that he was nothing deceived in her. Then her cousin Britain desired him to treat her as a woman, and not to set a weak woman's wit to his lordship's great wisdom.

There went in unto him Dr. Weston, and said, "The cause why she did write there the catholic church, was, that she understood not the church written afore." So with much ado they persuaded the bishop to come out again, and take her name, with the names of the sureties, which were her cousin Britain and master Spilman of Gray's Inn. This being done, it was thought that she should have been put to bail immediately, according to the order of the law. Howbeit he would not suffer it, but committed her from thence to prison again until the morrow, and then he willed her to appear in the Guildhall, which she did. Notwithstanding they would not put her to bail there, but read the bishop's writing unto her as before, and commanded her again to prison. Then were her sureties appointed to come on the morrow in Paul's church, who did so. They would once again have broken off with them, because they would not be bound also for another woman, whom they knew not, nor yet what matter was laid unto her charge. Notwithstanding at the last, after much ado and reasoning to and fro, they took a bond of them of recognizance for her forth coming: and thus she was at the last delivered. Thus ends her first persecution, from which, for a time, she escaped; but not conforming to the erroneous doctrine of the sacrament, she was in 1546, again apprehended. The following account of her examination before the council at Greenwich is taken, like the previous one, from her own papers: only this, for its peculiarity, is retained in her own words.

"Your request as concerning my prison-fellows I am not able to satisfy, because I heard not their examinations. But the effect of mine was this. I being before the council, was asked of Mr. Kyme. I answered, that my lord chancellor knew already my mind in that matter. They with that answer were not contented, but said it was the king's

pleasure that I should open the matter unto them. I answered them plainly, I would not do so; but if it were the king's pleasure to hear me, I would shew him the truth. Then they said it was not meet for the king to be troubled with me. I answered, that Solomon was reckoned the wisest king that ever lived, yet misliked he not to hear two poor common women; much more his grace a simple woman and his faithful subject. So in conclusion, I made them none other answer in that matter. Then my lord chancellor asked of me my opinion in the sacrament. My answer was this, I believe that so oft as I in a Christian congregation do receive the bread in remembrance of Christ's death, and with thanksgiving, according to his holy institution, I receive therewith the fruits also of his most glorious passion. The bishop of Winchester bade me make a direct answer: I said I would not sing the song of the Lord in a strange land. Then the bishop said I spake in parables. I answered, it was best for him, for if I shewed the open truth they would not accept it. Then he said I was a parrot.<sup>z</sup> I told him again I was ready to suffer all things at his hands, not only his rebukes, but all that should follow besides, yea, and all that gladly. Then had I divers rebukes of the council, because I would not express my mind in all things as they would have me. But they were not in the mean time unanswered for all that, which now to rehearse were too much, for I was with them about five hours. Then the clerk of the council conveyed me from thence to my lady Garnish.

The next day I was brought again before the council, which would needs know what I said to the sacrament. I answered that I had already said what I could say. After many words they bid me go aside. Then came lord Lisle, lord Essex, and the bishop of Winchester, requiring me earnestly that I should confess the sacrament to be flesh, blood, and bone. I told these noblemen that it was a great shame for them to counsel contrary to their knowledge; whereunto in a few words they said, that they would gladly all things were well. The bishop said he would speak with me familiarly. I said, "So did Judas, when he betrayed Christ." Then he desired to speak with me alone; but that I refused. He asked me why. I said, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every matter should stand, after Christ's and Paul's doctrine.

Then my lord chancellor began to examine me again on the sacrament. I asked him, How long he would halt on both. He asked where I found that. I said, in the scripture. Then he went his way. The bishop said I should be burnt. I answered, That I had searched all the scriptures, yet could I never find that either Christ or his apostles put any creature to death. "Well, well," said I, "God will laugh your threatenings to scorn." Then was I commanded to stand aside; after

<sup>z</sup> This is almost the only charge against this excellent woman which has a semblance of truth. If she had a fault it was of garrulity, so often laid to the account of her sex. Her wit was of the quickest and most piercing kind, and not at any time unmingled with prudence any more than piety. Before such treacherous judges, we rather rejoice than regret that her tongue felt itself at perfect liberty. Her rebukes are a standing protest against the assumptions of an intolerant and intolerable priesthood, and are moreover, some of the most interesting in both expression and sentiment that tongue ever uttered or pen recorded.

which came Dr. Cox and Dr. Robinson to me; but in conclusion we could not agree. After striving to convince me they drew out a confession respecting the sacrament, urging me to set my hand thereunto; but this I refused. On the following Sunday I was so extremely ill, that I thought death was upon me; upon which I desired to see Mr. Latimer, but this was not granted. In the height of my illness I was conveyed to Newgate, where the Lord was pleased to renew my strength.

On my being brought to trial at Guildhall they said to me there that I was a heretic, and condemned by the law, if I would stand in mine opinion. I answered, That I was no heretic, neither yet deserved I any death by the law of God. But as concerning the faith which I uttered and wrote to the council, I would not deny it, because I knew it true. Then would they needs know if I would deny the sacrament to be Christ's body and blood? I said, "Yea; for the same Son of God, who was born of the Virgin Mary, is now glorious in heaven, and will come again from thence at the latter day. And as for that ye call your God, it is a piece of bread. For more proof thereof, mark it when you list, if it lie in the box three months, it will be mouldy, and so turn to nothing that is good. Whereupon I am persuaded that it cannot be God."

After that they willed me to have a priest; at which I smiled. Then they asked me if it were not good? I said, I would confess my faults unto God, for I was sure that he would hear me with favour. And so I was condemned. And this was the ground of my sentence:—My belief, which I wrote to the council that the sacramental bread was left us to be received with thanksgiving, in remembrance of Christ's death, the only remedy of our soul's recovery; and that thereby we also receive the whole benefits and fruits of his most glorious passion. Then would they know whether the bread in the box were God or no: I said *God is a spirit, and will be worshipped in spirit and truth*. Then they demanded, Will you plainly deny Christ to be in the sacrament? I answered, that I believe faithfully the eternal Son of God not to dwell there; in witness whereof I recited again the history of Bel, Dan. xix., Acts vii. and xvii., and Matt. xxiv., concluding thus: "I neither wish death, nor yet fear his might: God have the praise thereof with thanks."

After this Mrs. Askew addressed a letter to the king, and sent it by the hands of the chancellor. It ran thus:—"I Anne Askew, of good memory, although God hath given me the bread of adversity, and the water of trouble, yet not so much as my sins have deserved, desire this to be known unto your grace, that forasmuch as I am by the law condemned for an evil doer, here I take heaven and earth to record, that I shall die in my innocency; and according to that I have said first, and will say last, I utterly abhor and detest all heresies. And as concerning the supper of the Lord, I believe so much as Christ hath said therein, which he confirmed with his most blessed blood. I believe so much as he willed me to follow, and believe so much as the Catholic church of him doth teach. For I will not forsake the commandment of his holy lips. But look what God hath charged me with his mouth, that I have shut up in my heart. And thus briefly I end for lack of learning."

This pious and gifted lady was, notwithstanding, still deemed a

heretic, and doomed to undergo farther suffering. In a few days she was sent from Newgate to the sign of the Crown, where Mr. Rich, and the bishop of London, with all their power and flattering words, went about to persuade her from God; but she did not esteem their glossing pretences. After them either came or was sent one Nicholas Shaxton, who counselled her to recant as others had done. She said to him, "It had been good for you never to have been born;" with many other like words, chiefly from Scripture. She was then sent to the Tower, where she remained till three o'clock, when Rich came and one of the council, charging her upon her obedience to show unto them if she knew any man or woman of her sect. Her answer was, "I know none." Then they asked her of lady Suffolk, lady Sussex, lady Hertford, lady Denny, and lady Fitzwilliam. Of whom she answered, "If I should pronounce any thing against them, that I were not able to prove it." Then said they unto her, "The king is informed that you could name, if you would, a great number of your sect." She answered, That the king was as well deceived in that behalf, as he was dissembled with by them in other matters.

Then they commanded her to shew how she was maintained in the prison, and who willed her to stick to her opinion. She answered that there was no creature that therein did strengthen her. And as for the help that she had in the Compter, it was by the means of her maid. For as she went abroad in the streets, she told her case to the apprentices, and they by her did send her money, but who they were she never knew. On this they said, That there were several ladies that had sent her money. She answered, That there was a man who delivered her ten shillings, and said that my lady of Hertford sent it her; and another gave her eight shillings, and said my lady Denny sent it her. Whether it were true or no she could not tell, for she was not sure who sent it her, but as the maid did say. Then they said, "There are some of the council who maintain you," which she strictly denied.

Then did they put her on the rack, because she confessed no ladies or gentlewomen to be of her opinion, and thereon they kept her a long time, and because she lay still and did not cry, the lord chancellor and Mr. Rich took pains to rack her with their own hands till she was nigh dead—an instance of unusual cruelty even for that age. The lieutenant then caused her to be loosed from the rack, when she immediately swooned, and then recovered again. After that she sat two hours reasoning with the lord chancellor upon the bare floor, where he with many flattering words persuaded her to leave her opinion; but her Lord God, thanks to his everlasting goodness gave her grace to persevere. Then she was brought to a house and laid on a bed, with as weary and painful bones as ever had patient Job, yet expressing her thanks to God. Then the lord chancellor sent her word, if she would leave her opinion she should want for nothing; if she would not, she should forthwith to Newgate, and so be burned. She sent him again word, that she would rather die than break her faith—praying that God would open his eyes, that the truth might take place.

Touching the order of her racking in the Tower, thus it was: first, she was led down into a dungeon, where Sir Anthony Knevet, the lieu-

tenant, commanded his gaoler to pinch her with the rack: which being done so much as he thought sufficient, he went about to take her down, supposing that he had done enough. But Wriothesley, the chancellor, displeased that she was loosed so soon, confessing nothing, commanded the lieutenant to strain her on the rack again, which because he refused to do, tendering the weakness of the woman, he was threatened, the chancellor saying, that he would signify his disobedience unto the king; and so consequently, he and Mr. Rich, throwing off their gowns, would needs play the tormentors themselves, first asking her, if she were with child; to whom she answering again, said, "Ye shall not need to spare for that, but do your wills upon me;" and so quietly and patiently praying unto the Lord, she abode their tyranny, till her bones and joints were almost plucked asunder, so that she was carried away in a chair. When the racking was past, Wriothesley and his fellow left.

Meantime, while they were making their way by land, the good lieutenant, eftsoons taking boat, sped him to the court in all haste to speak with the king before the other; who there making his humble suit to the king, desired his pardon, and showed him the whole matter as it stood, and of the racking of Mrs. Askew; and that he was threatened by the lord chancellor, because at his commandment, not knowing his highness's pleasure, he refused to rack her, which he for compassion could not find in his heart to do, and therefore desired his highness's pardon. This when the king had understood, he seemed not very well to like their so extreme handling the woman, and also granted to the lieutenant his pardon, willing him to return and see to his charge. There was great expectation in the mean season among the warders and officers of the Tower, waiting for his return. When they saw him come so cheerfully, declaring unto them how he had sped with the king, they were not a little joyous, and gave thanks to God therefore—a proof this that persecution was more in favour with the higher than the lower officers. The following is a letter from Mrs. Askew to a fellow martyr, in answer to one which he had written to her: his name was John Lancel.

"O friend, most dearly beloved in God! I marvel not a little what should move you to judge me in so slender a faith as to fear death, which is the end of all misery. In the Lord, I desire you not to believe of me such weakness; for I doubt it not, that God will perform his work in me, like as he hath begun. I understand the council is not a little displeased, that it should be reported abroad that I was racked in the Tower. They say now, that what they did there was but to fear me; whereby I perceive they are ashamed of their uncomely doings, and fear much lest the king's majesty should have information thereof, wherefore they would no man to noise it. Well, their cruelty God forgive them."

She was falsely accused of beginning to recant, and she thus answered the accusation.

"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 a thing less than to recant. Notwithstanding this I confess, that in my first troubles, I was examined by 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 set 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 matters, they said. Then with much ado, at the last I wrote thus:—I, Anne Askew, do 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 awhile, but afterwards by the means of friends I came out again. Here is the truth of that matter; and as concerning the thing that ye covet most to know, resort to the sixth of John, and be ruled always thereby. Thus fare ye well."

The reader has already seen a brief confession of this pious woman's faith, and will delight in perusing an enlargement of the same.

"I, Anne Askew, of good memory, although my merciful Father hath given me the bread of adversity, and the water of trouble, yet not so much as my sins have deserved, do confess myself here a sinner before the throne of his heavenly majesty, desiring his forgiveness and mercy. And for so much as I am by the law unrighteously condemned for an evil doer, concerning opinions, I take the same most merciful God of mine, which hath made both heaven and earth, to record, that I hold no opinions contrary to his most holy word; and I trust in my merciful Lord, who is the giver of all grace, that he will graciously assist me against all evil opinions which are contrary to his blessed verity; for I take him to witness that I have done, and will, unto my life's end, utterly abhor them to the uttermost of my power.

"But this is the heresy which they report me to hold, that after the priest hath spoken the words of consecration, there remaineth bread still. They both say, and also teach it for a necessary article of faith, that after these words be once spoken, there remaineth no bread, but even the self-same body that hung upon the cross on Good Friday, both flesh, blood, and bone. To this belief of theirs say I, nay. For then were our common creed false, which saith, that he sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty, and from thence shall come to judge the quick and the dead. Lo, this is the heresy that I hold, and for it must suffer the death. But as touching the holy and blessed supper of the Lord, I believe it to be a most necessary remembrance of his glorious sufferings and death. Moreover, I believe as much therein as my eternal and only Redeemer Jesus Christ would I should believe.

"Finally, I believe all those scriptures to be true, which he hath confirmed with his most precious blood; yea, and as St. Paul saith, those scriptures are sufficient for our learning and salvation, that Christ hath left here with us: so that, I believe, we need no unwritten verities to rule his church with. Therefore look what he hath said unto me with his own mouth in his holy gospel that I have with God's grace closed up in my heart, and my full trust is, as David saith that it shall be a lantern to my footsteps. There be some that say I deny the eucharist, or sacrament of thanksgiving; but those people untruly report of me, for I both say and believe it, that if it were ordered as Christ instituted it and left it, a most singular comfort it were unto us all. But as concerning your mass as it is now used in our days, I say and believe it to

be the most abominable idol that is in the world. For my God will not be eaten with teeth, neither yet dieth he again; and upon these words that I have now spoken, will I suffer death." To this confession she added a prayer.

"O Lord, I have more enemies now than there be hairs on my head; yet Lord, let them never overcome me with vain words, but fight thou Lord in my stead, for on thee cast I my care. With all the spite they can imagine, they fall upon me who am thy poor creature. Yet, sweet Lord, let me not set by them which are against me, for in thee is my whole delight; and, Lord, I heartily desire of thee, that thou wilt of thy most merciful goodness forgive them that violence which they do and have done unto me. Open also thou their blind hearts, that they may hereafter do that thing in thy sight, which is only acceptable before thee, and to set forth thy verity aright, without any vain fantasy of sinful men. So be it, O Lord, so be it."

After these refreshing things we are better prepared to speak concerning her martyrdom. Being born of such stock and kindred as would have enabled her to live in great wealth and prosperity, if she had chosen rather to have followed the world than Christ, she now had been so tormented, that she could neither live long in such great distress, nor yet by her adversaries be suffered to die in secret; the day of her execution being appointed, she was brought to Smithfield in a chair, because she could not walk, from the cruel effects of the torments. When she was brought to the stake, she was fastened to it by the middle with a chain that held up her body. Three others were brought to suffer with her, and for the same offence; these were, Nicholas Belenian, a priest of Shropshire; John Adams, a tailor; and John Lancel, gentleman of the court and household of king Henry. The martyrs being chained to the stake, and all things ready for the fire, Dr. Shaxton, then appointed to preach, began his sermon. Anne Askew hearing and answering him, where he said well, she approved; where he said amiss, expressing firmly her dissent, saying, "He speaketh without the book."

The sermon being finished, the martyrs, standing at three several stakes ready to their martyrdom, began their prayers. The multitude of the people was exceeding great, the place where they stood being railed about to keep out the press. Upon the bench, under St. Bartholomew's church, sat Wriothesley, the chancellor of England, the old duke of Norfolk, the old earl of Bedford, the lord mayor, with divers others. Before the fire was kindled, one of the bench hearing that they had gunpowder about them, and being afraid lest the fagots, by strength of the gunpowder, would come flying about their ears, began to be afraid; but the earl of Bedford observing how the gunpowder was not laid under the fagots, but only about their bodies to rid them of their pain, which having vent, there was no danger to them, so diminished that fear.

Then the lord chancellor sent to Anne Askew, offering to her the king's pardon if she would recant: a letter said to be written by the king was put into her hand; but she, refusing once to look upon it, made this answer again, "I came not hither to deny my Lord and

master." Then were letters likewise offered unto the others, who in like manner, following the constancy of the woman, denied not only to receive them, but also to look upon them, continuing to cheer and exhort each other by the end of their sufferings, and the glory they were about to enter; whereupon the lord mayor, commanding fire to be put to them, cried with a loud voice, "*fiat justitia.*" Thus were these blessed martyrs compassed in with flames of fire, as holy sacrifices unto God and his truth. There is a letter extant, which John Lacel briefly wrote in prison respecting the sacrament of Christ's body and blood, wherein he confutes the error of them, who, not being contented with the spiritual receiving of the sacrament, will leave no substance of bread therein, and also the sinister interpretation of many thereupon.

These events were so many triumphs to the popish party, who, stimulated by fresh hopes, sought to complete the victory they anticipated by an important scheme. This was the ruin of Cranmer and the queen, whom they considered the greatest barriers to their aims. They persuaded the king that Cranmer was the source of all the heresies in England; but Henry's esteem for him was such, that none would come in against him; they therefore desired that he might at least be put in the Tower, as a place of safeguard, and then it would appear how many would inform against him. The king seemed to approve this plan, and they resolved to execute it the next day: but in the night the king relented, and he sent for Cranmer, and told him what was resolved concerning him. Cranmer thanked the king for giving him notice of it, and not leaving him to be surprised. He submitted to it, only desiring he might be heard in answer for himself; and that he might have impartial judges, competent to decide. Henry wondered to see him so little concerned in his own preservation: and told him, since he took so little care of himself, that he must take care of him. He therefore gave him instructions to appear before the council, and to desire to see his accusers before he should be sent to the Tower; and that he might be used by them, as they would desire to be used in a similar case; and, if he could not prevail by the force of reason, then he was to appeal to the king in person, and was to shew the royal seal ring, which he took from his finger and gave him, which they would know so well that they would do nothing after they once saw it. Accordingly, on being summoned next morning, he came over to Whitehall; there he was detained with great insolence in the lobby before he was called into the council chamber: but when that was done, and he had observed the method the king had directed him to use, and at last shewed the ring, they all rose in great confusion and went to the king. He upbraided them severely for what they had done, and expressed his esteem and kindness to Cranmer in such terms that his enemies were glad to get off, by pretending that they had no other design but that of having his innocence declared by a public trial. From this vain attempt they were so convinced of the king's unalterable favour to him, that they forbore any further designs against him.

But what they durst not do in relation to Cranmer, they thought might be more safely tried against the queen, who was known to love the new learning, as the reformation was now called. She used to have



sermons in her privy chamber, which could not be so secretly carried, but that it came to the knowledge of her royal spouse; yet her conduct in all other things was so exact, and she expressed such a tender care of the king's person, that it was observed she had gained much upon him; while his peevishness growing with his distempers, made him sometimes impatient even to her. They used often to talk of matters of religion, and sometimes she held the argument for the reformers so strenuously, that he was offended at it; yet as soon as that appeared she let it fall. But once the debate continuing long, the king expressed his displeasure at it to Gardiner, when she went away. The crafty bishop took this opportunity to persuade the king that she was a great cherisher of heretics. The chancellor joined with him in the same artifice, and filled the angry king with stories, insomuch that he signed the articles upon which she was to be impeached. The chancellor, however, letting the paper fall from him carelessly, it happened to be taken up by one of the queen's friends, who carried it to her. The night following after supper, she was waited upon only by lady Herbert, her sister, and lady Lane, who carried the candle before her, unto the king's bedchamber, whom she found sitting and talking with certain gentlemen of his chamber. Henry very courteously welcomed her, and breaking off the talk with the gentlemen, began of himself, contrary to his manner before accustomed, to enter into talk of religion, seeming as it were desirous to be resolved by the queen of certain doubts which he propounded.

The queen perceiving to what purpose this talk did tend, not being unprovided how to behave herself towards the king, resolved his questions as the time and opportunity allowed. With a mild and reverent countenance she answered his inquiries thus—"Your majesty doth right well know, neither I myself am ignorant, what great imperfection and weakness by our first creation is allotted unto us women, to be ordained and appointed as inferior, and subject unto man as our head, from which head all our direction ought to proceed; and that as God made man to his own shape and likeness, whereby he, being endued with more special gifts of perfection, might rather be stirred to the contemplation of heavenly things, and to the earnest endeavour to obey his commandments, even so also made he woman of man, of whom, and by whom, she is to be governed, commanded, and directed. Her womanly weakness and natural imperfection ought to be tolerated, aided and borne withal, so that by his wisdom such things as be lacking in her ought to be supplied. Since then God hath appointed such a natural difference between man and woman, and your majesty being so excellent in gifts and ornaments of wisdom, and I so much inferior in all respects of nature unto you, how then cometh it now to pass that your majesty, in such diffuse causes of religion, will seem to require my judgment? which, when I have uttered and said what I can, yet must I, and will I, refer my judgment in this, and in all other cases to your majesty's wisdom, as my only anchor, supreme head and governor here on earth, next under God to lean unto."

"Not so, by St. Mary," quoth the king; "you are become a doctor, Kate, to instruct us, and not to be instructed or directed by us."

"If your majesty take it so," replied the queen, "then hath your

majesty very much mistaken me, who have ever been of the opinion to think it very unseemly, and preposterous, for the woman to take upon her the office of an instructor or teacher to her lord and husband; but rather to learn of her husband, and to be taught by him. And whereas I have with your majesty's leave heretofore been bold to hold talk with your majesty, wherein sometimes in opinions there hath seemed some difference, I have not done it so much to maintain opinion, as I did it rather to minister talk, not only to the end your majesty might with less grief pass over this painful time of your infirmity, being intente to our talk, and hoping that your majesty should reap some ease thereby; but also that I, hearing your majesty's learned discourse might receive to myself some profit thereby; wherein, I assure your majesty, I have not missed any part of my desire in that behalf, always referring myself in all such matters unto your majesty, as by ordinance of nature it is convenient for me to do."

"And is it even so, sweetheart?" quoth the king, "and tended your arguments to no worse end? Then perfect friends we are now again, as ever at any time heretofore." And as he sat in his chair, embracing her in his arms, and kissing her, he added this, saying, that it did him more good at that time to hear those words of her own mouth, than if he had heard present news of a hundred thousand pounds in money fallen unto him; and with great signs and tokens of marvellous joy and liking, with promises and assurances never again in any sort more to mistake her, entering into other very pleasant discourses with the queen and the lords, and gentlemen standing by, about midnight he gave her leave to depart; and in her absence to the standers by, he gave as singular and affectionate commendations, as before to the bishop and the chancellor—who then were neither of them present—he seemed to mislike of her.

The day, and almost the hour appointed being come, the king being disposed in the afternoon to take the air, waited upon by two gentlemen only of his bedchamber, went into the garden, whither the queen also came, being sent for by the king himself, the three ladies above named waiting upon her. Henry seemed at that time disposed to be as pleasant as ever he was in all his life before: when suddenly in the midst of their mirth came the lord chancellor into the garden with forty of the king's guards at his heels, intending to have taken the queen, together with the three ladies, even then unto the Tower. The king sternly beholding them, broke off his mirth with the queen, and stepping a little aside, called the chancellor unto him, who upon his knees spake unto the king, but what they were, on account of their whispering and distance, is not well known: but it is most certain that the king's reply unto him was, "Knave, yea, arrant knave, beast, and fool;" and then commanded him presently to avaunt out of his presence. These words, although they were uttered somewhat low, yet were they so vehemently whispered out by the king, that the queen and her ladies overheard them, which would have been not a little to her comfort, if she had known at that time the whole cause of his coming, so perfectly as after she knew it. Thus departed the lord chancellor out of the king's presence as he came, with all his train, the whole mould of his device being utterly broken.

The king immediately returned to the queen, who perceived him to be very much chafed: then, with as sweet words as she could utter, she endeavoured to pacify his displeasure, with request unto his majesty in behalf of the lord chancellor, with whom he seemed to be offended; saying, "Albeit I know not what just cause your majesty had at that time to be offended with him, yet I think that ignorance, not will, was the cause of his error;" and so besought his majesty for him. "Ah, poor soul," quoth he, "thou little knowest how ill he deserveth this grace at thy hands. On my word, sweetheart, he hath been towards thee an arrant knave, and so let him go." To this the queen, in charitable manner replying in few words, ended that talk. Thus the design against her vanished; and Gardiner, who had set it on, lost the king's favour entirely by it.

Now the fall of the duke of Norfolk, and his son, the earl of Surrey, came on. The father had been long treasurer, and served the king with great fidelity and success; his son was a man of rare qualities, and more than ordinarily learned. He hated the earl of Hertford, and scorned an alliance with him, which his father had projected. The Seymours also were apprehensive of the opposition they might meet with, if the king should die, from the earl of Surrey, who was very haughty, had a vast fortune, and was the head of the popish party. The duke's family was also fatally divided; his duchess had been separated from him about four years, and now turned informer against him. His daughter also hated her brother. Mrs. Holland, a mistress of the duke, also betrayed him, and discovered all she could; yet all amounted to no more than some complaints of the father's, who thought the services he had done the crown were little regarded, and some threatenings of the son's. It was also said, that the father gave the coat of arms that belonged to the prince of Wales, and the son gave Edward the Confessor's coat. One Southwell objected things of a higher nature to the earl of Surrey; he denied them, and desired that, according to the martial law, they might have a trial by combat: but that was not granted; yet both father and son were sent to the Tower. The earl was tried by a jury of commoners, found guilty of treason, and executed. He was much lamented by his party, who threw the blame of his death on the Seymours, against whom they raised a general odium. The old duke saw a parliament called to destroy him by an act of attainder, for there was not matter enough to ruin him at common law. To prevent that, he made a very humble submission to the king; but it had no effect.

When the parliament met, the king was not able to come to Westminster, but sent his pleasure to them by a commission. He intended to have his son Edward crowned prince of Wales, and therefore desired they would make all possible haste in the attainder of the duke of Norfolk, so that the places which he held by patent might be disposed of to others, who should assist at the coronation; which, though it was a very slight excuse for so high a piece of injustice, yet it had such an effect that in seven days both houses passed the bill. On the 27th of January, the royal assent was given by those commissioned by the king; and the execution was ordered to be next morning. There was no special matter in the act, but that of the coat of arms, which he and his ancestors were used to give, according to the records in the herald's office; so that this was

condemned as a most inexcusable act of tyranny. But the night after, the king died; and it was thought contrary to the decencies of government, to begin a new reign with such an act, and so he was preserved. Cranmer would not interfere in this matter, but that he might be out of the way, retired to Croydon; whereas Gardiner, who had been friendly to the duke all along, continued still about the court.

The king's distemper had been growing long upon him. He was become so corpulent that he could not go up and down stairs, but made use of an engine, when he intended to walk in his garden, by which he was let down and drawn up. He had an old wound in his leg, which pained him much, the humours of his body discharging themselves that way, till at last all settled in a dropsy. Those about him were afraid to let him know that his death seemed near, lest it might have been brought within the statute of foretelling his death, which was made treason. His will was made ready, and as it was given out, was signed by him on the 30th of December. He ordered Gardiner's name to be struck out, who had been named one of the executors. When Sir Anthony Brown endeavoured to persuade him not to put that disgrace on an old servant, he continued positive in it; for he said he knew his temper, and could govern him; but it would not be in the power of others to do it, if he were put in so high a trust. The most material thing in the will was, that of preferring the children of his second sister, by Sir Charles Brandon, to the children of his eldest sister, the queen of Scotland, in the succession to the crown. On his death-bed he finished the foundation of Trinity-college, in Cambridge, and of Christ's-church hospital, near Newgate; but this last was not so fully settled as was needful, till his son completed what he had begun.

On the 27th of January his spirits sunk so that it was visible he had not long to live. Sir Anthony Denny took the courage to tell him that death was approaching, and desired him to call on God for his mercy. He expressed in general his sorrow for his past sins, and his trust in the mercies of God in Christ Jesus. He ordered Cranmer to be sent for, but he was speechless before he could be brought from Croydon; yet he gave a sign that he understood what was said to him, and soon after he died, in the fifty-seventh year of his age, after he had reigned thirty-seven years and nine months. His death was concealed three days; for the parliament, which was dissolved with his last breath, continued to do business till the 31st, when his death was published. It is probable the Seymours concealed it so long, till they made a party for putting the government into their own hands.

The severities which Henry used against many of his subjects, in matters of religion, made both sides write with great sharpness of him. His temper was imperious and cruel; he was both sudden and violent in his revenge, and stuck at nothing by which he could gratify his passions. These were much provoked by the sentence the pope thundered against him, by the virulent books cardinal Pole and others published, by the rebellions that were raised in England, and the apprehensions he was in of the emperor's greatness, and of the inclinations his people had to join with him, together with what he had read in history of the fates of those princes, against whom popes had thundered in former times: these

considerations made him think it necessary to keep his people under the terror of a severe government, and by some public examples to secure the peace of the nation, and thereby to prevent a more profuse effusion of blood, which might have otherwise followed if he had been more gentle; and it was no wonder, if after the pope deposed him, he proceeded to great severities against all who supported that authority.

The first instance of capital proceeding upon that account, was in Easter term 1535, in which three priors and a monk of the Carthusian order were condemned of treason, for saying that the king was not supreme head of the church of England. It was then only premunire not to submit to the king's supremacy; but it was made treason to deny it, or speak against it. Hall, a secular priest, was condemned of treason, "for calling the king a tyrant, a heretic, a robber, and an adulterer; and saying that he would die as king John or Richard III. died; and that it would never be well with the church till the king was defunct: that they looked when Ireland and Wales would rise; and were assured that three parts of four in England would join with them." All these pleaded not guilty; but being condemned they justified what they had said. The Carthusians were hanged in their habits. Soon after three other Carthusians were condemned and executed at London, and two more at York, upon the same account, for opposing the king's supremacy. Ten other monks were shut up in their cells, of whom nine died there, and one was condemned and hanged. These had been all accomplices in the business of the maid of Kent, and though that was pardoned, yet it gave the government ground to have a watchful eye over them, and to proceed more severely against them upon the first provocation.

After these Fisher and More were brought to their trials. The first was tried by a jury of commoners, and was found guilty of treason, for having spoken against the king's supremacy; but instead of the common death in cases of treason, the king ordered him to be beheaded. On the 22nd of June he suffered. He dressed himself with more than ordinary care that day, for he said it was to be his wedding day. As he was led out, he opened the New Testament at a venture, and prayed that such a place might turn up as would comfort him in his last moments. The words on which he cast his eyes were, "This is life eternal, to know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent." So he shut the book, and continued meditating on these words to the last. On the scaffold he repeated the *Te Deum*, and so laid his head on the block, which was severed from his body. He was learned and devout; but much addicted to superstition, and too cruel in his temper against heretics.

It was harder to find matter against Sir Thomas More, for he was very cautious, and satisfied his own conscience by not swearing to the supremacy, but would not speak against it. He said the act had two edges, if he consented to it, it would damn his soul, and if he spoke against it, it would condemn his body, and that the matter of supremacy was a point of religion, to which the parliament's authority did not extend itself. He received his sentence with that equal temper of mind which he had shewed in both conditions of life. He expressed great

contempt of the world, and much weariness in living in it. He was beheaded on the 6th of July, in the fifty-second or fifty-third year of his age. In his youth he had freer thoughts, but he was afterwards much corrupted by superstition, and became fierce for all the interests of the clergy. His learning in divinity was but ordinary; for he had read little more than some of St. Austin's treatises, and the canon law, and the master of the sentences, beyond which his quotations seldom go.

There were no executions after these, till the rebellions of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire gave new occasions to severity; and then not only the lords of Darcy and Hussy, but six abbots, and many gentlemen, the chief of whom was Sir Thomas Percy, brother to the Earl of Northumberland, were attainted. When these judgments and executions were over, a new and unheard-of precedent was made, of attainting some without bringing them to make their answers, which is a blemish on this reign that can never be washed off, and was a breach of the most sacred and unalterable rules of justice.

In the year 1541, five priests, and ten laymen, stirred up the people in the North to a new rebellion; but it was prevented, and they suffered for it. In the year 1543, the bishop of Winchester's secretary, and three other priests, were condemned and executed, for denying the king's supremacy: and this was the last occasion given to the king to shew his severity on that account. In all these executions it cannot be denied but the laws were excessively severe, and the proceedings upon them never tempered with that mildness which ought to be often applied for the mitigating the rigour of penal statutes; but though they are much aggravated by popish writers, they were trifling, compared with the cruelties in Queen Mary's reign.

Before we leave the martyrdoms of this reign, justice to the memory of two good men in humble life, who have been passed over in their proper place, requires that some record be preserved in this work of their sufferings. Their names were Bent and Trapnell, and they suffered shortly after the heroic Thomas Bilney. They were Wiltshire men; and, as one suffered at Devizes and the other at Bradford in that county, it is likely they were born where they were martyred. Their offence was a resolute denial of the doctrine of transubstantiation.

A curious incident follows in the order of time. In the year 1532, there was an idol named the Rood of Dover-court, whereunto was continually a great resort of people. For at that time there was a great rumour abroad amongst the ignorant, that the power of the idol of Dover-court was so great, that no man could shut the church-door where he stood; and therefore they let the door, both night and day, continually stand open, to give more credit to their blind rumour. This once being conceived in the heads of the vulgar sort, seemed a great miracle unto many; but to others again, whom God had blessed with his Spirit, was greatly suspected, especially to those whose names follow: Robert King of Dedham, Robert Debnam of Eastbergholt, Nicholas Marsh of Dedham, and Robert Gardiner of Dedham, whose consciences were burthened to see the honour and power of the Almighty God so blasphemed. Wherefore they were moved by the spirit of God to travel out of Dedham in a night suitable to their purpose, it being a

hard frost, and moonlight, although the nights before were exceeding foul and rainy. It was from the town of Dedham, to the place where the Rood stood, ten miles. Notwithstanding, they were so willing in that their enterprize, that they went this distance without pain, and found the church-door open according to the blind talk of the ignorant people: for there durst no unfaithful body shut it. This happened well for their purpose; for they found the idol, which had as much power to keep the door shut as to keep it open. And for proof thereof, they took the image from its shrine, and carried it a quarter of a mile from the place where it stood, without any resistance from itself or any of its devotees. Whereupon they struck fire with a flint-stone, and suddenly set the idol on a blaze, who burned out so brightly that he lighted them homeward one good mile of the ten.

This done, there went a great talk abroad that they should have great riches in that place; but it was very untrue; for it was not their thought or enterprize, as they themselves afterwards confessed, for there was nothing taken away but the coat, the shoes, and the tapers of the image. The tapers they used to burn him, the shoes they had again, and the coat one sir Thomas Rose burnt, but they had neither penny, halfpenny, gold, groat, nor jewel. However they could not hope to be deemed innocent, and soon three of them were indicted of felony, and hanged in chains within half-a-year after. Robert King was hanged in Dedham at Burchet; Robert Debnam at Cataway-cawsey; and Nicholas Marsh at Dover-court. They all, through the Spirit of God at their death, did more edify the people in godly learning, than all the sermons that had been preached there a long time before. Robert Gardiner escaped their hands and fled. Although great search was made after him, the Lord preserved him; to whom be all honour and glory, world without end. The example of these resolute men was followed in other instances. The same year there were many images cast down and destroyed in many places: as the image of the crucifix in the highway of Cogshal, the image of St. Petronil in the church of great Horksleigh, the image of St. Christopher by Sudbury, and another image of St. Petronil in a chapel at Ipswich. The most remarkable act was that of John Seward of Dedham, who overthrew the cross in Stoke-park, and took two images out of a chapel in the park, and cast them into the water. He however escaped the punishment threatened against such desperate heretics.

We proceed to Exeter, honoured by the martyrdom of Thomas Benet, who was born in Cambridge, and by order of degree of the university there made M. A. He was formerly a priest, a man well learned and of a godly disposition, intimately acquainted with Thomas Bilney, the glorious martyr of Christ. The more he increased in the knowledge of God and his holy word, the more he disliked the corrupt state of religion then used; and therefore thinking his own country to be no safe place for him to remain in, and being desirous to live in more freedom of conscience, he quitted the university, and went into Devonshire, in the year 1524, and resided at Torrington, a market-town, both town and country being to him altogether unknown, as he was also unknown to all men there. There, for the better maintenance of

himself and his wife, he taught young children, and kept a school for the purpose. But that town not serving his expectation, after his abode there one year, he removed to the city of Exeter, and hiring a house resumed his teaching, and by that means maintained his wife and family. He was of a quiet behaviour, of a godly conversation, and of a very courteous nature, humble to all men, and offensive to none. His greatest delight was to be at all sermons and preachings, whereof he was a diligent and attentive hearer, and he devoted all his leisure to the study of the Scriptures, having no dealings nor conferences with any body, saving with such as he could learn and understand to be favourers of the gospel. Understanding that William Strowd, of Newnham, in the county of Devon, Esq. was committed to the bishop's prison in Exeter upon suspicion of heresy, although he was not before acquainted with him, yet did he send letters of consolation to him. In one of these letters, to avoid all suspicion which might be conceived of him, he disclosed himself, and said—"Because I would not be a whoremonger, or an unclean person, I married a wife, with whom I have hidden myself in Devonshire, from the tyranny of the antichristians these six years."

But as every tree and herb hath its due time to bring forth its fruit, so did it appear by this man. For daily seeing the glory of God to be so blasphemed, idolatrous religion so embraced and maintained, and the usurped power of the bishop of Rome so extolled, he was so grieved in conscience, and troubled in spirit, that he could not be quiet till he uttered his mind therein. Wherefore dealing privately with certain of his friends, he plainly disclosed how blasphemously and abominably God was dishonoured, his word contemned, and the people, by blind guides, carried headlong to everlasting damnation. In fact he could no longer endure, but must needs utter their abominations publicly, and for his own part, for the testimony of his conscience, and for the defence of God's true religion, would yield himself most patiently, as God would give him grace, to die and shed his blood therein; alleging that his death should be more profitable to the church of God, and for the edifying of his people, than his life should be. To whose persuasions when his friends had yielded, they promised to pray to God for him, that he might be strong in the cause, and continue a faithful soldier to the end. This done, he gave order for bestowing of such books as he had, and shortly after, in the month of October, he wrote his mind in certain scrolls of paper, which privately he affixed upon the doors of the cathedral church of the city, in which was written—"The pope is antichrist, and we ought to worship God only, and no saints."

These bills being found, there was no small ado, and no little search made for the heretic who had set them up. Orders were given that the doctors should haste to the pulpit every day, and confute this heresy. Nevertheless, Benet keeping his own doings in secret, went the Sunday following to the cathedral church to the sermon, and by chance sate down by two men, who had been the busiest in all the city in seeking and searching for heretics; and they beholding Benet, said the one to the other, Surely this fellow is the heretic that hath set up the bills, and it were good to examine him. Nevertheless when they had well beheld



him, and saw the quiet and sober behaviour of the man, his attentiveness to the preacher, his godliness in the church, being always occupied in his book, which was a Testament in the Latin tongue, they were astonished and had no power to speak to him, but departed and left him reading his book. Meanwhile the canons and priests, with the officers and commons of that city, were earnestly busied, by what means such an enormous heretic might be espied and known; but it was long before they obtained a clue to the man. At last the priests found out a toy to curse him, whatsoever he were, with book, bell, and candle; which curse at that day, seemed most fearful and terrible. The manner of the curse was after this sort.

One of the priests, apparelled in white, ascended the pulpit. The other rabblement, with certain of the two orders of friars, and some superstitious monks of St. Nicholas standing round about, and the cross being holden up with holy candles of wax fixed to the same, he began his sermon with this theme of Joshua: *Est blasphemia in castris*—there is a curse in the camp. On this he made a long protestation, but not so long as tedious and superstitious; and concluded, that the foul and abominable heretic who had put up such a foul and blasphemous bill, was for that his blasphemy damnably cursed, and besought God, our lady, St. Peter, patron of that church, with all the holy company of martyrs, confessors, and virgins, that it might be known what heretic had done the accursed thing! Then followed the curse, uttered by the priest in these words:—

“By the authority of God the Father Almighty, and of the blessed Virgin Mary, of St. Peter and Paul, and of the holy saints, we excommunicate, we utterly curse and ban, commit and deliver to the devil of hell, him or her, whatsoever he or she be, that have in spite of God and of St. Peter, whose church this is, in spite of all holy saints, and in spite of our most holy father the pope, God’s vicar here on earth, and in spite of the reverend father in God, John our diocesan, and the worshipful canons, masters, and priests, and clerks, which serve God daily in this cathedral church, fixed up with wax such cursed and heretical bill full of blasphemy, upon the doors of this and other holy churches within this city. Excommunicate plainly be he or she plenally, or they, and delivered over to the devil, as perpetual malefactors and schismatics. Accursed may they be, and given body and soul to the devil. Cursed be they, he or she, in cities and towns, in fields, in ways, in paths, in houses, out of houses, and in all other places, standing, lying, rising, walking, running, waking, sleeping, eating, drinking, and whatsoever thing they do besides. We separate them, him or her, from the threshold, and from all the good prayers of the church, from the participation of the holy mass, from all sacraments, chapels, and altars. from holy bread and holy water, from all the merits of God’s priests, and religious men, and from all their cloisters, all their pardons, privileges, grants, and immunities, which all the holy fathers, popes of Rome, have granted to them. We give them over utterly to the power of the fiend, and let us quench their souls, if they be dead, this night in the pains of hell-fire, as this candle is now quenched and put out—with that he put out one of the candles. And let us pray to

God, if they be alive, that their eyes may be put out, as this candle light is—then he put out the other candle: and let us pray to God and to our lady, and to St. Peter and Paul, and all holy saints, that all the senses of their bodies may fail them, and that they may have no feeling, as now the light of this candle is gone—putting out the third candle—except they, he, or she, come openly now and confess their blasphemy, and by repentance make satisfaction unto God, our lady, St. Peter, and the worshipful company of this cathedral church; and this holy cross staff now falleth down, so may they, except they repent and shew themselves.” Here one first taking away the cross, the staff fell down: and then what a shout and noise was there! what terrible fear! what holding up hands to heaven, to hear this terrible denunciation!

This foolish fantasy and mockery being done and played, which was to a Christian heart a thing ridiculous, Benet could no longer forbear, but fell into laughter within himself, and for a great space could not cease, by the which thing the poor man was discovered. For those that were next to him, wondering at that great curse, and believing that it could not but light on one or the other, asked Benet, for what cause he should so laugh. “My friends,” said he, “who can forbear, hearing such merry conceits and interludes?” Straightway a noise was made, “Here is the heretic! here is the heretic! Hold him fast! hold him fast!”

With that there was a great confusion of voices, and much clapping of hands, and yet they were uncertain whether he were the heretic or not. Some say that upon the same he was taken and apprehended. Others report, that his enemies, being uncertain of him, departed, and so he went home to his house; where he, being not able to digest the lies there preached, renewed his former bills, and caused his boy, early in the morning following, to replace them upon the gates of the churchyard. As the boy was performing his office at a gate, called “The Little Stile,” it chanced that one going to the cathedral to hear mass, called Barton’s Mass, which was daily said about five of the clock in the morning, found the boy at the gate, and asking him whose boy he was, charged him to be the heretic which had set the bills upon the gates; wherefore pulling them down, he brought the same together with the boy before the mayor; and thereupon Benet, being known and taken, was violently committed to prison.

On the morrow began both the canons and heads of the city to fall to examination. Benet for that day had not much communication with them, but confessed and said to them, “It was even I that put up those bills; and if it were to do, I would do it again; for in them I have written nothing but that is very truth.” “Couldst not thou,” said they, “as well have declared thy mind by word of mouth, as by putting up bills of blasphemy?” “No,” said he, “I put up the bills, that many should read and hear what abominable blasphemers ye are, and that they might the better know your antichrist, the pope, to be that boar out of the woods, which throweth down the hedges of God’s church; for if I had been heard to speak but one word, I should have been clapped fast in prison, and the matter of God hidden. But now I trust more of your blasphemous doings will thereby be opened and

come to light; for God so will have it, and no longer will suffer you to prostitute his service and truth unrebuked.

The next day he was sent unto the bishop, who first committed him to prison, where he was kept in stocks and strong irons. Then the bishop associating unto him one Dr. Brewer his chancellor, and other of his lewd clergy and friars, began to examine him and burthen him, that contrary to the Catholic faith, he denied praying to saints, and the supremacy of the pope. To this he answered in such sober manner, and so learnedly proved and defended his assertions, that he did not only confound and put to silence his adversaries, but also brought them in great admiration of him, the most part having pity and compassion on him. The friars took great pains with him to persuade him to recant and acknowledge his fault, touching the bills; but it was in vain, for God had manifestly appointed him to be a witness of his holy name.

To declare here with what cruelty the officers searched his house for bills and books, how cruelly and shamefully they handled his wife, charging her with divers enormities, it were too long to write. But she, like a good woman, took all things patiently, as in other things she was contented to bear the cross with him, to fare hardly with him at home, and to live with coarse meat and drink, that they might be the more able somewhat to help the poor, which they did to the uttermost of their power. Among other priests, Gregory Basset was most busy with him. Basset was learned, and had a pleasant tongue, and not long before had fallen from the truth, for which he had been imprisoned in Bristol; at whose examination there was provided and set before him a great pan of fire, where his holy brethren, as the report went abroad, menaced to burn his hands off: whereupon he recanted, and became afterward a mortal enemy to the truth. He was fervent with Benet, to please the canons of the church, and marvellously tormented his brains how to turn him from his opinions, and was so diligent with him that he would not depart the prison, but lay there night and day. He, notwithstanding, lost his labour: for Benet made it a point of conscience not to deny Christ before men, upon which Gregory, with the other holy fathers, said in open audience, "There was never so obstinate a heretic."

The principal point between Basset and him was touching the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, whom in his bills he named "Antichrist, the thief, the mercenary, and murderer of Christ's flock." These disputations lasted about eight days, during which at sundry times repaired to him both the black and grey friars, with priests and monks of that city. They who had some learning persuaded him to leave the church, and shewed by what tokens she is known. The unlearned railed, and said, that the devil tempted him, and spat upon him, calling him heretic: while he prayed God to give them a better mind and to forgive them. He boldly said, "I will rather die, than worship such a beast, the very whore of Babylon, and a false usurper, as manifestly doth appear by his doings." They asked, "What doth the pope that he has not authority to do, being God's vicar?" "He doth," quoth he, "sell the sacraments for money, he selleth remission of sins for money, and so do you likewise: for there is no day but ye say divers masses for souls

in purgatory: yea, and ye spare not to make lying sermons to the people, to maintain your false traditions and foul gains. The whole world begins now to note your doings, to your utter confusion and shame." "The shame," said they, "shall be to thee, and such as thee, foul heretic. Wilt thou allow nothing done in holy church?" "I am," said he, "no heretic, but a Christian, I thank Christ, and with all my heart will allow all things done and used in the church to the glory of God, and edifying of my soul: but I see nothing in your church, but what maintaineth the devil." "What is our church?" said they. "It is not my church," quoth Benet; "God give me grace to be of a better church, for verily your church is the church of anti-christ, the malignant church, the false church, a den of thieves, and as far wide from the true universal and apostolic church, as heaven is distant from the earth."

"Dost not thou think," said they, "that we pertain to the universal church?" "Yes," quoth he, "but as dead members, unto whom the church is not beneficial: for your works are the devices of men, and your church a weak foundation; for ye say and preach, that the pope's word is equal with God's in every degree." "Why," said they, "did not Christ say to Peter, to thee I will give the keys of the kingdom of Heaven?" "He said that," quoth he, "to all the apostles as well as Peter, and Peter had no more authority given him than the rest, or else the churches planted in every kingdom by their preaching are no churches. Doth not St. Paul say, 'Upon the foundations of the apostles and prophets?' Therefore I say plainly, that the church that is built upon a man, is a man's church and not God's. And as every church this day is appointed to be ruled by a bishop or pastor, ordained by the word of God for preaching and administration of the sacraments under the prince, the supreme governor under God; so, to say that all the churches with their princes and governors be subject unto one bishop is detestable heresy; and the pope, your god, challenging this power to himself, is the greatest schismatic that ever was in the church, and the most foul whore; of whom John, in the Revelation, speaketh."

"O thou blind and unlearned fool," said they, "is not the confession and consent of all the world as we confess and consent; that the pope's holiness is the supreme head and vicar of Christ?" "That is," said Benet, "because they are blinded and know not the scriptures: but if God would of his mercy open the eyes of princes to know their office, his false supremacy would soon decay." "We think," said they, "thou art so malicious, that thou wilt confess no church." "Look," said he, "where they are that confess the true name of Jesus Christ, where only Christ is the head, and under him the prince of the realm, to order bishops, ministers, and preachers, and to see them do their duties in setting forth the glory of God by preaching his word; and where it is preached, that Christ is our only advocate, mediator, and patron before his Father, making intercession for us; and where the true faith and confidence in Christ's death and passion, and his only merits and deservings are extolled, and our own depressed; where the sacrament is duly without superstition or idolatry administered in remembrance of his blessed passion, and only sacrifice upon the cross

once for all, and where no superstition reigneth—of that church will I be.”

“Doth not the pope,” said they, “confess the true gospel? and do not we all the same?” “Yes,” said he, “but ye deny the fruits thereof in every point. Ye build upon the sands, not upon the rock.” “And wilt thou not believe indeed,” said they, “that the pope is God’s vicar?” “No,” said he, “indeed! And that because he usurpeth a power not given him of Christ, any more than to other apostles; also because by force of that usurped supremacy, he blinds the whole world, and doth contrary to all that ever Christ ordained or commanded.” “What,” said they, “if he do all things after God’s ordinance and commandment should he then be his vicar?” “Then,” said he, “would I believe him to be a good bishop at Rome over his own diocese, but to have no further power. And if it pleased God, I would every bishop did this in his diocese: then should we live a peaceable life in the church of Christ, and there should be no seditions therein. If every bishop would seek no further power, it were a goodly thing. But now, because all are subject to one, they must do and consent to all wickedness as he doth, or be none of his. This is the cause of great superstition in every kingdom; and what bishop soever he be that preacheth the gospel, and maintaineth the truth, is a true bishop of the church.” “And doth not,” said they, “our holy father the pope maintain the gospel?” “Yea,” said he, “I think he doth read it, and peradventure believe it, and so do you also; but neither he nor you do fix the anchor of your salvation therein. Besides that, ye bear such a good will to it, that ye keep it close, and no man may read it but yourselves. And when you preach, God knows how you handle it: insomuch, that the people of Christ know no gospel but the pope’s; and so the blind lead the blind, and both fall into the pit. In the true gospel of Christ, confidence is none; but only in your popish traditions and fantastical inventions.”

Then said a black friar to him, (God knoweth, a blockhead,) “Do we not preach the gospel daily?” “Yes,” said he; “but what preaching of the gospel is that when you extol superstitious things, and make us believe that we have redemption through pardons and bulls from Rome, *a poena et culpa*, as ye term it; and by the merits of your orders ye make many brethren and sisters, ye take yearly money of them, ye bury them in your coats, and in shrift ye beguile them: yea, and do a thousand superstitious things more; a man may be weary to speak of them.” “I see,” said the friar, “thou art a damned wretch; I will have no more talk with thee.”

Then stepped to him a grey friar, a doctor, (God knoweth, of small intelligence,) and laid before him great and many dangers. “I take God to record,” said Benet, “my life is not dear to me; I am content to depart from it, for I am weary of it, seeing your detestable doings, to the utter destruction of God’s flock; and, for my part, I can no longer forbear. I had rather by death, which I know is not far off, depart this life, that I may no longer be witness of your idolatries, or be subject to antichrist, your pope.” “Our pope,” said the friar, “is the vicar of God, and our ways are the ways of God.” “I pray you,” said Benet, “depart from me, and tell not me of your ways. He is my only way who saith, ‘I am the way, the truth, and the life.’ In this way will I walk, his doings shall

be my example, not yours, nor your false pope's. His truth will I embrace; not the lies and falsehood of you and your pope. His everlasting life will I seek, the true reward of all faithful people. Away from me, I pray you. Vex my soul no longer; ye shall not prevail. There is no good example in you, no truth in you, no life to be hoped for at your hands. Ye are all more vain than vanity itself. If I should hear and follow you this day, everlasting death would hang over me, a just reward for all them that love the life of this world. Away from me: your company liketh me not."

Never was confessor more to be admired for wisdom and courage, purity and truth, than this holy man. Well might such a mind and conscience be wearied with the blasphemies of his subtle adversaries. Yet did they continue to cast at him the venom of their poisoned tongue, and the arrows of their bitter words—thus through a whole week, night and day, was he harassed by these hypocrites. It were an infinite matter to declare all things done and said to him in the time of his imprisonment; and the hate of the people that time, by means of ignorance, was hot against him: notwithstanding they could never move his patience; he answered to every matter soberly, and that more by the aid of God's Spirit than by any worldly study. He was at least fifty years old. Being in prison, his wife provided sustenance for him; and when she lamented, he comforted her, and gave her many godly exhortations, praying her to move him not to apply to his adversaries for the least favour.

His enemies at length, finding both their threats and their persuasions equally useless, proceeded to judgment, and condemned him to the flames; which being done, and the writ which they had procured being brought from London, they delivered him the fifteenth of January, 1531, unto Sir Thomas Denis, knight, then sheriff of Devonshire, to be burned. The mild martyr rejoicing that his end approached so near, as the sheep before the shearer, yielded himself, with all humbleness, to abide and suffer the cross of persecution. Being brought to his execution, in a place called Livery-dole, without Exeter, he made his humble confession and prayer unto Almighty God, and requested all the people to do the like for him, exhorting them, at the same time, with such gravity and sobriety, and with such an impressive oration, to seek the true honouring of God, and the true knowledge of him; as also to leave the imaginations of man's inventions, that all the hearers were astonished and in great admiration: insomuch, that most of them, as also the scribe who wrote the sentence of condemnation against him, confessed that he was God's servant, and a good man.

Two esquires, namely, Thomas Carew and John Barnehouse, standing at the stake by him, first with fair promises and goodly words, but at length through threatenings, required him to revoke his errors, to call to our lady and the saints, and to say, *Precor sanctam Mariam, et omnes sanctos Dei*. To them he with all meekness, answered, saying, "No, no; it is God only upon whose name we must call, and we have no advocate with him but Jesus Christ, who died for us, and now sitteth at the right hand of the Father to intercede for us. By him must we offer and make our prayers to God, if we will have them to take place and be heard." With this answer Barnehouse was so enraged, that he took

a furze-bush upon a pike, and setting it on fire, thrust it into his face, saying, "Heretic, pray to our Lady, and say, *Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis*, or by God's wounds I will make thee do it." To whom the said Thomas Benet, with an humble and a meek spirit, most patiently answered, "Alas, sir! trouble me not." And holding up his hands, he said, *Pater! ignosce illis*. Whereupon the gentlemen caused the wood and furze to be set on fire, and therewith this godly man lifted up his eyes and hands to heaven, saying, *O Domine! recipe spiritum meum*. And so, continuing in his prayers, most patiently abode the cruelty of the fire, until his life was ended. For this the Lord God be praised, and send us his grace and blessing, that at the latter day we may with him enjoy the bliss and joy prepared for the elect children of God. At his burning, such was the rage of the blind people, that well was he that could cast a stick into the fire.

In the year 1511, a severe persecution took place in the county of Kent, under Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, and five were committed to the flames. These were William Carder, of Tenterden; Agnes Grebil, of Tenterden, aged sixty years; Robert Harrison, of Halden, of the same age; John Browne, of Ashford; and Edward Walker, of Maidstone, cutler. The witnesses against Agnes Grebil were her husband and her two sons—all of whom had abjured, and, instigated by base fear, sacrificed the life of the unhappy woman to preserve their own.

This may be a proper place for a few remarks on the laws of that day, as they affected different offenders, extracted from the register of the said William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury. It is first to be noted, that the catholic fathers, in their processes of heretical depravity, had three distinct kinds of judgments and proceeding. One class of offences required the offenders to be burned, that, others being brought into terror, they might therefore more quietly maintain their power. The persons thus condemned consisted of either such as had before abjured, and fallen again into relapse; or else such as stood constantly in their doctrine, and refused to abjure; or such as they intended to make a terror and example, notwithstanding their willingness to submit themselves, and to abjure. Against the last, the process used was this: First, after they are suspected by some promoter, they are denounced and cited; then by virtue of inquisition they are taken, and confined fast in irons in prison. Then they are brought forth for examination, if they be not dead by famine, cold, or straitness of the prison. Then be articles drawn, or rather wrested, out of their writings or preachings, and they put to their oath, to answer truly to every point and circumstance against them; which articles if they seem to deny, or solve by true expounding the articles, then are witnesses called in and admitted, what witnesses soever they are, be they never so infamous, usurers, ribalds, women, yea, and common harlots. Or, if no other witnesses can be found, then is the husband brought in and forced to swear against the wife, or the wife against the husband, or the children against the mother, as in the example of Agnes Grebil. Or, if no such witness at all can be found, then are they strained upon the rack, or by other bitter torments forced to confess their knowledge, and to impeach others. Neither must any be suffered to come to them, what need soever they have; neither must any public or private audience be given them to speak for themselves; till at last sentence be read against them, to give them up

to the secular arm, or to degrade them, if they be priests, and so to burn them. Yet the malignity of these persecutors doth not here cease. For after the fire hath consumed their bodies, then they fall upon their books, and condemn them to be burned; and no man must be so hardy as to read them, or keep them, under pain of heresy. But before they have abolished these books, they gather articles out of them, such as they list themselves, and so perversely wrest them after their own purpose, contrary to the meaning of the author. This done, and the books abolished, that no man may compare them, and espy their falsehood, they publish those extracts which they have so carefully perverted.

To the second order belonged that sort of heretics whom the papists condemned not to death, but assigned them to monasteries, there to continue, and to fast all their life, *in pane doloris, et aqua angustiae*, with bread of sorrow, and water of affliction; and that they should not remove one mile out of the precinct of the monastery so long as they lived, unless they were by the archbishop himself or his successors dispensed withal. Frequently, however, the said persons were so dispensed withal that their penance of bread and water was confined only to Wednesdays and Fridays, or some similar punishment.

The third class of heretics were those whom they did not judge to perpetual prison, but only enjoined them penance, either to stand before the preacher, or else to bear a fagot about the market, or in procession; or else to wear the picture of a fagot bordered on their left sleeves, without any cloak or gown upon it; or else to kneel at the saying of certain masses, or to say so many *pater nosters*, to such or such a saint; or to go in pilgrimage to such or such a place; or to bear a fagot to the burning of some heretic; or to fast certain Fridays on bread and water.

In the year of our Lord 1539, John, a painter, and Giles German, were accused of heresy; and whilst they were in examination in London before the bishop and other judges, by chance there came in one of the king's servants, named Launcelot, a very tall man, and of no less godly mind and disposition, than strong and tall of body. This man standing by seemed by his countenance and gesture, to favour the cause of the poor men as though they were his friends. Whereupon, being apprehended, he was examined and condemned together with them; and the next day, at five o'clock in the morning, they were all carried into St. Giles' Fields, and there burned. There was but a small company of people at their death; yet they behaved with remarkable firmness, and spoke to the few around them with a pious fidelity, exhorting them to embrace suffering rather than idolatry and sin.

In the company and fellowship of those blessed saints and martyrs of Christ, who innocently suffered, and were burned in Smithfield about the latter end of Cuthbert Tonstal's time, bishop of London, was one called Stile, as is credibly reported to us by Sir Robert Outred, who was present at his martyrdom, and an eye witness of the same. With him there was burned also a book of the Apocalypse, which he was wont to read. This book when he saw fastened unto the stake to be burned with him, lifting up his voice he exclaimed, "O blessed Apocalypse! how happy am I that I shall be burned with thee!" And so this good



man and the blessed Apocalypse were both together consumed in the same fire, whereas nothing could consume the spirit of either.

As Gardiner and other bishops set on King Henry against Anne Askew and her fellow martyrs, so Dr. Repse, bishop of Norwich, incited no less the old duke of Norfolk against one Rogers, in the county of Norfolk; who, much about the same year and time, was there condemned, and suffered martyrdom for the six articles. This martyr must be distinguished from the clergyman of his name, one of the earliest victims of Mary's cruelty; though in christian courage he almost equalled his well known namesake and successor in suffering.

A certain priest, passing down to Gravesend in the common barge about this time, where one Brown was amongst other passengers, and disdaining that he should sit so near him in the barge, began to swell against him. At length bursting forth in his priestly voice and disdainful countenance, he asked him, "Dost thou know whom I am? Thou sittest too near me, and sittest on my clothes." "No, sir," said the other, "I know not who or what you are." "I tell thee," quoth he, "I am a priest." "What, Sir, are you a parson or vicar, or some lady's chaplain?" asked Brown. "No, I am a soul priest, I sing for a soul," replied he. "Do you so, Sir," said Brown; "that is well done. I pray you, Sir, where find you the soul when you go to mass?" "I cannot tell thee," said the priest. "I pray you, where do you leave it, Sir, when the mass is done?" asked Brown. "I cannot tell thee," said the priest. "You cannot tell me where you find it when you go to mass, nor where you leave it when the mass is done; how can you then save the soul?" inquired Brown. "Go thy ways," said the priest, "I perceive thou art a heretic, and I will be even with thee." And he kept his word, for at the landing, the priest taking with him Walter and William More, two gentlemen and brethren, rode straight to archbishop Warham. John Brown, within three days after, was sent for by the archbishop. The messengers came suddenly into his house on the same day on which his wife was churched, and just as he was bringing in a mess of pottage to the serving his guest: and laying hands upon him, they set him upon his own horse, and binding his feet under the belly of the beast, carried him away to Canterbury—neither he, nor his wife, nor any of his friends knowing whither they went—and there was kept the space of forty days.

During this long captivity, when he was thought to be lost, the archbishop caused his bare feet to be set on hot burning coals, to make him deny his faith; which, notwithstanding, he would not do, but patiently abiding the pain, continued in the Lord's cause unshaken. At length, after this cruelty, he was, on Friday before Whitsunday, sent to Ashford, where he dwelt, the next day to be burned, his wife being all the time ignorant of what happened. However, just after he was brought to the town over night to be set in the stocks, it happened, as God would have it, that a young maid of his house came by, and seeing her master, ran home and told her mistress. Her consternation may be imagined, when coming to him, and finding him in the stocks, appointed to be burned the next morning: she sat by him all night long. To whom he of course declared the whole story, or rather tragedy, how he had been

handled, and how his feet were burned to the bones by the archbishop of Canterbury and bishop of Rochester, that he could not set them upon the ground, and all to make him deny his Lord, which he would never do—"for should I deny him in this world," he said, "he would deny me hereafter: therefore, I pray thee, good Elizabeth, continue as thou hast begun, and bring up thy children virtuously in the fear of God. The next day, being Whitsun-eve, this godly martyr was burned. Standing at the stake, he uttered this prayer, lifting up his hands and eyes to heaven:—

"I yield, O Lord, unto thy grace,  
O, let thy mercy crown my race.  
Let not the fiend my soul pursue,  
When death is near, and just in view;  
But while by envious foes I'm driv'n,  
Save me from hell, and give me Heaven."

William Tindall, or Tyndale, although he did not suffer in England, ought to be ranked with the martyrs of our country, of which, from his great zeal, perseverance, and dispersing of truth, he may properly be esteemed the apostle. Though he went to heaven from a foreign land, he came on earth in the land of the ancient Britons. He was born on the borders of Wales, and brought up from a child in the university of Oxford, where, by long continuance, he grew and increased as well in knowledge of tongues and other liberal arts, as in the knowledge of the scriptures, whereunto his mind was singularly addicted; insomuch, that lying then in Magdalen-hall, he read privily to certain of the students and fellows of that college, some parcel of divinity; instructing them in the knowledge and truth of the scriptures; and all that knew him reputed and esteemed him to be a man of most virtuous disposition, and of unspotted life.

Having remained some time at Oxford, he removed to the other university of Cambridge, where, after making great progress in his studies, he quitted, went to Gloucestershire, and engaged himself to a knight, named Welch, as tutor of his children. To this gentleman's hospitable table used to resort several abbots, deans, and other beneficed men, with whom Tindall used to converse and talk of learned men, particularly of Luther and Erasmus; examining also many questions relative to the scriptures. Being learned and practised in religion, he spared not to avow unto them simply his opinions; and if they objected to his reasonings, he would shew them the book, and lay plainly before them the open and manifest places of the scriptures, to confute their errors, and confirm his sayings. And thus continued they for a certain season, reasoning and contending together, till at length they became envious, and bore a secret grudge in their hearts against him.

Not long after this it happened that certain of these great doctors invited Mr. Welch and his wife to a banquet, where they spoke to him without the fear of contradiction, uttering their blindness and ignorance. Then Welch and his wife coming home, and calling for Mr. Tindall, began to reason with him about those matters; when Tindall as usual, answered by scripture, maintained the truth, and reproved their false opinions. Then said the lady Welch, a stout and wise woman, "Well

there was such a doctor who spent a hundred, another two hundred, and another three hundred pounds: and were it reason, think you, that we should believe you before them?" Tindall gave her no answer at the time; and after that, because he saw it would not avail, he talked but little in those matters. However, he was about the translation of a book called *Enchiridion militis Christiani*, written by Erasmus, which, being finished, he delivered to his master and lady. After they had read and well perused the same, the doctorly prelates were not so often called to the house, neither had they the cheer and countenance when they came as before. This they well perceiving, and supposing that it came by the means of Tindall, refrained themselves, and at last utterly withdrew from the house.

As this grew on, the priests of the country clustered together, and began to storm upon Tindall, railing against him in ale-houses, and other places. Tindall himself, in his prologue to the first book of Moses, testifieth, that he "suffered much in that country by a sort of unlearned priests, being rude and ignorant, as God knoweth; who have seen no more Latin than that only which they read in their portueses and missals; which yet many of them can scarcely read, except it be *Albertus, de secretis mulierum*; in which yet, though they be never so sorrily learned, they pore day and night, and make notes therein, to assist the midwives, as they say; and also another called Lindwood, a book of constitutions to gather tithes, mortuaries, offerings, customs, and other pillage, which they call not theirs, but God's part—the duty of holy church, to discharge their consciences withal. For they are bound that they shall not diminish but increase all things unto the uttermost of their powers, which pertain to holy church." Thus these blind and rude priests flocking together to the ale-house, their preaching-place, railed against him, affirming that his sayings were heresy; adding, moreover, unto his sayings of their own heads, and so accused him secretly to the chancellor, and other of the bishop's officers.

It followed not long after this, that there was a sitting of the bishop's chancellor appointed, and warning was given to the priests to appear against Tindall. Whether he had any misdoubt by their threatenings, or knowledge given him that they would lay some things to his charge, it is uncertain; but certain it is that he doubted their privy accusations; so that he, by the way, in going thitherwards, cried in his mind heartily to God, to give him strength to stand in the truth of his word. When the time came for his appearance before the chancellor, he threatened him grievously, reviling and rating at him as though he had been a dog, and laid to his charge many things whereof no accuser could be brought forth, notwithstanding the priests of the country were there present. And thus did Tindall escape out of their hands, and returned home.

There dwelt not far off a certain doctor, named Mummuth, who had been formerly chancellor to a bishop, and who had been an old familiar acquaintance with Tindall, and favoured him well. Unto him Tindall went, and opened his mind upon divers questions of the Scripture: for to him he durst be bold to disclose his heart. After some discourse, the doctor said, "Do you not know that the pope is the very antichrist whom

the Scripture speaketh of? but beware what you say; for if you be perceived of that opinion, it will cost you your life; I have been an officer of his; but I have given it up, and defy him and all his works." Soon after, Tindall happened to be in company of a certain divine, accounted a learned man, and in communing and disputing with him, he drove him to that issue, that the great doctor burst out into these blasphemous words, "We were better to be without God's laws than the pope's." Tindall hearing this, full of godly zeal, and not bearing that blasphemous saying, replied, "I defy the pope, and all his laws:" and added, that if God spared him life, ere many years, he would cause a boy that driveth the plough to know more of the Scripture than he did.

The grudge of the priests now increased more against Tindall, they never ceased barking at him, and laid many things to his charge, saying that he was a heretic in sophistry, in logic, and in divinity; moreover, that he bare himself boldly to the gentleman in that country; but notwithstanding, shortly he should be otherwise talked withal. To whom Tindall said, that he was contented they should bring him into any county in England, giving him ten pounds a year to live with, and binding him to no more but to teach children, and to preach the gospel of Christ.

At length being so molested and vexed by the priests, he was constrained to leave that country, and to seek another place; and coming to Mr. Welch, he requested his permission to depart, saying, "Sir, I perceive that I shall not be suffered to tarry long in this country, neither shall you be able, though you would, to keep me out of the hands of the spirituality; and also what displeasure might grow thereby to you by keeping me, God knoweth, for the which I should be sorry." He accordingly departed, came up to London, and there preached awhile as he had done in the country before, and especially about the city of Bristol. At length bethinking himself of Tonstal, then bishop of London, and especially for his great commendation of Erasmus, who in his annotations so extolleth him for his learning, thus cast with himself, that if he might attain unto his service, he were a happy man. Coming to Sir Henry Gilford, the king's comptroller, and bringing with him an oration of Isocrates, which he had then translated from the Greek, he desired him to speak to the bishop for him; which he did, and willed him moreover to write to the bishop, and accompany him. Thus he did and delivered his epistle to a servant. But God, who secretly disposeth the order of things, saw that was not the best for Tindall's purpose, nor for the profit of his church, and therefore gave him to find little favour in the bishop's sight, who said, that his house was full, he had more than he could well find, and advised him to seek about in London, where he said he could lack no service. He therefore remained in London almost a year, marking with himself the course of the world, and especially the demeanour of the preachers, how they boasted themselves, and set up their authority and kingdom; also the pomp of the prelates, with other things more which greatly vexed him. Soon he understood, not only there to be no room in the bishop's house for him to translate the New Testament, but also no place to do it in all England. And

therefore, having some aid by God's providence from his friend Humphrey Mummuth, and other good men, he took his leave of the realm, and departed to Germany. There, being inflamed with a tender care and zeal of his country, he studied how by all means possible to bring his countrymen to the same taste and understanding of God's holy word and verity, which the Lord had endued him withal.

He perceived that the principal cause of the people's blindness, and of the gross errors of the church, with all their evils, was the scriptures being concealed in an unknown tongue, by which the truth was kept out of sight, and the corruptions of the priests remained undetected. No wonder therefore all their labour was with might and main to keep it down, so that either it should not be read at all, or if it were, they would darken the right sense with the mist of their sophistry, and so entangle those who rebuked or despised their abominations, with arguments of philosophy, worldly similitudes, apparent reasons of natural wisdom; and with wresting the Scripture unto their own purpose, that they would so delude, and amaze them, expounding it in many senses, laid before the unlearned lay people, that though they were sure that all were false, yet could none solve their subtle riddles. These and other considerations moved this good man, who was no doubt stirred up of God, to translate the scripture into his mother tongue, for the utility and profit of the simple people of the country. He first began with the New Testament, which he translated about the year 1527. After that he took in hand the old Testament, finishing the five books of Moses, with sundry learned and godly prefaces prefixed before every one, which he also did before the New Testament. Nor was he content with translating scripture: he also wrote divers other works under sundry titles, amongst which was, "The obedience of a Christian man," wherein with singular dexterity he instructed all men in the office and duty of Christian obedience, with several other treatises, as, "The wicked Mammon—The practice of prelates;" with expositions upon certain parts of the Scripture, and other books also, answering Sir Thomas More and other adversaries of the truth.

His books being compiled, published, and sent over to England, it is past description what a door of light they opened to the eyes of the whole nation, which before were many years shut up in darkness. At his first departure, he had taken his journey into the further parts of Germany, to Saxony, where he had conference with Luther, and other learned men in those quarters, whence, after he had continued a season, he came down into the Netherlands, and resided mostly in the town of Antwerp. His several publications, especially the New Testament, after they came into men's hands, wrought singular profit to the godly, while ungodly priests, envying and disdaining that the people should be wiser than they, and fearing lest by the shining beams of truth, their hypocrisy and works of darkness should be discerned, took great offence; as at the birth of Christ, Herod and all Jerusalem were troubled with him. An accident befel our zealous and persevering martyr, which occasioned a considerable delay. Having finished the five books of Moses, he set sail to Hamburg intending to print them there. But, on his voyage, he was shipwrecked and lost all his manuscripts, with almost all he pos-

essed. He, however, in another vessel, pursued his voyage, and arriving at Hamburgh, where at his appointment, Mr. Coverdale tarried for him, and helped him in translating the whole five books of Moses, from Easter till December, in the house of Miss Margaret Van Emmerson, anno 1529. Having dispatched his business, he returned to Antwerp again.

When God's will was that the New Testament in the common tongue should come abroad, Tindall added at the end a letter, wherein he desired the learned to amend ought they found amiss. But the fathers of the clergy, not willing to have that book to prosper, cried out against it, that there were a thousand heresies in it, and that it was not to be corrected, but utterly suppressed. Some said it was impossible to translate the Scripture into English; others, that it was not lawful for the laity to have it in their mother-tongue; some that it would make them all heretics. To induce the temporal rulers also unto their purpose, they said that it would make the people rebel and rise against the king. All this Tindall himself declared, shewing moreover its truth; while they scanned and examined every tittle and point in the translation so narrowly, that there was not one letter therein, but if it lacked a perfect form, they did note it, and numbered it unto the ignorant people for a heresy. So great were then the forward devices of the English clergy, to drive the people from the text and knowledge of the Scripture, which they would neither translate themselves, nor yet suffer it to be translated by others.

The bishops and prelates of the realm, thus incensed and inflamed in their minds, and conspiring together with their councils, how to repeal the cause of their alarm, never rested till they had brought the king at last to their consent. By reason whereof, a proclamation in all haste was devised and set forth under public authority, but no just reason shewed, that the Testament of Tindall's translation, with other works both of his and of other writers, were prohibited and denounced. This was about the year 1527. Not contented herewith, they proceeded further, how to entangle him in their nets, and to bereave him of his life. The means they employed to ensnare him were these. In the registers of London it appeareth that the bishops and Sir Thomas More brought several poor men to be examined before them, namely, such as had been at Antwerp: most studiously would they search and examine all things belonging to Tindall, where and with whom he hosted, where stood the house, what was his stature, in what apparel he went, what resort he had. All these things when they had diligently learned, as appeared by the examination of Simon Smith and others, then began they to work their works of darkness.

Tindall being in the city of Antwerp, had lodged about a year in the house of Thomas Pointz, an Englishman, who kept there an hostel of English merchants, when there arrived thither out of England, Henry Philips, his father being customer of Pool, a comely fellow, and in appearance a gentleman, having a servant with him; but wherefore he came, or for what purpose he was sent thither, no man could tell, unless it was for the work of darkness already mentioned. Tindall was frequently invited to dinner and supper amongst merchants; by the means whereof

this Henry Philips became acquainted with him, so that in a short space Tindall conceived a great friendship and confidence for him, brought him to his lodging to the house of Thomas Pointz, had him once or twice to dinner and supper, and further entered into such friendship with him, that through his interest he lodged in the house of Pointz. He also shewed him his books and other secrets of his study, so little did Tindall then mistrust this traitor.

Pointz having no great confidence in the fellow, asked Tindall how he came acquainted with him, who answered, that he was an honest man, tolerably learned, and very agreeable. Pointz, perceiving that he bare such favour to him, said no more, thinking that he was brought acquainted with him by some friend of his. Philips being in the city three or four days upon a time, desired Pointz to walk with him forth of the town to shew him the commodities thereof; and in walking together without the town, had communication of divers things, and some of the king's affairs; by which talk Pointz as yet suspected nothing, but by the sequel he perceived more what he intended. In the mean time he learned, that he bare no great favour either to the setting forth of any good thing, or to the proceedings of the king of England, and perceived about him a deal of mystery, and a sort of courting him to make him subservient to his design, by the hopes of reward, he always appearing very full of money: but Pointz kept at a distance from all bribery. So Philips went from Antwerp to the court of Brussels, which is from thence twenty-four English miles, the king having there no ambassador; for at that time the king of England and the emperor were at a controversy, for the question betwixt Henry and the lady Katharine. Philips, as a traitor both against God and the king, was there the better retained, as also other traitors more besides him; and after he had betrayed Mr. Tindall into their hands, shewed himself likewise against the king's own person. To make short, the said Philips did so much there, that he procured to bring from thence with him to Antwerp, that procurator-general, who is the emperor's attorney, with certain other officers; which was not done with small charges and expenses, from whomsoever it came.

Sometime after, Pointz sitting at his door, Philips' servant came unto him, and asked whether Mr. Tindall were there, and said, his master would come to him, and so departed. Whether his master Philips were in the town or not, it was not known; but at that time Pointz heard no more, neither of the master nor of the man. Within three or four days after, Pointz went on business to the town of Barrow, eighteen English miles from Antwerp, and in his absence Philips came again to Antwerp to the house of Pointz, and coming in, spake with his wife, asking her for Mr. Tindall, and whether he would dine there with him, saying, "What good meat shall we have?" She answered, "Such as the market will give." Then went he forth as though he would purchase food, and set the officers which he brought with him from Brussels in the street and about the door. About noon he returned, went to Mr. Tindall, and desired him to lend him forty shillings; for, said he, I lost my purse this morning, coming over at the passage between this and Mechlin. Tindall took him forty shillings, the which was easy to be had of him, if

he had it, for in the wily subtilties of this world he was simple and unexpert.

Then said Philips, "Mr. Tindall, you shall be my guest here to-day." "No," said Tindall, "I am engaged this day to dinner, and you shall go with me, and be my guest, where you shall be welcome." So when it was dinner time they went. At the going out of Pointz' house, was a long narrow entry, so that two could not go in front. Tindall would have put Philips before him, but Philips would in no wise, but insisted on Tindall's going before. So Tindall, being a man of no great stature, went before, and Philips a tall and comely person, followed behind him. He had set officers on either side of the door upon two seats, who might see who came in the entry; and on coming through, Philips pointed with his finger over Tindall's head down to him, that the officers which sate at the door might see that it was he whom they should take, as the officers themselves afterwards told Pointz, and said, that when they had laid him in prison, they pitied his simplicity when they took him. Then they seized him and brought him to the emperor's procurator-general, where he dined. Then came the procurator-general to the house of Pointz and sent away all that was there of Mr. Tindall's, as well his books as other things, and from thence Tindall was had to the castle of Filford, eighteen miles from Antwerp, where he remained until he was put to death.

By the help of English merchants, letters were sent in favour of Tindall to the court of Brussels. Also, not long after, letters were directed from England to the council at Brussels, and sent to the merchant adventurers to Antwerp, commanding them to see that with speed they should be delivered. Then such of the chief of the merchants as were there at that time, being called together, required Pointz to take in hand the delivery of those letters, with letters also from them in favour of Tindall to the lord of Barrois and others. This lord, as it was told Pointz by the way, at that time had parted from Brussels, as the chief conductor of the eldest daughter of the king of Denmark, to be married to the palesgrave, whose mother was sister to the emperor, she being chief princess of Denmark. After he heard of his departure, he rode the same way, and overtook him at Achon, where he delivered to him his letters. When he had received and read them, he made no direct answer, but somewhat objecting, said—There were of their countrymen who had been burned in England not long before; as indeed there were Anabaptists burned in Smithfield: and so Pointz said to him, "Howbeit, whatsoever the crime was, if his lordship or any other nobleman had written, requiring to have had them, he thought they should not have been denied." "Well," said he, "I have no leisure to write, for the princess is ready to ride." Then said Pointz, "If it please your lordship, I will attend upon you unto the next baiting place," which was at Maestricht. "If you will," said the lord, "I will advise myself by the way what to write." Upon this, Pointz followed him from Achon to Maestricht, which are fifteen English miles asunder; and there he received letters of him, one to the council there, another to the company of the merchant adventurers, and another also to the lord Cromwell in England.

So Pointz rode from thence to Brussels, and then and there delivered



to the council the letters from England, with the lord of Barrow's letters also, and received answers from England of the same by letters, which he brought to Antwerp to the English merchants, who required him to go with them into England. He very desirous to have Mr. Tindall out of prison, forbore no pains, nor regarded the loss of time in his own business, but diligently followed with the said letters, which he there delivered to the council, and was commanded to wait until he had others, of which he was not dispatched thence till a month after. At length the letters being delivered him, he returned again, and delivered them to the emperor's council at Brussels, and there tarried for answer of the same. After he had impatiently and fearfully remained three or four days, he was told by one that belonged to the chancery, that Tindall should have been delivered to him according to the tenor of the letters; but Philips being there, followed the suit against Tindall, and hearing that he should be delivered to Pointz, and doubting lest he should be put from his purpose, he knew no other remedy but to accuse Pointz, saying, that he was a dweller in the town of Antwerp, and had been a succourer of Tindall, and was one of the same opinion; and that all this was only his own labour and suit, to have Master Tindall at liberty, and no man's else.

Thus upon his information and accusation, Pointz was attached by the procurator-general, the emperor's attorney, delivered to the keeping of two sergeants at arms; and the same evening was sent to him one of the chancery, with the procurator-general, who ministered an oath, that he should truly make answer to all such things as should be inquired of him, thinking they would have no other examinations of him but of his own message. The next day they came again, and had him in examination, and so five or six days successively, upon more than an hundred articles, as well of the king's affairs as of the messages concerning Tindall, of his aiders and his religion. Out of these examinations, the procurator-general drew twenty-three or four articles, and declared the same against Pointz, the copy whereof he delivered to him to make answer thereunto, and permitted him to have an advocate and proctor in the law for his defence; and order was taken, that eight days after he should deliver unto them his answer, and from eight days to eight days to proceed till the process was ended. Also that he should send no messenger to Antwerp, where his house was, although only twenty-four English miles from Brussels, where he was now a prisoner; nor to any other place but by the post of Brussels; nor to send any letters, nor any to be delivered to him, but such as were written in Dutch; and the procurator-general, who was party against him, was to read them and examine them thoroughly, contrary to all right and equity, before they were sent or delivered. Neither might any be suffered to speak or talk with him in any other tongue or language, except only in the Dutch tongue so that his keepers who were Dutchmen, might understand what the contents of letters or talk should be. Saving that at one certain time the provincial of the white friars came to dinner where Pointz was prisoner, and brought with him a young novice, being an Englishman, whom the provincial after dinner, of his own accord bid to talk with Pointz, and so with him he was licensed to converse. The purpose

and great policy of this was easy to be perceived. Between Pointz and the novice was much talk, as of Sir Thomas More, and of the bishop of Rochester. After this Pointz delivered up his answer to the procurator-general, and then at the days appointed he went forth with whatever he could gather as evidence against him.

When the commissioners came to Pointz, Philips the traitor accompanied them to the door in following the process against him, as he had also done against Tindall, for so they that had Pointz in keeping shewed him. Thus Pointz was greatly troubled for his friend, and long kept in prison; but at length, when he saw no other remedy, by night he made his escape, and avoided their hands. Tindall however could not so escape, but remained in prison, and being brought unto his answer, was offered to have an advocate and a proctor; for in any criminal cause there, it is permitted to have council, to make answer in the law. Yet he refused to have any such, saying,—that he would answer for himself; and so he did. Still nothing that he could say served him; and at last, after much reasoning, when no reason would avail, although he deserved no death, he was condemned by virtue of the emperor's decree, made in the assembly at Augsburg, and upon that vile statute brought forth to the place of execution, where he was tied to the stake, and strangled first by the hangman, and afterwards burnt. His martyrdom was at the town of Filford, anno 1536. As he stood firmly amidst the wood, with the executioner at his side ready to strangle him, he lifted up his eyes to heaven, and said in a loud and fervent manner—“Lord, open the eyes of the king of England!”

Such was the power of his doctrine, and sincerity of the life of this most amiable man and glorious martyr, that during his imprisonment, which was a year and a half, it is said he converted the keeper, his daughter, and other of his household. Also the prisoners that were with him conversant in the castle reported of him, that if he were not a good Christian, they could not tell whom to trust. Even the procurator-general being there, left his testimony of him, that he was a most learned, good, and godly man. An instance this remarkably resembling that of the Centurion who said of Christ, watching his crucifixion—“Certainly this was a righteous man.” It was reported of Philips who betrayed him, that he fell a victim to a loathsome disease, being consumed by vermin that preyed upon his body.

To enumerate the virtues and actions of this blessed martyr would require much time and many pages. Suffice it to say, that he was one of those who, by his works, shone as a light amidst a dark world, and gave evidence that he had been called and commissioned to bring others to glory, honour, immortality, and eternal life.

## BOOK X.

CONTAINING THE ACTS AND THINGS DONE IN THE REIGN OF  
KING EDWARD THE SIXTH.

EDWARD was the only son of Henry the Eighth, by his wife Jane Seymour, who died the second day after his birth. He was born on the twelfth of October 1537, and came to the throne in 1547, being but ten years old. At six years of age, he was placed under Dr. Coxe and Mr. Cheek: the one was to form his mind, and teach him philosophy and divinity; the other to teach him languages and mathematics. Masters were also appointed for the other parts of his education. He discovered very early a good disposition to religion and virtue, and a particular reverence for the scriptures. As a striking proof of the latter, he was once greatly offended with a person, who in order to reach something hastily, laid a Bible on the floor to stand upon. He made great progress in learning, and at the age of eight years wrote Latin letters frequently to the king, to queen Katherine Parr, to the archbishop of Canterbury, and his uncle the earl of Hertford. On his father's decease, the latter nobleman and Sir Anthony Brown were sent to bring him to the Tower of London: and when Henry's death was published, Edward was proclaimed king.

On his coming to the Tower, his father's will was opened, by which it was found that he had named sixteen to be the governors of the kingdom, and of his son's person till he should be eighteen years of age. These were the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord Wriothesly, lord chancellor, the lord St. John, great master, the lord Russel, lord privy seal, the earl of Hertford, lord great chamberlain, viscount Lisle, lord admiral, Tonstal bishop of Durham, Sir Anthony Brown, master of the horse, Sir William Paget, secretary of state, Sir Edward North, chancellor of the augmentations, Sir Edward Montague, lord chief justice of the common pleas, judge Bromley, Sir Anthony Denny, and Sir William Herbert, chief gentlemen of the privy chamber, Sir Edward Wotton, treasurer of Calais, and Dr. Wotton, dean of Canterbury and York. They were also to give the king's sisters in marriage; who, if they married without their consent, were to forfeit their right of succession: for the king was empowered by act of parliament to leave the crown to them with what limitations he should think fit to appoint. There was also a privy council named to be their assistants in the government; if any of the sixteen died, the survivors were to continue in the administration, without a power to substitute others in their room.

It was also proposed that one should be chosen out of the sixteen to whom ambassadors should address themselves, and who should have the chief direction of affairs; but should be restrained to do every thing by consent of the greater part of the other co-executors. The chancellor, who thought the precedence fell to him by his office, since the archbishop did not meddle much in secular affairs, opposed this, and said, "It is a change of the king's will; who has made us all equal in power

and dignity; and if any are raised above the rest in title, it will not be possible to keep him within due bounds, since great titles make way for high power." Notwithstanding this, the earl of Hertford was declared governor of the king's person, and protector of the kingdom; with this restriction, that he should do nothing but by advice and consent of the rest. Upon this advancement and the opposition made to it, two parties were formed, the one headed by the protector, and the other by the chancellor: the favourers of the reformation were of the former, and those that opposed it of the latter. The chancellor was ordered to renew the commissions of the judges and justices of peace, and king Henry's great seal was to be made use of till a new one should be made. The day after this, all the executors took oaths to execute their trust faithfully; the privy counsellors were also brought into the king's presence, who all expressed their satisfaction in the choice of the protector: and it was ordered that all dispatches to foreign princes should be signed only by him. All that held offices were required to come and renew their commissions, and to swear allegiance to the king.

Among the rest came the bishops, and took out such commissions as were granted in the former reign, by which they became subaltern to the king's vicegerent: but there being no one now in that office, they were immediately subaltern to the king. By these commissions they were to hold their bishoprics only during the king's pleasure, and were empowered in the king's name, as his delegates, to perform all parts of the episcopal function. Cranmer set an example to the rest in taking out such a commission. This check upon the bishops was judged expedient in case they should become refractory in point of religion; but the ill-consequences of such an unlimited power being well foreseen, the bishops, who were afterwards promoted, were not so fettered, but were permitted to hold their bishoprics during life. The grant of so many ecclesiastical dignities to the earl of Hertford, was no extraordinary thing at that time, for as Cromwell had been dean of Wells, so divers other laymen were promoted to them; which was thus excused, because there was no cure of souls belonging to them; and during vacancies, even in times of popery, the king had by his own authority, by the *right of the Regale*, given institution to them, so that they seemed to be no spiritual employments, and the ecclesiastics that enjoyed them, were generally a lazy and sensual sort of men.

An accident soon fell out, that made way for great changes in the church. The curate and churchwardens of St. Martin's in London were brought before the council for removing the crucifix and other images, and putting some texts of Scripture on the walls of their church. They answered, that they going to repair their church, had removed the images, which being rotten, they did not renew, but put words of Scripture in their room: they had also removed others, which they found had been abused to idolatry. Great pains was taken by the popish party to punish them severely, in order to strike a terror into others; but Cranmer was for removing all images set up in churches, as expressly contrary both to the second commandment, and the practice of Christians in the earliest and purest ages: and though in compliance with the gross abuses of paganism, there was very early much of the pomp

of their worship brought into the Christian church, yet it was long before any images were introduced. At first all were condemned by the fathers: then they allowed the use, but condemned the worship of them; and afterwards in the eighth and ninth centuries, the worship of them was, after a long contest both in the East and West, both approved and condemned. Finally they were however approved, and generally adopted. Some, in particular, were believed to be most wonderfully enchanted, and this was much improved by the cheats of the monks, who enriched themselves by such means. It was grown to such a height, that heathenism itself had not been guilty of greater absurdities towards its idols; and the singular virtues in some images shewed they were not worshipped only as representations, for then all should have equal degrees of veneration paid to them. Since these abuses had risen merely out of the use of them, and setting them up being contrary to the command of God, and the nature of the Christian religion, which is simple and spiritual, it seemed most reasonable to cure the disease in its root, and to clear the churches of them all, that the people might be preserved from idolatry.

These reasons prevailed so far, that the curate and wardens were dismissed with a reprimand; they were required to beware of such rashness for the future, and to provide a crucifix, and till that could be had, were ordered to cause one to be painted on the wall. Upon this, Dr. Ridley, in a sermon preached before the king, inveighed against the superstition towards images and holy water, and spread over the whole nation a general disposition to pull them down; which soon after commenced in Portsmouth. Upon this, Gardiner made great complaints, and said the Lutherans themselves went not so far, for he had seen images in their churches. He distinguished between image and idol, as if the one, which he said was only condemned, was the representation of a false God, and the other of the true; and he thought, that as words conveyed through the ear begat devotion, so images, by conveyance through the eye, might have the same effect on the mind. He also thought a virtue might be both in them and in holy water, as well as there was in Christ's garments, Peter's shadow, or Elijah's staff: and there might be a virtue in holy water as in the water of baptism. But to these arguments which Gardiner wrote in several letters, the protector answered, that the bishops had formerly argued in another strain, namely, that because the scriptures were abused by the vulgar readers, therefore they were not to be trusted to them; and so made a pretended abuse the ground of taking away, that which by God's special appointment, was to be delivered to all Christians. This held much stronger against images forbidden by God. The brazen serpent set up by Moses, by God's own directions was broken when abused to idolatry; for that was the greatest corruption of religion possible. Yet the protector acknowledged he had reason to complain of the forwardness of the people, who broke down images without authority: to prevent which, in future, orders were sent to the justices to look well to the peace and government of the nation, to meet often, and every six weeks to advertise the protector of the state of the country to which they belonged.

The funeral of the deceased king was performed with the ordinary

ceremonies at Windsor. He had left six hundred pounds a year to the church of Windsor, for priests to say mass for his soul every day, and for four obiits a year, and sermons, and the distributions of alms at every one of them, and for a sermon every Sunday, and a maintenance for thirteen poor knights, which was settled upon that church by his executors in due form of law. Obit was the anniversary of a person's death, and to observe such a day with prayers, alms, or other commemoration, was termed keeping of the obit. The chantries mentioned in this work were little churches, chapels, or particular altars, endowed with lands, or other revenues for the maintenance of one or more priests, to sing mass daily, and to perform divine service for the souls of the founders and such others as they appointed.

The pomps of these endowments in a more inquisitive age, led people to examine the usefulness of soul-masses and obiits. Christ appointed the sacrament for a commemoration of his death among the living, but it was not easy to conceive how that was to be applied to departed souls. For all the good that they could receive, seemed only applicable to the prayers for them; but bare prayers would not have wrought so much on the people, nor would they have paid so dear for them. It was a clear project for drawing the wealth of the world into the hands of the priests. In the primitive church there was a commemoration of the death, or an honourable remembrance, made in the daily offices; and for some very small faults names were not mentioned, which would not have been done if they had looked upon that as a thing that was really a relief to them in another state. But even this custom grew into abuse, and some inferred from it, that departed souls, unless they were signally pure, passed through a purgation in the next life, before they were admitted to Heaven; of which St. Austin, in whose time the opinion began to be received, says, that it was taken up without any sure ground in scripture. But what was wanting in scripture-proof was supplied by visions, dreams, and fables, till it was generally received. King Henry had acted like one who did not believe it, for he could expect no good usage in purgatory from those innumerable souls whom he had deprived of the masses that were to be said for them in monasteries, by destroying those foundations.

Yet it seems even he intended to make sure work for himself, so that if masses could avail departed souls, he resolved to be secure; and as he gratified the priests by this part of his endowment, so he pleased the people by appointing sermons and alms to be given on such days. Thus he died as he had lived, wavering between the two persuasions: and it occasioned no small debate, when men sought to find out what his opinions were in the controverted points of religion. But now the diversions of the coronation took them off from more serious thoughts. The protector was made duke of Somerset, the earl of Essex marquis of Northampton, the lords Lisle and Wriothesley earls of Warwick and Southampton; while Seymour, Rich, Willoughby, and Sheffield, were made barons. In order to the king's coronation, the office for that ceremony was reviewed, and much shortened: one remarkable alteration was, that whereas formerly the king used to be presented to the people at the corners of the scaffold, and they were asked if they would have

him to be their king, now their assent and good will were taken for granted. The former looked like a rite of an election, rather than a ceremony of investing one that was already king. This was therefore changed, and the people were desired only to give the duty of allegiance they were bound to do. On the twentieth of February, Edward was crowned, and a general pardon was proclaimed, out of which the duke of Norfolk, cardinal Pole, and some others were shamefully excepted. The lord chancellor, who was looked on as the head of the popish party, now lost his place by granting a commission to the master of the rolls and three masters of chancery, of these two were civilians, to execute his office in the court of chancery as if he were present, only their decrees were to be brought to him to be signed before they could be enrolled.

The first business of consequence that required great consideration, was the Smalcaldic war, then begun between the emperor and the princes of that league; the effects of which, if the emperor prevailed, were likely to be, not only the abolition of Lutheranism, but his being the absolute master of Germany; which the emperor ambitiously sought after, in order to a universal monarchy, but disguised it to other princes. To the pope he pretended that his design was only to extirpate heresy; to other princes he pretended it was only to repress some rebels, while he denied all design of suppressing their new doctrines; which he managed so artfully, that he even divided Germany itself, and got some Lutheran princes to declare for him, and others to be neutrals. Having obtained a liberal supply for his wars with France and the Turks, for which he granted an edict for liberty of religion, he made peace with both these powers, and resolved to employ that treasure which the Germans had given him against themselves. That he might deprive them of their chief allies, he had used means to engage king Henry and Francis the First in a war; but that was now in a measure composed; for as Henry died in January, so Francis followed him into another world in March following. Many of their confederates began to capitulate; and the divided command of the duke of Saxe, and the landgrave of Hesse, lost them great advantages the former year; in which it had been easy to have driven the emperor out of Germany; but often it happened that when the one was for engaging, the other was against it; which made many very doubtful of their success.

The pope had a mind to engage the emperor in a war in Germany, that so Italy might be at quiet: and in order to that, and to embroil him with all the Lutherans, he published his treaty so that it might appear that the design of the war was to extirpate heresy; though the emperor was making great protestations to the contrary at home. He also opened the council at Trent, which the emperor had long desired in vain; but it was now brought upon him when he least wished for it; for the protestants all declared, that they could not look upon it as a free general council, since it was so entirely at the pope's command that not so much as a reformation of some of the grossest abuses that could not be justified, was like to be obtained, unless clogged with such clauses as made it ineffectual. Nor could the emperor prevail with the council not to proceed to condemn heresy: but the more he obstructed that by

delays, the more did the pope drive it on to open the eyes of the Germans, and engage them vigorously against the emperor: yet he gave them such secret assurances of tolerating the Augsburg confession, that the marquis of Brandenburg declared for him. This event, joined with the hopes of the electorate, drew in Maurice of Saxe. The count Palatine was old and feeble; the archbishop of Cologne would not make resistance, but retired, being condemned both by pope and emperor; while many of the cities submitted. And Maurice, by falling into Saxe, forced the elector to separate from the landgrave, and return to the defence of his own dominions. This was the state of the affairs in Germany: so that it was a hard point to resolve on what answer the protector should give the duke of Saxe's chancellor, whom he sent over to obtain an aid in money for carrying on the war. It was, on the one hand, of great importance to the safety of England to preserve the German princes, and yet it was very dangerous to begin a war of such consequence, under an infant king. At present they promised, within three months, to send by the merchants 50,000 crowns to Hamburg, and resolved to do no more till new emergencies should lead them to new councils.

The nation was in an ill condition for a war with such a mighty prince, labouring under great distractions at home: moreover the people generally cried out for a reformation, despised the clergy, and loved the new preachers. The priests were, for the most part, both very ignorant and immoral: many of them had been monks, and those who had to pay them the pensions which were reserved to them at the destruction of the monasteries, till they should be provided, took care to get them into some small benefice. The greatest part of the parsonages were impropriated, for they belonged to the monasteries, and the abbots had only granted the incumbents either the vicarage, or some small donative, and left them the perquisites raised by masses and other offices. At the suppression of those houses there was no care taken to provide the incumbents better; so that they chiefly subsisted by trentals and other devices, which brought them in some small relief, though the price of them was very low, for masses went often at half a groat, and a groat was a great bounty.

Now these persons saw that a reformation of abuses took the bread out of their mouths; therefore their interests prevailing more than any thing else, they were zealous against all changes: yet that same principle made them comply with every change which was made, rather than lose their benefices. Their poverty made them run into another abuse, that of holding more benefices than one at a time, a corruption of so crying and scandalous a nature, that wherever it is practised it is sufficient to possess the people with great prejudices against the church which is guilty of it: there being nothing more contrary to the plainest impressions of reason than that every man who undertakes a cure of souls, whom at his ordination he has vowed to instruct, feed, and govern, ought to discharge that trust himself as the greatest and most important of all others. The clergy were encouraged in their opposition to all changes, by the protection they expected from Gardiner, Bonner, and Tonstal, men of great reputation and in power: above all, the lady



Mary openly declared against all changes till the king should be of age. On the other hand, Cranmer resolved to proceed more vigorously: the protector was firmly united to him, as were the young king's tutors. Edward himself was as much engaged as could be expected from so young a person; for both his knowledge and zeal for true religion were above his age. Several of the bishops also declared for a reformation; but Dr. Ridley, now bishop of Rochester, was the person on whom he most depended. Latimer remained with him at Lambeth, and did great service by his sermons, which were very popular; but he would not return to his bishopric, choosing rather to serve the church in a more disengaged manner. Many of the bishops were very ignorant and poor spirited men, raised merely by court favour, and little concerned for any thing but their revenues. Cranmer resolved to proceed by degrees, and to state the reasons of every advance so fully, that he hoped, by the blessing of God, to possess the nation of the fitness of what they should do, and thereby prevent any dangerous opposition that might otherwise be apprehended.

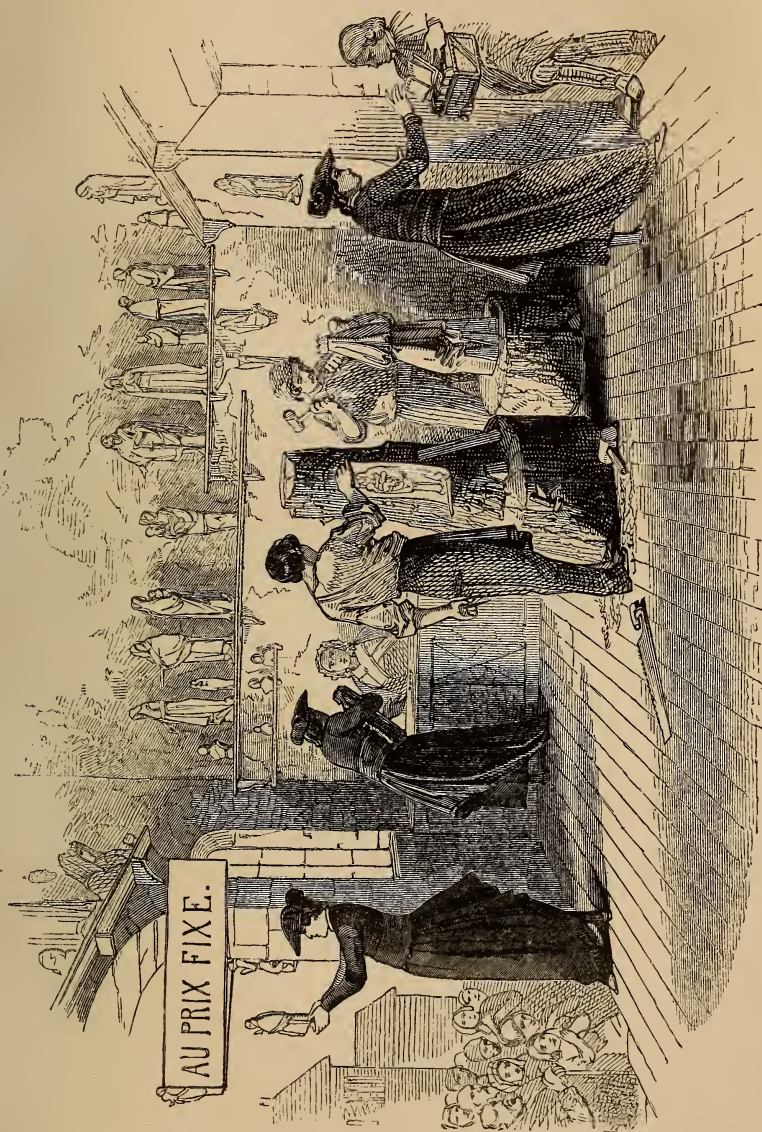
The power of the privy council had been much exalted in Henry's time, by act of parliament; and one proviso in it was, that the king's council should have the same authority when he was under age that he himself had at full age: it was, therefore, resolved to begin with a general visitation of all England, which was divided into six precincts: and two gentlemen, a civilian, a divine, and a register, were appointed for each visit. But before they were sent out, a letter was written to all the bishops, giving them notice of it, suspending their jurisdiction while it lasted, and requiring them to preach no where but in their cathedrals; and the other clergy should not preach but in their own churches, without licence: by this it was intended to restrain such as were not acceptable to their own parishes, and to grant others the licences to preach in any church of England. The greatest difficulty the reformers found, was in the want of able and prudent men, most of whom were too hot and indiscreet; while the few who were eminent, were required in London and the universities. These they intended to make as useful as possible, and appointed them to preach as itinerants and visitors. The only thing by which the people could be universally instructed, was a book of homilies: therefore, the twelve first homilies in the book, still known by that name, were compiled, in framing which the chief design was to acquaint the people aright with the nature of the gospel-covenant. The people were taught to depend on the sufferings of Christ, and to lead their lives according to the rules of the gospel.

Orders were also given, that a Bible should be in every church, which though it had been commanded by Henry, yet had not been generally obeyed; and for understanding the New Testament, Erasmus's paraphrase was translated into English, and appointed to be set up in every church. His great reputation and learning, and his dying in the communion of the Roman church, made this book to be preferable to any other, since there lay no prejudice to Erasmus, which would have been objected to in any other author. They renewed also all the injunctions made by Cromwell in the former reign, which, after his fall, were but little looked after, as those for instructing the people, for removing images, and

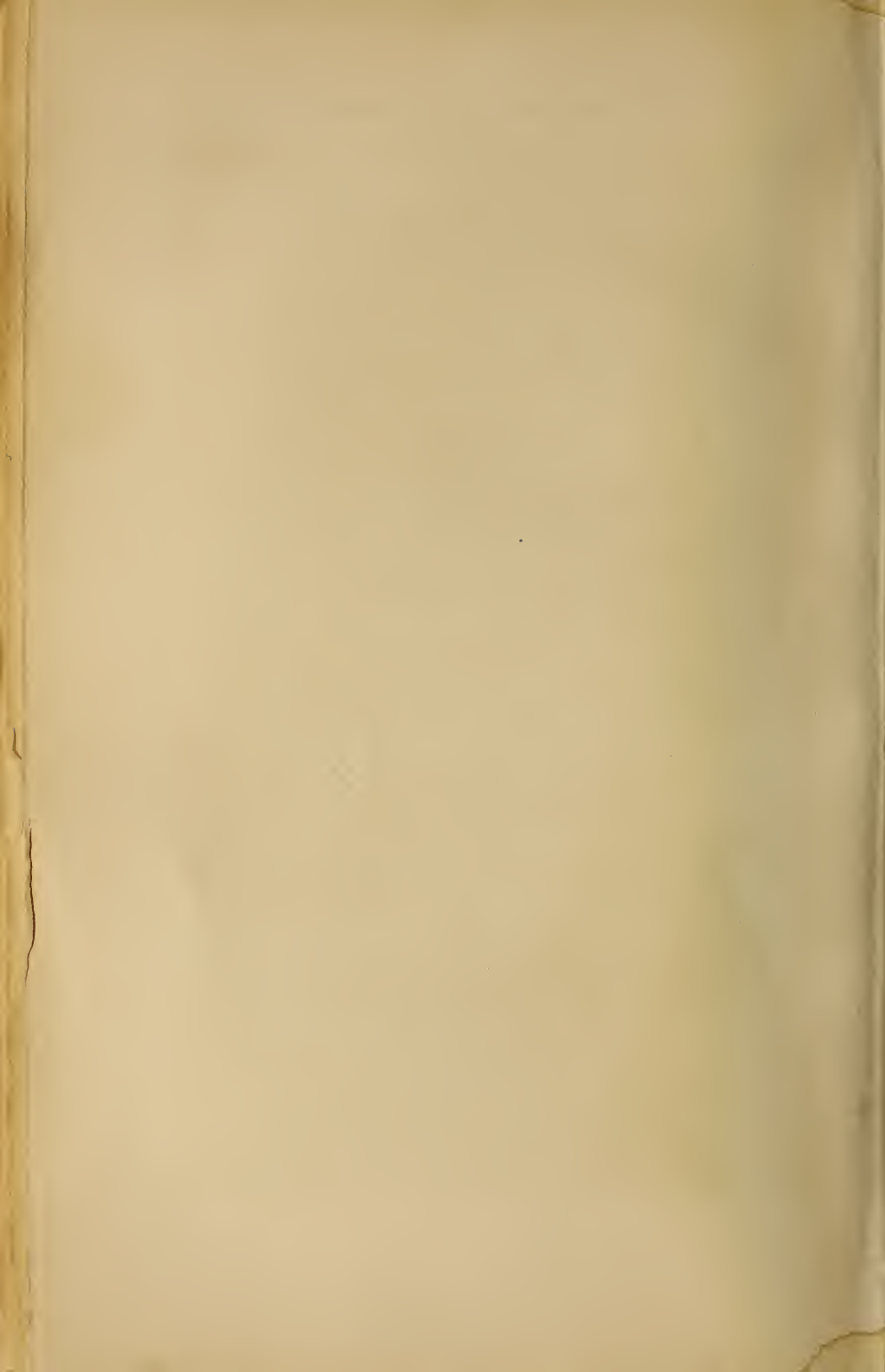
putting down all other customs abused to superstition ; for reading the scriptures, saying the litany in English, frequent sermons and catechising, the exemplary lives of the clergy, their labours in visiting the sick, and other parts of their function, such as reconciling differences, and exhorting the people to charity. All who gave livings by simoniacal bargains, were declared to have forfeited their right of patronage to the king. A great charge was also given for the strict observation of the Lord's day, which was appointed to be spent wholly in the service of God, it not being enough to hear mass in the morning, and spend the rest of the day in drunkenness and revelling, as was commonly practised ; but it ought to be all employed, either in the duties of religion, or in acts of charity. Direction was also given for the bidding of prayers, in which the king as supreme head, the queen and the king's sisters, the protector and council, and all orders of the kingdom were to be mentioned. There were also injunctions given for the bishops to preach four times a year in all their dioceses, once in their cathedral, and thrice in any other church, unless they had a good excuse to the contrary : that their chaplains should preach often : and that they should ordain none but such as were duly qualified.

These excellent rules were variously censured. The clergy were only empowered to remove the abused images, and the people were restrained from doing it ; but this authority being put in their hands, it was thought they would be slow and backward in it. The corruptions of lay-patrons and simoniacal priests had been often complained of, but no laws nor provisions were ever able to preserve the church from this great mischief : which can never be removed till patrons look on their right to nominate a man to the charge of souls, as a trust for which they are to render a severe account to God ; and till priests are cured of aspiring to that charge, and look on it with dread and great caution. The prayer for departed souls was now moderated, to be a prayer only for the consummation of their happiness at the last day ; whereas in king Henry's time they prayed that God would grant them release from all sin, which implied a purgatory.

The visitors at length ended the visitation, and had been every where submitted to. In London, and every part of England, the images, for refusing to bow down to which many a saint had been burnt, were now committed to the flames. Bonner at first protested that he would obey the injunctions, if they were not contrary to the laws of God and the ordinances of the church : but being called before the council, he retracted that, and asked pardon ; yet, for giving terror to others, he was for some time put in prison. Gardiner wrote to one of the visitors, before they came to Winchester, that he could not receive the homilies ; and if he must either quit his bishopric, or sin against his conscience, he resolved to chose the former. Upon this he was called before the council, and required to receive the book of homilies : but he objected to one of them, which taught that charity did not justify, contrary to the book set out by the late king and confirmed in parliament. He also complained of many things in Erasmus's paraphrase ; and being pressed to declare whether he would obey the injunctions or not, he refused to promise it, and was in consequence sent to the Fleet. Cranmer treated



REPRESENTATION OF A MANUFACTORY OF ROMAN GRAVEN IMAGES.—PAGE 496.



in private with him, and they argued much about justification. Gardiner thought the sacraments justified, and that charity justified as well as faith. Cranmer urged, that nothing but the merits of Christ justified, as they were applied by faith, which could not exist without charity. Nothing could be more correct than this: for what is faith but *the love of God shed abroad in the heart*—filling the believer with benevolence, and the desire of imparting the happiness he feels to all around him?

Gardiner lay in prison till the act of general pardon, passed in parliament, set him at liberty. Many blamed the severity of these proceedings, as contrary both to law and equity, and said, that all people, even those who complained most of arbitrary power, were apt to usurp it when in authority. Lady Mary was so alarmed at these proceedings, that she wrote to the protector, that such changes were contrary to the honour due to her father's memory, and it was against their duty to the king to enter upon such points, and endanger the public peace before he was of age. To which he answered, that her father had died before he could finish the good things he had intended concerning religion; and had expressed his regret both before himself and many others, that he left things in so unsettled a state: moreover he assured her, that nothing should be done but what would turn to the glory of God, and the king's honour and happiness.

Parliament was opened the 4th of November, and the protector was by patent authorized to sit under the cloth of state, on the right hand of the throne; and to have all the honours and privileges that any uncle of the crown ever had. Rich was made lord chancellor. The first act that passed, five bishops only dissenting, was, "A repeal of all statutes that had made any thing treason or felony in the late reign, which was not so before, and of the six articles, and the authority given to the king's proclamations, as also of the acts against Lollards. All who denied the king's supremacy, or asserted the pope's, for the first offence are to forfeit their goods, for the second are to be in a premunire, and to be attainted of treason for the third. But if any intend to deprive the king of his estate or title, that is made treason: none are to be accused of words but within a month after they were spoken." Parliament also repealed the power that the king had of annulling all laws made, till he was twenty-four years of age, and restrained it only to annulling them for the time to come, but that it should not be of force for the declaring them null from the beginning.

Another act passed, with the same dissent, for the laity receiving the sacrament in both kinds and that the people should always communicate with the priest; and by it irreverence to the sacrament was condemned under severe penalties. Christ had clearly instituted the sacrament in both kinds, and St. Paul mentions both. In the primitive church that custom was universally observed, but upon the belief of transubstantiation, the reserving and carrying about the sacrament were brought in: this made them first endeavour to persuade the world, that the cup was not necessary, for wine could neither keep, nor be carried about conveniently. It was done away by degrees, the bread was for some time given dipped in the wine, as it is yet in the Greek church: but it being believed that Christ was entire under either kind, the

council of Constance entirely took the cup from the laity; while the Bohemians could not be brought to submit to the loss. The abuse being now clearly seen, the use of the cup was, in every part, one of the first things insisted on by those who demanded a reformation. At first all who were present communicated, and censures were passed on such as did it not: none were denied the sacrament but penitents,<sup>a</sup> who were made to withdraw during the action. But as the devotion of the world slackened, the people were still exhorted to continue their oblations, and come to the sacrament, though they did not receive it; and were made to believe, that the priests received it in their stead. The name sacrifice given to it, as being a holy oblation, was so far improved, that the world came to look on the priests officiating, as a sacrifice for the dead and living: hence followed an infinite variety of masses for all the accidents of human life; and that was the chief part of the priests' trade, and occasioned many unseemly jests concerning it, which were now restrained by the act that stopped the cause.

Another act passed without any dissent, that the *conge d'elire*, and the election pursuant to it, being but a shadow, since the person was named by the king, should cease for the future, and that bishops should be named by the king's letters patent, and thereupon be consecrated; and should hold their courts in the king's name, and not in their own, excepting only the archbishop of Canterbury's court: and they were to use the king's seal in all their writings, except in presentations, collations, and letters of orders, in which they might use their own seals. The apostles chose bishops and pastors, by an extraordinary gift of discerning spirits, and proposed them to the approbation of the people; yet they left no rules to make that necessary in future. In times of persecution, the clergy being maintained by the oblations of the people, they were chosen by them. But when the emperors became Christian, the town-councils and eminent men took the elections out of the hands of the rabble: and the tumults in popular elections were such, that it was necessary to regulate them. In some places the clergy, and in others the bishops of the province made the choice. The emperors reserved the confirmation of the elections in the great sees to themselves. But when Charles the Great annexed vast territories and regalities to bishoprics, a change followed. Churchmen were soon corrupted by this undue greatness, and came to depend on the humours of those princes to whom they owed their increase of wealth. Princes named them, and invested them in their sees: but the popes intended to separate the ecclesiastical state from all subjection to secular princes, and to make themselves the heads of that state. At first they pretended to restore the freedom of elections, but these were now engrossed in a few hands, for only the chapters chose.

Another act was made against idle vagabonds, that they should be made slaves for two years, by any who should seize on them; this was chiefly designed against some vagrant monks, as appears by the provi-

<sup>a</sup> This sounds strange to modern Christian ears: but by *penitents* are here evidently meant persons suspended for a time for certain offences from the communion of the church, and are supposed to bewail what they have done.

sions of the act. These men went about the country infusing into the people a dislike of the government. The severity of this act excited in the nation, ever averse to slavery, a dislike so that it was but little attended to; and this was the reason that the other provisions for supplying those who were truly indigent, and willing to be employed, had no effect. After this followed the act for giving the king all those chantries which his father had not seized on by virtue of the grant made to him of them. Cranmer much opposed this; for the poverty of the clergy was such that the state of learning and religion was like to suffer greatly if it should not be relieved; and yet he saw no probable fund for that, but the preserving these till the king should come to age, and allow the selling them, for buying in of at least such a share of the impropriations as might afford them some more comfortable subsistence: yet notwithstanding he and seven other bishops dissented, it was passed. Last of all a general pardon, but clogged with some exceptions, was passed.

The convocation sat at the same time; and moved, that a commission begun in the late reign of thirty-two persons for reforming the ecclesiastical laws might be revived, and that the inferior clergy might be admitted to sit in the house of commons, for which they alleged a clause in the bishop's writ and ancient custom. Since some prelates had, under the former reign, begun to alter the form of the service of the church, they desired this might be brought to perfection; and that some care might be had of supplying the poor clergy, and relieving them from the taxes that lay so heavily on them. The question of the inferior clergy sitting in the house of commons, was the subject of some debate, and was again set on foot, both under queen Elizabeth and king James, but to no effect. It was, however, resolved that some bishops and divines should be sent to Windsor, to finish some reformations in the public offices; for the whole lower house of convocation, without a contradictory vote, agreed to the bill about the sacrament, while it is not known what opposition it met with in the upper house. A proposition being also set on foot concerning the lawfulness of the marriage of the clergy, thirty-five subscribed to the affirmative, and only fourteen dissented. Gardiner being included in the act of pardon was set at liberty: he promised to receive and obey the injunctions, objecting only to the homily of justification; yet he complied in that likewise: but it was visible that in his heart he abhorred all their proceedings, though he outwardly conformed.

Candlemas and Lent were now approaching, and the clergy and people were much divided with respect to the ceremonies usual at those times. By some injunctions in king Henry's reign it had been declared that fasting in Lent was only binding by a positive law. Wakes and games were also suppressed, and hints were given that other customs, which were much abused, should be shortly done away. The gross rabble loved these things, as matters of diversion, and thought divine worship without them would be but a dull business. But others looked on them as relics of heathenism, and thought they did not become the gravity and simplicity of the Christian religion. Cranmer, upon this, procured an order of council against carrying candles on Candlemas-

day, ashes on Ash-wednesday, and palms on Palm-sunday; which was directed to Bonner to be intimated to the bishops of the province of Canterbury. A proclamation followed against all who should make changes without authority. Creeping to the cross and taking holy bread and water were put down, and power was given to the archbishop of Canterbury to certify, in the king's name, what ceremonies should be afterwards laid aside; and none were to preach out of their own parishes without license from the king or the visitors, the archbishop, or the bishop of the diocese. Soon after this, when the general order followed for a removal of all images out of churches, there were every where great contests whether the images had been abused to superstition or not. Some thought the consecration of them was an abuse common to them all. Those also which represented the Trinity as a man with three faces in one head; or as an old man with a young man before him, and a dove over his head; gave so great scandal, that it was no wonder for the people as they grew more enlightened, not longer to endure them. The only occasion given to censure in this order was, that all shrines, and the plate belonging to them, were appointed to be brought into the king's use.

Eighteen bishops, and other divines, were now employed to examine the offices of the church, to see which of them needed amendment. They began with the eucharist, and proceeded in the same manner as in the former reign. Every one gave his opinion in writing, in answer to the question put to him. It was clearly found that the plain institution of the sacrament was much vitiated, with a mixture of many heathenish rites and pomps, to raise the credit of the priests, in whose hands that great performance was lodged. This was at first done to draw over the heathens by those splendid rites to Christianity; but superstition once begun had no bounds nor measures; and ignorance and barbarity increasing in the darker ages, there was no regard paid to any thing in religion, but as it was set off with pageantry; and the belief of the corporeal presence raised this to a still greater height. The office was in an unknown tongue; all the vessels and garments belonging to it were consecrated with much devotion; great part of the service was secret, to make it look like a wonderful charm; the consecration itself was to be said very softly, for words that were not to be heard agreed best with a change that was not to be seen: many gesticulations, and magnificent processions, all tended to raise this pageantry higher. Masses were also said for all the turns and affairs of human life. Trentals, a custom of having thirty masses a year on the chief festivities for redeeming souls out of purgatory, was that which brought the priests most money, for these were thought God's best days, in which access was easier to him. On saints' days it was prayed, that by their intercession the sacrifice might become the more acceptable, and procure a larger indulgence; which could not be easily explained, if the sacrifice was the death of Christ.

The first step that was now made was a new office for the communion, that is, the distribution of the sacrament, for the office of consecration was not at this time touched. In the exhortation, auricular confession to a priest is left free to be done or omitted, and all are required not to



judge one another in that matter. There was also a denunciation made, requiring impenitent sinners to withdraw. The bread was to be still the same as that formerly used. In the distribution it was said, "The body of our Lord preserve thy body;" and "the blood of our Lord preserve thy soul." This was printed with a proclamation, requiring all to receive it with such reverence and uniformity as might encourage the king to proceed further, and not to run to other things before the king gave direction, assuring the people of his earnest zeal to set forth godly orders; and therefore it was hoped they would wait for it: the books were sent all over England, and the clergy were appointed to give the communion next Easter according to them.

Many were offended to find confession left indifferent, so this matter was examined. Christ gave his apostles a power of binding and loosing; and St. James commanded all to confess their faults to one another. In the primitive church, all that denied the faith, or otherwise gave scandal, were separated from the communion, and not admitted to it till they made public confession: and according to the degrees of their sin, the time and degree of public penitence and their separation were proportioned: which was the chief subject of the consultations of the councils in the fourth and fifth centuries. Secret sins the people lay under no obligation to confess, but they went often to the priests for direction, even for these. Near the end of the fifth century they began to have secret penances and confessions, as well as public; and in the seventh century this became the general practice. In the eighth century the commutation of penance for money, or other services done the church, was brought in. Then the holy wars and pilgrimages came to be magnified. Crusades against heretics, or princes deposed by the pope, were set up instead of all other penances: priests managed confession and absolution, so as to enter into people's secrets, and to govern their consciences by them; but they becoming very ignorant, and not so associated as to be governed by orders that might be sent them from Rome, friars were mostly employed to hear confessions, and many reserved cases were made, in which the pope only gave absolution. Such cases were trusted to monks, who had the trade of indulgences put in their hands, which they managed with as much confidence as mountebanks used in selling their medicines, with this advantage, that the inefficiency of their devices was not so easily discovered, for the people believed all that was told them. In this they grew to such a pitch of confidence, that for saying some collects, indulgences for years, and for hundreds and thousands of years were granted; so cheap a thing was heaven made. This trade was now thrown out of the church, and private confession was declared indifferent.

Gardiner was again brought into trouble; many complaints were made of him, that he disparaged the preachers sent with the king's licence into his diocese, and that he secretly opposed all reformation. On being brought before the council, he denied most of the things objected to him, and offered to explain himself openly in a sermon before the king. This being granted, he justified many of the changes that had been made; but when he came to the sacrament, he contended so strongly for the corporeal presence, that a great disturbance took place in the

church. This conduct of his being deemed seditious, he was sent to the Tower, where, however, he was treated with the greatest lenity, which he returned by sullen obstinacy and resentment. Now a more general reformation of the whole liturgy was under consideration, that all the nation might have an uniformity in the worship of God. Anciently the liturgies were short, and had few ceremonies in them: every bishop had one for his diocese; but in the African churches they began first to put them into a more regular form. Gregory the great laboured much in this; yet he left Austin the monk to his liberty, either to use the Roman or French forms in England, as he found they were like to tend most to edification. Great additions were made in every age; for the private devotions of some who were reputed saints, were added to the public offices; and mysterious significations were invented for every new rite, which was the chief study of some ages: this swelled them up to a vast bulk. It was not then thought of, that praying consisted in the inventing new words, and uttering them with warmth; and it seemed too great a subjection of the people to their priests, that they should be compelled to join with them in all their hearts in prayer. It was then resolved to make a liturgy, and to bring the worship to a fit medium between the pomp of superstition and naked simplicity. It was resolved to change nothing merely in opposition to received practices, but rather in imitation of what Christ did in the institution of the two sacraments of the gospel, which consisted of rites used among the Jews, but blessed by him to higher purposes; to comply with what had been formerly in use as much as was possible, and thereby to gain the people. The consecrations of water, salt, and other things, in the church of Rome, looked like the remainder of heathenism, and were laid aside: these had been like spirits, which being abjured, and a divine virtue supposed to be in them, the people came to think that by such observances they might be sure of Heaven. The absolutions by which, on account of the merits of the blessed virgin and the saints, the sprinklings of water, fastings, and pilgrimages, with many other observances, sins were pardoned, as well as on the account of the passion of Christ; these and the absolution given to dead bodies looked like gross impostures, tending to make the world think, that besides the painful way to Heaven in a course of true holiness, the priests had secrets in their hands of carrying people thither by another method, and on easier terms. This drew them to purchase their favour, especially when they were dying: so that, as their fears were then heightened, there was no other way left them, in the conclusion of an ill life, to die with any good hopes, but as they bargained with their priests: therefore all this was now rejected.

It was resolved to have the whole worship in the vulgar tongue; upon which St. Paul has copiously enlarged; and all nations, as they were converted to Christianity, had their offices translated into their own language. But of late it had been pretended, that it was part of the communion of saints, that the worship should be every where in the original tongue, though the people were hardly used, when for the sake of some vagrant priests that might come from foreign parts, they were kept from knowing what was said in the worship of God. It was pretended that Pilate having ordered the inscription on the cross in Greek,

Latin, and Hebrew, these three languages were sanctified ; but it is not easy to understand what authority the Jewish king had for conferring such a privilege on them. But keeping all in an unknown tongue preserved in dark ages the esteem of their offices ; in which there were such prayers and hymns, and such lessons, that if the people had understood them they must have given great scandal. In many prayers the pardon of sins and the grace of God were asked in such a style of the saints, as if they had been wholly at their disposal, and as if they had been more merciful than God or Christ. In former times, all who officiated were peculiarly habited, and all their garments were blessed, and these were considered as a part of the train of the mass ; but on the other hand, white had been the colour of the priests' vestments under the mosaical law, and had early been brought into the Christian churches : it was a proper expression of innocence, and it being fit that the worship of God should be in a decent habit, it was continued. Since the sacrifices offered to idols were not thereby, according to St. Paul, of their own nature polluted, and every creature of God was good, it was thought, notwithstanding the former abuse, most reasonable to use these garments still.

The morning and evening prayers were put almost in the same form as that in which they now stand, only there was no confession nor absolution. In the office for the communion there was a commemoration of thanksgiving for the Blessed Virgin and all departed saints, and they were commended to God's mercy and peace. In the consecration the use of crossing the elements was retained ; but there was no elevation of the host, which was at first used as an historical rite, to shew Christ's being lifted up on the cross, and was afterwards done to excite the people to adore it. No stamp was to be on the bread, and it was to be thicker than ordinary. It was to be put in the people's mouths by the priests, though it had been anciently put in their hands. Some in the Greek church began to take it in spoons of gold, others in a linen cloth, called their dominical : but after the corporeal presence was received, the people were not suffered to touch it, and the priests' hands were peculiarly anointed to qualify them for the mystic contact. In baptism the child's head and breast were crossed, and abjuration was made of the devil to depart from it : children were to be thrice dipped, or in case of weakness, water was to be sprinkled on their faces, and then they were to be anointed. The sick might also be anointed if they desired it. At funerals, the departed soul was recommended to God's mercy.

The sacraments were formerly believed of such virtue, that they conferred grace by the very receiving them ; what was called the *opus operatum* was deemed sufficient, though both faith and repentance were absent. The ancients used to send portions of the eucharist to the sick, but without any pomp : which came in when the corporeal presence was believed. But it was now appointed that the sacraments should be ministered to the sick, and therefore, in case of weakness, children were allowed to be baptised in houses ; though it was more suitable to the design of baptism, which was the admission of a new member to the church, to do it before the whole congregation. This, which was then a provision for weakness, is now a mark of vanity, and a piece of affected

state. It was also appointed, that the Lord's supper should be given to the sick; not to be sent from the church, but consecrated by their bed-sides: since Christ had said, that where two or three were assembled in his name he would be in the midst of them. But it is a gross relique of the worst part of popery for any to imagine, that after an ill life, some sudden sorrow for sin, with a hasty absolution, and the sacrament, will be a passport to Heaven; since the mercies of God in Christ are offered in the gospel only to those who truly believe, sincerely repent, and change the course of their lives.

The liturgy thus compiled was published with a preface concerning ceremonies. Of course it was narrowly scanned in every part. When the book came into all men's hands several things were censured: as particularly the frequent use of the cross, and anointing. The former began to be used as the badge of a crucified Saviour: but the superstition of it was so much advanced that *latría*—the highest kind of worship—was given to the crosier. The using of it was also believed to have virtue for driving away evil spirits, and preserving from dangers; so that a sacramental efficacy was ascribed to it; which could not be maintained, since there is no institution for it in scripture. But the using it was made a ceremony, expressing the belief and worship of a crucified Saviour, which could import no superstition, nor involve idolatry. These several regulations were of great importance, because the protestant religion now appeared almost ruined in Germany, which made the divines of that country turn their eyes to England. Calvin wrote to the protector, and pressed him to go on to a more complete reformation; and that prayers for the dead, chrisom, and extreme unction, might be laid aside. He desired him to trust in God, and advance, and wished there was more preaching, and in a more lively way than he heard was then in the land: but above all things he prayed him to suppress that impiety and profanity that, he heard, abounded in the nation.

In February 1549, an act passed granting the clergy to marry. It was declared, that it were better for priests to live unmarried, free from all worldly cares; yet, since the laws compelling it had occasioned great debauchery, they were repealed. The pretence of chastity in the Romish priests had possessed the world with a high opinion of them, and had been a great reflection on the reformers, if the world had not clearly seen through it, and been made sensible of the ill effects of it, by the defilement it brought into their own houses and families. Nor was there any point in which the reformers had studied more to remove the prejudice that lay against them. In the Old Testament the priests were not only married, but the office descended by inheritance. In the New Testament, marriage was declared honourable in all: among the qualifications of bishops and deacons, each being the husband of one wife is reckoned up. Many of the apostles were married, and carried their wives about with them, as also Aquilla did Priscilla. Forbidding to marry is reckoned a mark of the apostacy of the latter days, and called a doctrine of devils.

All the canons made against the married clergy, were only positive laws which might be repealed. The priests in the Greek church still

lived in a conjugal state. In the west the clergy generally married; and in Edgar's time, they were for the most part married in England. In the ninth century, the doctrine of celibacy, though urged by pope Nicholas, was resisted by a large majority of both priests and people. In the eleventh century, Gregory VII. intending to set up a new ecclesiastical empire, found that the unmarried clergy would be his best servants, since the married clergy gave pledges to the state; therefore he proceeded furiously to celibate the church, and called all the married priests Nicolaitans: while in England, Lanfrac only imposed celibacy on the prebendaries, and the clergy that lived in towns. Anselm imposed it on all without exception; but both he, Bernard, and Peter Damiani, complained that lust abounded much, even among the bishops. Not only Panormitan, but Pius II., wished that the law of celibacy was taken away. It was therefore clear, that it was not founded on the law of God; and it was a sin to force churchmen to vow that which sometimes was not in their power. It was found by examining the forms of ordination, that the priests in England had made no such vows; and even the vow in the Roman pontifical to live chastely, did not import a tie not to marry, since a man might live chaste in a married state. Many lewd stories were published of the clergy, but none seemed more remarkable, than that of the pope's legate in the time of Henry II. who the very same night after he had put all the married clergy from their benefices, himself was chargeable with flagrant impurity.

Another act passed confirming the liturgy which was now finished; eight bishops and three temporal lords only protesting against it. There was a long preamble, setting forth the inconvenience of the former offices, and the pains that had been taken to reform them; and that divers bishops and divines had, by the aid of the Holy Ghost, with an uniform agreement concluded on the new book: therefore they enacted that by Whitsunday next, all divine offices should be performed according to it; and if any used other offices, for the first offence they should be imprisoned six months, lose their benefices for a second, and be imprisoned during life for the third.

Another act also passed respecting fasting. It declared that notwithstanding all days and meats were in themselves alike, yet fasting, being a great help to virtue, and to subduing the body to the mind, and a distinction of meats conducing to the advancement of the fishing-trade, it was enacted, that Lent, and all Fridays, Saturdays, and Emberdays, should be fish-days, under several penalties, excepting the weak, or those that had the king's licence. Christ had told his disciples, that when he was taken from them they should fast: so in the primitive church christians fasted before Easter; but the same number of days was not observed in all places: afterwards other rules and days were established; but St. Austin complained, that many in his time placed all their religion in observing them. Fast-days were turned to a mockery in the church of Rome, in which clergy as well as laity sumptuously dined, and eat fish exquisitely dressed, and drank wine, and other choice beverage.

Both the laity and clergy granted the king subsidies, upon which the parliament was prorogued. The first thing taken into care was the

receiving the act of uniformity. Some complaints were made of the priests' manner of officiating; who did it with such a tone of voice that the people could not understand what was said any more than when the prayers were said in Latin. Prayers were, therefore, ordered to be said in parish churches in a plain voice; while in cathedrals the old way was still kept up, as agreeing better with the music used in them. Though this seemed not very decent in the confession of sins, nor in the litany, where a simple voice, gravely uttered, agreed better with those devotions than cadences and quavering notes, it was yet retained. Others continued to use all the gesticulations, crossings, and kneelings, to which they had been formerly accustomed. The people also continued the use of their beads, which had been brought in by Peter the Hermit, in the eleventh century, by which repeating the angels salutation to the virgin was made a great part of their devotions, and was ten times said for one *Pater Noster*. Instructions were given to the visitors to put all these down in a new visitation, and to enquire if any priests continued their trentals, their thirty masses for departed souls. Orders were also given, that there should be no private masses at altars in the corners of churches; also that there should be but one communion in a day, unless in great churches, and at high festivals, in which they were allowed to have two, one in the morning, and another at noon.

The visitors made their report, that they found the book of common-prayer received universally over the kingdom, except that lady Mary continued to have mass said according to the abrogated forms. Upon this the council wrote to her to conform to the laws; pleading with her that being so near to the king in blood, she was the more obliged to give example to the rest of the subjects. She refused to comply, and sent to the emperor for his protection; upon which he pressed the English ambassador, who promised that for some time she should be dispensed. The emperor pretended afterwards that they had made him an absolute promise that she should never more be troubled about it; but the ambassador said it was only a temporary one. She refused to acknowledge the laws made when the king was under age, and carried herself very haughtily. She well knew that the protector was then fearful of a war with France, which made the emperor's alliance more necessary to England: yet the council sent for the officers of her household, and required them to let her know that the king's authority was the same while he was a child as at full age; and that it was now lodged in them; and though as single persons, they were all inferior to her, yet as they were the king's council, she was bound to obey them, especially when they executed the law; which all subjects, of whatever rank, were bound to obey. She obstinately refused to hear any of the bishops speak before her in favour of the reformation. Upon this the council returned an answer to her, that her objections were more the result of will than of reason, and therefore her grace must be admonished neither to trust her own opinion without ground, nor to dislike all others having ground. If hers were good, it were no hurt if she heard the worst. If it were ill, she might do well to hear the better.

The reformation of the greatest errors in divine worship being thus

established, Cranmer proceeded next to establish a form of doctrine. The chief point hitherto untouched, was the presence of Christ in the sacrament, which the priests magnified as the greatest mystery of the Christian religion, and the chief privilege of Christians; with which the simple and credulous vulgar were mightily affected. The Lutherans received that which had been for some ages the doctrine of the Greek church, that in the sacraments there was both bread and wine, and also the substance of the body and blood of Christ. The Helvetians looked on it only as a commemoration of the death of Christ. The princes of Germany were at great pains to have these reconciled, in which Bucer had laboured with great industry. Some took a middle way, and asserted a real presence, while it was not easy to understand what was meant by that expression, unless it was a real application of Christ's death; so that the meaning of really was effectually. Though Bucer followed this method, Peter Martyr in his lectures declared plainly for the Helvetians. Dr. Smith and some others intended publicly to oppose and affront him; and challenged him to a dispute about it, which he readily accepted on condition that the king's council should first approve of it, and that it should be managed in scripture terms: for the strength of those doctors lay in a nimble managing of those barbarous and unintelligible terms of the schools, which, though they sounded high, yet really had no meaning: so that the protestants resolved to dispute in scripture terms, which were certainly more proper in matters of divinity than the metaphysical language of schoolmen.

The council having appointed Dr. Cox and some others to preside in the dispute, Dr. Smith went out of the way, and a little after fled out of England: but before he went he wrote a very mean submission to Cranmer. Other doctors disputed with Peter Martyr concerning transubstantiation, but it had the common fate of all public disputes, for both sides contended that they were victors. At this time there were also disputes at Cambridge, which were moderated by Ridley, who had been sent down by the council. He had fallen on Bertram's book of the sacrament, and wondered much to find so celebrated a writer in the ninth century engage so plainly against the corporeal presence. This disposed him to think that at that time it was not the received belief of the church: he communicated the opinion to Cranmer, and they together made great collections out of the fathers upon it, and both of them wrote concerning it.

The substance of their arguments was, that as Christ called the cup "the fruit of the vine," so St. Paul called the other element bread, after the consecration; which shews that their nature was not changed. When Christ substituted the eucharist in the room of the paschal lamb, he used such expressions as had been customary among the Jews on that occasion; who called the lamb the Lord's passover; which could not be meant literally, since the passover was the angels' passing over their houses, when the first-born of the Egyptians were killed. Being a commemoration of what was called the Lord's passover, in the same sense did Christ call the bread his body: figurative expressions being ordinary in scripture, and not improper in sacraments, which may be called figurative actions. The Lord's supper was also appointed for

a remembrance of Christ, and that supposes absence. The elements were also called by Christ his body broken, and his blood shed ; so it is plain they were his body, not as it is glorified in Heaven, but as it suffered on the cross : and since the scriptures speak of Christ's continuance in Heaven till the last day, from thence they inferred that he was not corporeally present. It was moreover shewed, that eating Christ's flesh, mentioned by St. John, was not to be understood of the sacrament, since of every partaker it is said that he has eternal life. It must therefore be understood only of receiving Christ's doctrine as he himself explained, when he said, "The flesh profiteth nothing ; but my words, they are spirit and they are life."<sup>b</sup>

There were some anabaptists at this time in England, who came from Germany. Of these there were two sorts ; the first only objected to baptising children, and to the manner of it by sprinkling instead of dipping. The other held many opinions, anciently condemned as heresies : they had raised a cruel war in Germany, and had set up a new king at Munster : but all these bore the name of anabaptists from their rejection of infant baptism, though that was one of the mildest opinions they held. When they came over to England, a commission was granted to some bishops, and others, to search them out, and to proceed against them. Several of these persons on being taken up and brought before the council, abjured their errors, which were, that there was not a Trinity of persons ; that Christ was not God, and took not flesh of the Virgin ; and that a regenerate man could not sin.

Among the most zealous and enthusiastic holders of the opinion that Christ was not the same flesh as his virgin mother, was Joan Bocher, generally called Joan of Kent. She was resolute in her opinions, and rejected all the instruction offered her with scorn : she was, therefore, condemned as an obstinate heretic, and delivered to the secular arm. It was with the most extreme reluctance that the king signed the warrant for her execution ; he thought it was an instance of the same spirit of cruelty for which the reformers condemned the papists ; and, notwithstanding all the arguments that were used with him, he was rather silenced than satisfied. He signed the warrant with tears in his eyes, and said to Cranmer, that since he resigned up himself to his judgment, if he sinned in it the sin should lie at his door. This struck the archbishop ; and both he and Ridley took Joan into their houses, and tried what reason joined with gentleness could do. But she became more and

<sup>b</sup> It is remarkable that in the ninth century, many of the greatest men wrote against the real presence, and none of them were condemned as heretics. The contrary opinion was then received in England, as appeared by the Saxon homily, which was read on Easter-day, in which are several of Bertram's words. It was generally received in the eleventh century, and fully established in the fourth council in the Lateran. At first it was believed that the whole loaf was turned into one entire body, so that in the distribution every one had a small part given him ; and according to that conceit it was pretended, that it often bled, and was turned into flesh. But this seemed an indecent way of handling Christ's glorified body, so that the schoolmen invented a more seemly notion—that such a body might be in a place after the manner of a spirit, so that in every crumb there was an entire Christ. This, though it appeared hard to be conceived, yet generally prevailed, after which the miracles fitted for the former opinion were no more heard of, but new ones agreeing to this hypothesis were imposed in their stead. So dexterously did the priests deceive the world, until the time arrived for the great standing deception of the host !



more resolute in her profession, and at last was burnt. She was sustained in her last moments by the peculiar fervor of her soul in the resistance of what she called, and justly called, a most cruel and unrighteous tyranny. Unprejudiced spirits, under full christian controul, would have mercifully provided this poor victim of lunacy with some appropriate asylum, rather than indulge the thought of leading her to the stake and kindling the flames around her. Gracious God! that this should have been done by Christians and Protestants! and that, while they were reforming the church, and attempting to establish on the ruins of a barbarous policy the gospel of peace and love! Joan was not the only victim of protestant misrule. George Van Parre, a Dutchman, was also condemned and burnt for denying the divinity of Christ, and saying, that the Father only was God. He had led a very exemplary life, both for fasting, devotion, and a good conversation; and he suffered with extraordinary composedness of mind. Against the other sort of anabaptists no severities were used; but several books were written to justify infant baptism; and the practice of the church so clearly begun, and so universally spread, was thought a good plea, especially being grounded on such arguments in scripture as demonstrated at least its lawfulness and propriety.

About this time a rebellion broke out in many parts of England, partly arising from a jealousy in the commons against the nobility and gentry, who finding more advantage by the trade of wool than corn, generally inclosed their grounds, and turned them to pasture, by which a great number of persons were thrown out of employment, and a general consternation prevailed. The other cause was the unquenched enmity of the priests to the reformation, who endeavoured to revive in the minds of the blinded multitude their former errors. In Devonshire, the insurrection was very formidable; the superstition of the priests joining with the rage of the commons, they became quickly ten thousand strong. The lord Russel was sent against them with a small force, and ordered to try if the matter could be composed without blood: but Arundel, a man of quality, commanding the rebels, they were not a loose body of people so easily dispersed. They sent their demand to court—that the old service and ceremonies might be set up again; that the act of the six articles, and the decrees of general councils might be again in force: that the bible in English should be called in; that preachers should pray for the souls in purgatory; that Cardinal Pole should be restored; that the half of the abbey lands should be restored, to found two abbeys in every county; and that gentlemen of 100 marks a year might have but one servant. They desired besides, a safe conduct for their chief leaders, in order to the redress of their particular grievances.

Cranmer wrote an answer, shewing the impropriety and superstition of those rites and ceremonies, and of that whole way of worship of which they were so fond: and that the amendments and changes had been made according to the scriptures, and the customs of the primitive church: that their being fond of a worship which they understood not, and being desirous to be kept still in ignorance, without the scriptures, proved that their priests had greater power over them than the common reason of all mankind had. “As for the six articles,” he added “that act had

never passed if the king had not gone in person to the parliament, and argued for it: yet he soon saw his error, and was slack in executing it." After this a threatening answer was sent them in the king's name, charging them with their rebellion and blind obedience to their priests. In it the king's authority, though he was under age, was largely set forth; for by the pretence of his minority the people generally were taught to believe that their rising in arms was not rebellion. In conclusion, they were earnestly invited to submit to the royal mercy, as others had done, whom the king had not only pardoned, but whose just grievances he had fully redressed. A fast was proclaimed at court, when Cranmer preached with great freedom and vehemence: he laid before them their vicious lives, particularly of those who pretended a love to the gospel; and declared the judgments of God which they might look for; enlarging on the fresh example of the calamities of Germany, and intimating the sad apprehensions he had of some terrible stroke, if they did not repent and amend. The rebels continuing in arms, troops were sent against them; and after some resistance, they were at length every where routed, their leaders punished, and tranquillity restored.

A visitation of Cambridge followed soon after. Ridley was the chief visitor. When he found that a design was laid to suppress some colleges, under pretence of uniting them to others, and to convert some fellowships that were provided for divines to the study of the civil law, he refused his assent. He said the church was already too much robbed, and yet some men's craving was not to be satisfied. It seems the design was laid to drive both religion and learning out of the land; and therefore he desired leave to be gone. The visitors complained of him to the protector, who wrote him a chiding letter: but he answered it with the freedom that became a bishop, who was resolved to suffer all things rather than sin against his conscience; and the protector was so well satisfied with him, that for his sake the college of Clare-hall, the suppression of which he had strongly objected to, was preserved.

Bonner was now brought into trouble. It was not easy to know how to deal with him, for he obeyed every order that was sent to him; and yet it was known that he secretly hated and condemned the whole reforming system, and as often as he could declare that safely, he was not wanting by such ways to preserve his interest with the papists: thus though he obeyed the orders of council, he did it in so remiss a manner that it was visible it went against him. He was therefore called before it, and charged with several particulars, that whereas he used to officiate himself on the great festivals, he had not done it since the new service was set out; that he took no care to repress adultery, and that he never preached. In the end, proving very refractory and violent, he was deprived of his bishopric, and committed to prison during the king's pleasure.

The English affairs this year upon the continent were extremely unsuccessful, and the protector being charged with the result, complaints went loud against him; and his enemies, who were very numerous and powerful, took off the mask and openly declared hostility to his government. The earls of Southampton and Warwick were the chief; the

one hated him for dismissing him from office, and the other hoped to be the chief man in the realm if he should fall. Nor was this all the protector's peril; the privy counsellors complained, that he was become so arbitrary in his proceedings, that he disregarded the opposition that was made by the majority of the council to any of his designs. All these things concurred to beget him many enemies: and except Cranmer, Paget, and Smith, all turned against him. The council violently complained of his conduct in foreign affairs, and enlarged upon the evils that had resulted from it.

The protector carried the king to Hampton-court, and put many of his own people about him, which increased the jealousy against him: upon which, nine of the privy council met at Ely-house, and assumed to themselves the authority of the council; and secretary Petre being sent by the king, to ask the account of their meeting, instead of returning joined himself to them. They made a large declaration of the protector's ill-government; and they resolved themselves to see to the safety of the king and kingdom. Both the city of London, and the lieutenant of the Tower declared for them: they also sent letters through England, desiring the assistance of the nobility and gentry. Seven more privy counsellors came and joined them. The protector had removed the king from Hampton-court to Windsor, which had some defence about it; and had armed some of his own servants, and set them about the king's person; yet seeing himself abandoned by all but a few friends, and finding the party against him was of such a strength that it would be in vain to struggle any longer, he offered to submit himself to the council. A proposition of treaty was set on foot, and the lords in London were desired to send two of their number with their proposals, and a passport was sent them for their safety. Cranmer and two others wrote to the council, to dispose them to an agreement, and not to follow cruel suggestions. Many false reports were abroad of the protector, that he had threatened, if they intended to put him to death, the king should die first, which served to increase the prejudices against him. The council wrote to Cranmer and Paget, charging them to look well to the king's person, that he should not be removed from Windsor; and that the protector's dependants might be put from him, and his own sworn servants admitted. They also protested that they would proceed with all the moderation and favour towards the duke that was possible. Understanding that all things were prepared as they had desired, they sent first three of their number, to see that the duke and some of his friends, namely, Smith, Stanhope, Thynne, Wolf, and Cecil, should be confined to their lodgings; and on the 12th of October, the whole council went to Windsor, and made great protestations of their duty to the king, which he received favourably, and assured them he took all that they had done in good part.

On this the protector, with the rest of his friends except Cecil, who was presently enlarged, were sent to the Tower, and many articles were objected to him, that he had treated with ambassadors apart, had made bishops and lord-lieutenants of his own will, had held a court of requests in his house, had embased the coin and neglected the places the king had in France, had encouraged the commons in their late insurrections,

had given out commissions, and proclaimed a pardon without consent of the council; that he had animated the king against them, had proclaimed them traitors, and had put his own servants armed about the king's person. Hence it appears, that the crimes alleged against him were the effects of his sudden exaltation, which had made him too much forget that he was a subject: although in fact he had carried his greatness with much innocence, since in all the studied charges brought against him by his numerous enemies, no acts of cruelty, rapine, or bribery, were objected to him. His faults were rather errors and weaknesses, than crimes. His embasing the coin was done upon a common mistake of weak governments, who fly to that as their last refuge in the necessity of their affairs. In his imprisonment, he set himself to the study of moral philosophy and divinity, and wrote a preface to a book of patience, which had made great impressions on him. His fall was a great affliction to all who loved the reformation, and this was increased because they had no reason to trust much to the two chief men of the party against him. Southampton was a known papist, and Warwick was looked on as a man of no religion: and both at the emperor's court, and in France, it was expected that upon this revolution, religion would again drop into the posture in which king Henry had left it. The duke of Norfolk and bishop Gardiner hoped to be discharged, Bonner looked to be re-established in his bishopric, and all people began to neglect the new service: this would no doubt immediately have been the case had not the earl of Warwick, finding the king zealously affected to the reformation, quickly forsook the popish party, and become a mighty promoter of that cause. A court of civilians was appointed to examine Bonner's appeal, and upon their report the council rejected it, and confirmed the sentence that had been upon him.

In November the parliament met, when an act was passed declaring it treason to call any to the number of twelve together about matter of state, if on being required they did not disperse. The bishops made a heavy complaint of the growth of vice and impiety, and that their power was so much abridged, they could not repress them. Accordingly a bill was read, enlarging their authority; but it was thought to give them too much power, and it was so moderated that the lords passed it; but the commons rejected it, and sent up a bill that empowered thirty-two who were to be named by the king, one half of the temporality, and the other of the spirituality, to compile a body of ecclesiastical laws within three years; and that these, not being contrary to the common or statute law, and approved of by the king, should have ecclesiastical authority in the land. Of this thirty-two, four were to be bishops, and as many to be common lawyers. Twelve divines were also empowered to prepare a new form of ordination; which being confirmed under the great seal, should take place after April. Articles were then put in against the duke of Somerset, with a confession signed by him. He protested that his errors had flowed rather from indiscretion than malice, and denied all treasonable designs against the king or the realm: he was fined in 2000*l.* a year in land, and the loss of all his goods and offices. He complained of the heaviness of this censure, and desired

earnestly to be restored to the king's favour, trusting that he should make amends for his past follies. He was discharged in the beginning of February, soon after which he was pardoned, and was again brought both to the court and council.

The reformation now proceeded with fresh vigour. The council sent orders over England to require all to conform themselves to the new service, and to call in all the books of the old offices. An act passed in parliament to the same effect. All the old books and images were appointed to be defaced, and all prayers to saints were to be struck out of the primmers published by the late king. A remarkable privilege was this session granted to the eldest sons of peers, who were allowed as such to sit in the commons' house. The committee appointed to prepare the book of ordinations, finished their work with common consent. It was found that in the ancient church, there was nothing used in ordinations, but prayer and imposition of hands: the additions of anointing and giving consecrated vestments were afterwards brought in. In the council of Florence, it was declared that the rite of ordaining a priest, the delivering vessels for the eucharist, with a power to offer sacrifices to God for the dead and living, were novelties invented to support the belief of transubstantiation. All these additions were now cut off, and ordination was restored to a greater simplicity; and the form was almost the same as that still in use, only then in ordaining a priest, the bishop was to lay one hand on his head, and with the other to give him a Bible, and a chalice with bread in it. In the consecration of a bishop, the form was the same that we retain, only then the custom was retained of giving the bishop a staff, saying these words, "Be to the flock of Christ a shepherd."

In the middle of the sixth century, the anointing the priests' hands was begun in France, but was not used in the Roman church for two ages after. In the eighth century, the vestments were given with a special blessing, empowering priests to offer expiatory sacrifices; then their heads were anointed: and in the tenth century, the belief of transubstantiation being received, the vessels for the sacrament were delivered. It is evident from the several forms of ordination, that the church did not believe itself tied to one manner; and that the prayer, which in some ages was the prayer of consecration, was in other ages esteemed only a prayer preparatory to it. There were some sponsions promised, as a covenant, to which the ordination was a seal: the first of these was that the persons who came to receive orders professed that they were inwardly moved by the Holy Ghost. If this were well considered, it would no doubt put many that thirst after sacred offices to a stand; who, if they examine themselves well, dare not pretend to a gift concerning which they know nothing, but that they have it not.

At this time pope Paul the third died. In the conclave that followed, cardinal Farnese set up cardinal Pole, whose wise behaviour in the council of Trent had greatly raised his esteem. It also appeared, that though he was of the emperor's faction, yet he did not serve him blindly. Some loaded him with the imputations of Lutheranism, and incontinence: the last would not have hindered his advancement, though true, yet he fully cleared himself from it: but the former lay heavier, for in his re-

tirement at Viterbo, where he was legate, he had given himself to the study of controversies; and Tranellius, Flaminio, and others suspected of Lutheranism, had lived in his house; and in the council of Trent he seemed favourable to some of their opinions. But the great sufferings both of himself and family in England, seemed to set him above all suspicions. When his friends had almost gained a sufficient number of suffrages, he seemed little concerned at it, and rather declined than aspired to the dignity. When a full number had agreed, and came to adore him, according to the ordinary ceremony, he received it with his usual coldness; and it being done in the night, he said, "God loves light," advising them to delay it till day. The Italians, among whom ambition passes for the character of a great mind, looked on this as an insufferable piece of dulness; so that the cardinals shrunk from him before day, and chose de Monte pope, who reigned by the name of Julius the Third. His first promotion is very extraordinary, for he gave his cardinal's hat to a servant who kept his monkey; and being asked the reason of it, he said, he saw as much in his servant to recommend him to be a cardinal, as the conclave saw in him to induce them to choose him pope.

In February, Ridley was made bishop of London and Westminster; 1000*l.* a year of the rents of the see were assigned him, with licence to hold two prebends. Repse, bishop of Norwich resigned, upon which Therleby, bishop of Westminster, was removed to Norwich; and it was resolved to re-unite London and Westminster, and to place them under one man's care. Ridley's patent was not during pleasure but during life—a strong proof of the king's favour. About this time there was a discourse on foot of a marriage between the king and a French princess, which grieved the reformers, who rather wished him to marry Maximilian's daughter, who was believed to favour the reformation, and was esteemed one of the best men of the age. Dr. Latimer preached at court, and warned the king of the ill effects of bad marriages, which were made up only as political bargains, without affection between the parties; and that they occasioned so much iniquity, and so many divorces: he also complained of the luxury and vanity of the age, and pressed the setting up a primitive discipline in the church. He preached this as his last sermon, and therefore used great freedom.

The see of Gloucester fell vacant, and Hooper was named to it. He had some scruples about the episcopal vestments, and thought all those garments having been consecrated with much superstition were to be reckoned among the elements condemned by St. Paul: but Ridley justified the use of them, and said the elements condemned by St. Paul, were only the Jewish ceremonies; which the apostles condemned when they were imposed as essential, as though the Mosaical law was not abrogated, and the Messiah was not come. Cranmer desired Bucer's opinion concerning the lawfulness of those habits, and the obligation lying on subjects to obey the laws about them. His opinion was that every creature of God was good, and that no former abuse could make a thing indifferent in itself become unlawful. Yet since those garments had been abused to superstition, and were likely to become a subject of contention, he wished they might be taken away by law; and that eccle-

siastical discipline, and a more complete reformation might be pursued, and a stop put to the robbing of churches; otherwise they might see, in the present state of Germany, a dreadful prospect of that which England ought to look for. He wished that all good men would unite against the greater corruptions, and then lesser abuses would easily be redressed. Peter Martyr also delivered his opinion to the same purpose. Hooper was suspended from preaching; but the earl of Warwick wrote to Cranmer to dispense with him in that matter: he answered, that while the law continued in force, he could not do it without incurring a *Præmunire*. Upon this the king wrote to him, allowing him to do it, and dispensing with the law: yet this matter was not settled till a year after. John à Lasco, with some Germans of the Helvetian confession, came this year into England, being driven out of Germany by persecution: they were erected by letters patent into a corporation, and à Lasco was their superintendent. He wrote both against the habits, and against kneeling in the sacrament. Polydore Virgil was this year suffered to go out of England, and still to hold the preferments he had in it. Pomet was made bishop of Rochester, and Coverdale co-adjutor to Veysey in Exeter, the bishop of which he soon became.

A design was now set on foot for a review of the common-prayer book, in order to which Bucer's opinion was asked. He approved the main parts of the former book, and wished there might not only be a denunciation against scandalous persons who came to the sacrament, but a discipline to exclude them: that the habits might be laid aside; that no part of the communion office might be used, except when there was a sacrament; that communion might be more frequent; that the prayers might be said in a plain voice; the sacrament put in the people's hands; and that there might be no prayers for the dead. He advised a change of some phrases in the office of the communion which seemed to favour transubstantiation; and that baptism might be only in churches. He thought the hallowing water, the chrism, and the white garment, were too scenical: nor did he approve of adjuring the devil, nor of the god-father's answering in the child's name: he thought confirmation should be delayed till the person was of age, and came sincerely to renew the baptismal covenant. He advised catechising every holy day, both of children and adults; he disliked private marriages, extreme unction, and offerings at the churching of women: and thought there ought to be greater strictness used in the examination of those who came to receive orders.

At the same time he understood that the king expected a new-year's gift from him, of a book written particularly for his own use: he, therefore, prepared a work for him concerning the kingdom of Christ: he pressed much the setting up a strict discipline, the sanctification of the Lord's day, appointed days of fasting, and that pluralities and non-residence might be effectually condemned; that children might be catechised; that the reverence due to churches might be preserved; that bishops should throw off secular affairs, take care of their dioceses, and govern them by the advice of their presbyters; that there might be rural bishops over twenty or thirty parishes; that provincial councils might meet twice a year; that church-lands should be restored, and a

fourth part be assigned to the poor; that marriage without consent of parents should be annulled; that a second marriage might be declared lawful, after divorce for adultery, and some other reasons; that care should be taken of the education of youth, and for repressing luxury; that the law might be reformed; that no office might be sold, but given to the most deserving; that none should be put in prison upon slight offences; and that the severity of some laws, as that which made theft capital, might be mitigated.

Edward was much pleased with these advices; and upon them began himself to form a scheme for amending many things that were amiss in the government. This he writ with his own hand, and in a style and manner which had much of a child in it, though the thoughts were manly. It appears that he intended to set up a church discipline, and settle a method of bringing up youth; but the discourse was not finished. He also wrote a journal of every thing that passed at home, and of the news from beyond sea. It had clear marks of his own composing, as well as it is written with his own hand. He wrote another discourse in French, being a collection of all the places of scripture against idolatry, with a preface before it, dedicated to the protector.

At this time Ridley made his first visitation to his diocese; the articles upon which he proceeded chiefly related to the service and ceremonies that were abolished. He also carried some injunctions with him against certain remainders of the former superstition, and for exhorting the people to alms, and to come oft to the sacrament; and that altars might be removed, and tables put in their room, in the most convenient place of the chancel. In the ancient church the tables were of wood; but the sacrament being called a sacrifice, as prayers, alms, and all holy oblations were, they came to be called altars. This gave the rise to the opinion of expiatory sacrifice in the mass, and therefore it was thought fit to take away both the name and form of altars. Ridley only advised the curates to do this; but upon some contests arising concerning it, the council interposed, and required it to be done; and sent with their order a list of reasons justifying it. The following among others were most excellent reasons assigned in this official paper of the council for the substitution of simple tables for carved and adorned altars.

“The form of a table shall more move the simple from the superstitious opinions of the popish mass, unto the right use of the Lord’s supper.—For the use of an altar is to make sacrifice upon it; the use of a table is to serve for men to eat upon. Now when we come unto the Lord’s board, what do we come for? To sacrifice Christ again, and to crucify him again, or to feed upon him that was once only crucified and offered up for us? If we come to feed upon him, spiritually to eat his body, and spiritually to drink his blood, which is the use of the Lord’s supper, then no man can deny but the form of a table is more meet for the Lord’s board than the form of an altar.” Then, moreover, “Jesus Christ did institute the sacrament of his body and blood at his last supper at a table, and not at an altar, as it appeareth manifestly by the three Evangelists. And St. Paul calleth the coming to the holy communion the coming unto the Lord’s supper.



And also it is not read that any of the apostles or the primitive church did ever use any altar in ministration of the holy communion. Wherefore seeing the form of a table is more agreeable to Christ's institution, and with the usage of the apostles, and of the primitive church, than the form of an altar, therefore the form of a table is rather to be used than the form of an altar in the administration of the holy communion."

The government was now free of all disturbance: the coin was reformed, and commerce was encouraged. The faction in the court seemed also to be extinguished by a marriage between the earl of Warwick's son and the duke of Somerset's daughter. The duke of Lunenburgh made a proposition of marriage with lady Mary, but the treaty with the infant of Portugal did still depend, so it was not entertained. In addition the church promised well: even the popish clergy conformed to every change that was made. Oglethorpe, afterwards bishop of Carlisle, being informed against as favouring the old superstition, under his hand declared, that he thought the order of religion then settled was nearer the use of the primitive church than that which was formerly received, and that he condemned transubstantiation as a late invention, and approved the communion in both kinds, also the people's receiving it always with the priest. Smith, who had written against the marriage of the clergy, and was upon some complaints put in prison, but discharged by Cranmer's intercession, wrote a submission to him, acknowledging the mistakes he had committed in his book, and the archbishop's gentleness towards him: and wished he might perish if he was not sincere, and called God a witness against his soul if he lied. Day, bishop of Chichester, also preached at court against transubstantiation. The principle by which most of that party governed themselves was this—they concluded they ought to oppose all the changes before they were established by law; yet that being done, that they might afterwards comply with them.

Martin Bucer died in the beginning of this year. He had entertained great apprehensions of a fatal revolution in England, by reason of the ill lives of the people, the want of ecclesiastical discipline, and the neglect of the pastoral charge. Orders were sent from the court to Cambridge, to bury him with all the public honour to his memory that could be devised. Speeches and sermons were made both by Haddon, the university orator, and Parker, then Regius professor, and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. He was one of the most extraordinary men both for learning and a true judgment of things in that time: he had differed in some points from Bucer, and yet he acknowledged, that there was none alive of whom he hoped to learn so much as he had done by his conversation with him. Bucer was inferior to none of all the reformers in learning, and had a great zeal for preserving the unity of the church: he had not that fluency in disputing for which Peter Martyr was admired, and the popish doctors took advantage from that to carry themselves more insolently towards him.

Soon after this, Gardiner's process was put to an end: a commission was issued out to Cranmer, three bishops, and some civilians, to proceed against him, for his contempt in refusing to sign the articles that had been offered to him. The things objected to him were, that he refused

to advocate in his sermon the king's power when he was under age, and had affronted the preachers whom the king had sent to his diocese; that he had been negligent in executing the king's injunctions, and refused to confess his fault and ask the king's pardon. It was said that the rebellions raised in England might have been prevented, if he had in time set forth the king's authority: to which he answered, that he was not required to do it by any order of council, but only in a private discourse; yet witnesses being examined upon these particulars, the delegates proceeded to sentence of deprivation against him notwithstanding his appeal to the king in person; and he was appointed to lie still in the tower, where he continued till queen Mary discharged him.

By this time the greater number of the bishops were such men as heartily received the reformation: it was, therefore, resolved to proceed to a settlement of the doctrine of the church. Many thought that should have been done in the first place; but Cranmer judged it was better to proceed slowly in such a matter: he thought corruptions in the worship were to be first begun with, since while they remained the addresses to God were so defiled that all people were involved in unlawful compliances. He thought that speculative opinions might come last, since errors in them were not of such ill-consequence: and he judged it necessary to lay these open, in many treatises and disputes, before the council should proceed to make alterations, in order that all people might be fully satisfied with what was done. Accordingly they framed a body of articles which contained the doctrine of the church of England: they divided them into forty-two, and afterwards some few alterations being made in the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign, they were reduced to their present number, thirty nine.<sup>c</sup>

The greatest care was taken to frame these articles in the most comprehensive words, and the greatest simplicity united with strength. When this was settled, commenced the review of the common prayer book. In the daily service they added the confession and absolution, that so the worship of God might begin in a grave and humble manner: after which a solemn declaration of the mercy of God, according to the terms of the gospel, was to be pronounced by the priest. This was thought much better than giving absolution in such formal words, as, "I absolve thee:" which begat in the superficial worshipper an opinion, that the priest had authority to pardon sin, and which made them think of nothing so much as how to purchase it at his hands. In the communion service they ordered a recital of the commandments, with a short devotion between every one of them. The holy oil, the use of the cross in consecrating the eucharist, prayers for the dead, and some expressions that favoured transubstantiation, were rejected, and the book

<sup>c</sup>In the ancient church there was at first a great simplicity in their creeds; but afterwards, upon the breaking out of heresies concerning the person of Christ, equivocal senses being put on the terms formerly used, new ones, which could not be so easily eluded, were invented. A humour of explaining mysteries by similes and niceties, and of passing anathemas on all who did not receive these, was very common in the church: and though the council of Ephesus decreed that no new additions should be made to the creed, yet that did not restrain those who loved to make their own conceits be received as parts of the faith.

was put in the same order as that in which it continues to this day, excepting only some inconsiderable variations. A rubrick was added to the office of the communion, explaining the reason of kneeling in it, that it was only an expression of reverence and gratitude upon receiving so particular a mark of the favour of God: but that no adoration was intended by it, and no intimation that Christ was corporeally present in it. In queen Elizabeth's time this was omitted, that such as conformed in other things, but still retained the belief of the corporeal presence, might not be offended at such a declaration; but it was again inserted on the restoration of Charles II., for removing the scruples of those who excepted to that posture. Christ at first instituted this sacrament in the ordinary table gesture. Moses appointed the pascal lamb to be eaten by the people standing, with staves in their hands, they being then to begin their march; yet that was afterwards changed by the Jews, who ate it in the posture common at meals, which our Saviour's practice justifies.

At this time six of the most eminent preachers were appointed to wait on the court by turns, two at a time, and the other four were sent as itinerant preachers into all the counties of England, in a circuit, for supplying the defects of the clergy, who were generally very weak and faulty. This was no new practice among reformers of the church. Wickliffe and his disciples went from town to town, and from county to county, to preach the gospel; which they proclaimed in church yards as well as churches, and even in markets and fairs, and whatever public places would allow of the greatest numbers to hear them. The protestants of France early adopted the same custom. Even the catholics have been examples of this zeal in defence of corruption and error, which the reformed have found so remarkably efficient in propagating the true faith.

The mass, which was still continued in lady Mary's chapel, was now again challenged. The court was less afraid of the emperor's displeasure than formerly, and therefore would no longer bear with so public a breach of law: and the promise they had made being but temporary, and never given in writing, they thought they were not bound by it. But the emperor assured her that he had an absolute promise for that privilege in her behalf: this encouraged her so much, that when the council wrote, she said she would follow the catholic church, and adhere to her father's religion. Answer was written in the king's name, requiring her to obey the law, and not to pretend that the king was under age, since the late rebels had justified themselves by that. The way of worship then established, was also vindicated, as most consonant to the word of God. But she refused to engage in any disputes, and said she would continue in her former courses. She once was thinking of going out of England, insomuch that the emperor ordered a ship to lie near the coast for her transportation, and espoused her quarrel so warmly, that he threatened to make war, if she should be severely used. Dr. Wotton was sent over to the emperor, to convince him that no absolute promise was ever made: but he pretended, that he had promised to her mother at her death to protect her, and was therefore bound in honour to take care of her: but now when the council were not in such

fear of the emperor's displeasure, they sent to seize on two of her chaplains, who had said mass in her house, when she was absent; they kept out of the way, and she wrote to the council to stop the prosecution, and continued to stand upon the promise made to the emperor. A long answer was returned to her by the council, in which after the matter of the promise was cleared, they urged the absurdity of prayers in an unknown tongue, offering the sacrament for the dead, and worshipping images: the ancients appealed upon all occasions to the scriptures, by which she might easily discover the errors and cheats of the old superstition, that were supported only by false miracles and lying stories. They pleaded that being trusted with the execution of the laws, they were obliged to proceed equally.

Mallet, one of the chaplains, was taken, and upon her earnestly desiring that he might be set at liberty, it was denied her. The council sent for the chief officers of her house, and required them to let her know the king's pleasure, that she must have the new service in her family; and to give the like charge to her chaplains and servants. This vexed her much, and almost cast her into sickness. She said, she would obey the king in every thing in which her conscience was not touched; but charged them not to deliver the council's message to her servants. Upon that, the lord chancellor, the lord Petre, and one other, were sent with the same orders to her: they carried to her a letter from the king, which she received on her knees; but when she read it, she cast the blame of it on Cecil, then secretary of state. The chancellor told her, the whole council were of one mind, that they could not suffer her to use a form of worship against law, and had ordered them to intimate this both to herself and her family. She made great protestations of duty to the king; but said, she would die rather than use any form of worship but that which was left by her father, only she was afraid she was not worthy to suffer on so good an account. If her chaplains refused to say mass, she could have none, for the new service she was resolved against, and if it was forced on her, she would leave her house. She insisted on the promise made to the emperor, and she believed him more than them all: she gave them a token to be carried to the king, and so dismissed them. Upon this her resolution, the council went no further, only after this her mass was said so secretly as to give no public offence. From Cophthall, where this was done, she removed and lived at Hunsden, where Ridley went to see her. There is something so curious in this visit and dialogue between the bishop and Mary, that we shall give it in Mr. Fox's own words.

About the eighth of September Dr. Ridley, then bishop of London, being at his house at Hadham, in Hertfordshire, went to visit the lady Mary then living at Hunsden, two miles off; and was gently entertained by Sir Thomas Wharton and other of her officers till it was almost eleven o'clock, about which time the lady Mary came forth into her chamber of presence, and then the bishop saluted her grace, and said, that he was come to do his duty to her grace. She thanked him for his pains, and for a quarter of an hour talked with him very pleasantly, saying that she knew him in the court when he was chaplain to her father, and could well remember a sermon that he made before king Henry her father,

at the marriage of my lady Clinton that now is, to Sir Anthony Brown. So she dismissed him to dine with her officers. After dinner was done the bishop being called for by the lady Mary, resorted again to her grace, between whom this communication was. First the bishop began in manner as followeth:—"Madam, I came not only to do my duty to see your grace, but also to offer myself to preach before you on Sunday next, if it will please you to hear me." At this her countenance changed, and after silence for a space, she answered thus—"My Lord, as for this last matter I pray you make the answer to it yourself." The dialogue then proceeded thus:—

*Bishop.* Madam, considering mine office and calling, I am bound in duty to make to your grace this offer, to preach before you.

*Mary.* Well, I pray you make the answer to this matter yourself; for you know the answer well enough. But if there be no remedy but I must make you answer, this shall be your answer; the door of the parish-church adjoining shall be open for you if you come, and ye may preach if you list; but neither I nor any of mine shall hear you.

*Bishop.* Madam, I trust you will not refuse God's word.

*Mary.* I cannot tell what ye call God's word; that is not God's word now, that was God's word in my father's days.

*Bishop.* God's word is all one in all times, but hath been better understood and practised in some ages than in other.

*Mary.* You durst not for your ears have avouched that for God's word in my father's days, that now you do. And as for your new books, I thank God I never read any of them; I never did, nor ever will do.

After many bitter words against the form of religion then established, and against the government of the realm, and the laws made in the young years of her brother, which she said she was not bound to obey till her brother came to perfect age, and then she affirmed she would obey them; she asked the bishop whether he were one of the council: he answered, "No." "You might well enough," said she, "as the council goeth now a days." Then she concluded with these words: "My lord, for your gentleness to come and see me, I thank you; but for your offering to preach before me, I thank you never a whit." The bishop was dismissed, and brought by Sir Thomas Wharton to the place where they dined, and was desired to drink. After he had drunk, he paused awhile, looking very sadly, and suddenly brake out into these words: "Surely, I have done amiss!" "Why so?" quoth Sir Thomas Wharton. "I have drunk," said he, "in that place where God's word offered hath been refused: whereas if I had remembered my duty, I ought to have departed immediately, and to have shaken off the dust of my shoes for a testimony against this house." These words were by the bishop spoken with such a vehemency, that some of the hearers afterward confessed their hair to stand upright on their heads. This done, the bishop departed, and so returned to his house.

At this time a great creation of peers took place. Warwick was made duke of Northumberland, the Percies being then under an attainder: Paulet was made Marquis of Winchester; Herbert, earl of

Pembroke; and a little before this, Russel had been created earl of Bedford; and Darcy was made a lord. There was none so likely to take the king out of Northumberland's hands, as the duke of Somerset, who was beginning to form a new party. Therefore, upon some informations, the duke of Somerset and his duchess, Sir Ralph Vane, Sir Thomas Palmer, Sir Thomas Arundel, and several others, of whom some were gentlemen of quality, and others the duke's servants, were all committed to the Tower. Committing Palmer was a mere delusion, for he had betrayed the duke, and was seized as an accomplice, after which, he pretended to discover a plot: he said, the duke intended to have raised the people, and that Northumberland, Northampton, and Pembroke, having been invited to dine at the lord Paget's, he intended to have set on them by the way, or have killed them at dinner; that Vane was to have 2000 men ready; Arundel was to have seized on the Tower, and all the gendarmarie were to have been killed. These things were told the young king with such specious circumstances, that he was deluded by them, and unhappily became alienated from his uncle, judging him guilty of so foul a conspiracy. It was added by others, that the duke intended to have raised the city of London; one Crane confirmed Palmer's testimony, and both the earl of Arundel and Paget were committed as accomplices.

On the first of December the duke was brought to his trial: the marquis of Winchester, lord steward presided; and twenty-seven peers sat in judgment, among whom were the dukes of Suffolk and Northumberland, and the earl of Pembroke. The particular charges were, a design to seize on the king's person, to imprison Northumberland, and to raise the city of London. It seemed a gross dereliction of justice for Northumberland to sit as judge, when one crime alleged was a design against his life: for though by the law of England no peer can be challenged, yet by the law of nature no man can judge where he is a party. The chancellor, though a peer, was left out, upon suspicion of a reconciliation which he was making with the duke. The protector was not deeply skilled in law, and neither objected to the indictment, nor desired counsel to plead for him, but only answered to matters of fact: he denied all design to raise the people, or to kill Northumberland; or if he had talked thus it was in passion, without any intention: and it was ridiculous to think, that he with a small troop could destroy nine hundred gendarmarie. The armed men he had about him were for his own defence; he had done no mischief to his enemies, though it was once in his power to have done it; and he had surrendered himself without any resistance: he desired the witnesses might be brought face to face, and objected many things to them, chiefly to Palmer; but this common act of justice was denied him, and their depositions were only read. He carried himself during the trial with great temper, and all the sharpness which the king's counsel expressed in pleading against him did not provoke him to any indecent passion.

When sentence was given his courage sank a little, and he asked the three lords, who were his enemies, pardon for his ill designs against them, and made suit for his life, and for his wife and children. It was generally thought that nothing being found against him but an intention

to imprison a privy counsellor, which had never taken effect, one so nearly related to the king, would not have been put to death on that account: it was therefore necessary to raise in the king a great aversion to him. Accordingly, a story was brought to him, as if in the Tower the protector had confessed a design to employ means to assassinate these lords; and the persons said to have been named for that wicked service were all persuaded to affirm it. This being believed by the king, he took no care to preserve him, assassination being a crime of so barbarous a nature, that it possessed him with a horror, even of his uncle, when he thought him guilty of it: and thus was he given up to his enemies. Stanhope, Partridge, Arundel, and Vane, were next tried: the two first were not much pitied, for they had made an ill use of their interest in the duke during his greatness: the last two were much lamented. Arundel's jury was shut up a whole day and night, and those who were for the acquittal yielded to the fury of the rest, only that they might save their own lives, and not be starved. Vane had done great service in the wars, and carried himself with considerable magnanimity. They were all condemned: Partridge and he were hanged, the other two were beheaded.

The lord chancellor had become a secret friend to the duke of Somerset, which was thus discovered: he went aside once at council and wrote a note giving the duke notice of what was then in agitation against him, and, endorsing it only for *the duke*, sent it to the Tower: but his servant, not having particular directions, fancied it was to the duke of Norfolk, and carried it to him. He, to make Northumberland his friend, forwarded it to him: upon Rich understanding the mistake into which his servant had fallen, to prevent the discovery, went immediately to the king, and pretending some indisposition desired to be discharged; upon which the great seal was taken from him, and put in the hands of the bishop of Ely. This was much censured, for all the reformers had inveighed severely against the secular employments and high places which bishops had held in the church of Rome. Christ said, "Who made me a judge?" St. Paul left it as a rule, that "No man that warreth, entangleth himself with the affairs of this life." This Saint Cyprian and the other fathers understood as a perpetual prohibition of churchmen's meddling with secular matters, and condemned it severely. Many canons were made against this in provincial councils, and a very full one was decreed at Chalcedon. But as the bishops of Rome and Alexandria grew rich and powerful, they established a sort of secular principality in the church: and other sees, as they increased in wealth affected to imitate them. Charles the Great raised this much every where, and gave great territories and privileges to the church; upon which bishops and abbots were not only admitted to a share in the public counsels, by virtue of their lands, but all the chief offices of the state were open to them; and then ecclesiastical preferments were given to courtiers as rewards for their services. By these means the clergy became very corrupt, merit and learning being no longer the standards by which men were esteemed or promoted: and bishops were only considered as a sort of great men, who went in a peculiar habit, and on great festivities were obliged to say mass, or perform some other

solemnities. They wholly abandoned the souls committed to their care, and left the spiritual part of their callings to their vicars and archdeacons, who made no other use of it, but to oppress the inferior clergy and the people.

We now proceed to relate the death of the Protector, as furnished by a certain nobleman, who was present at the deed-doing, and wrote the same. In the year of our Lord 1552, and the month of January, he was brought out of the Tower of London, delivered to the sheriffs of the city, and compassed about with a great number of armed men both of the guard and others. He was conducted to the scaffold on Tower-hill, where changing neither voice nor countenance, but in a manner and with the same gesture which he commonly used at home, kneeling upon both his knees and lifting up his hands, commended himself unto God. After he had ended a few short prayers, standing up again, and turning himself toward the east side of the scaffold, nothing at all abashed either with the sight of the axe, nor yet of the executioner, nor of present death; but with the same alacrity and cheerfulness of mind and countenance as he was accustomed to shew when he heard the causes and supplication of others, and especially the poor, he uttered these words to the people:—

“Dearly beloved friends, I am brought hither to suffer death, albeit that I never offended against the king either by word or deed, and have been always as faithful and true unto this realm as any man. But forso much as I am by law condemned to die, I do acknowledge myself as well as others to be subject thereunto. Wherefore to testify my obedience which I owe unto the laws, I am come hither to suffer death; whereunto I willingly offer myself, with most hearty thanks unto God, who hath given me this time of repentance, who might through sudden death have taken away my life, that neither I should have acknowledged him nor myself. Moreover, dearly beloved friends, there is yet somewhat that I must put you in mind of, as touching the Christian religion; which so long as I was in authority, I always diligently set forth and furthered to my utmost power. Neither do I repent me of my doings, but rejoice therein, seeing that now the state of Christian religion cometh most near unto the form and order of the primitive church. Which thing I esteem as a great benefit given of God both unto you and me; most heartily exhorting you all, that this which is most purely set forth unto you, you will with like thankfulness accept and embrace, and set out the same in your living. Which thing if you do not, without doubt greater mischief and calamity will follow.”

When he had spoken these words, there was suddenly a terrible noise heard; whereupon there came a great fear upon all men. This noise was as it had been the noise of some great storm or tempest, which to some seemed to be from above; as if a great deal of gunpowder being inclosed in an armory, and having caught fire, had violently broken out. But unto some it seemed as though it had been a great multitude of horsemen running together or coming upon them. Such a noise then was in the ears of all, although they saw nothing. Whereby it happened that all the people being amazed without any evident cause, they ran away, some into the ditches and puddles, and some into the houses



thereabouts ; others fell down grovelling unto the ground, with their poleaxes and halberts ; and most of them cried out, " Jesus save us, Jesus save us ! " Those who remained in their places, for fear knew not where they were ; and I myself who was there among the rest, being also afraid in this hurly-burly, stood still amazed. It happened here, as the evangelist wrote of Christ, when as the officers of the high priests and pharisees, coming with weapons to take him, being astonished ran backwards and fell to the ground.

In the meantime, whilst these things were thus in doing, the people by chance espied one Sir Anthony Brown riding under the scaffold ; which was the occasion of a new noise. For when they saw him coming they conjectured that which was not true, but which they all sincerely wished for, that the king by that messenger had sent his uncle pardon ; and therefore with great rejoicing and casting up their caps, they cried out, " Pardon, pardon is come, God save the king." Thus this good duke, although he was destitute of all man's help, yet saw before his departure, in how great love and favour he was with all men. And truly I do not think that in so great slaughter of dukes as hath been in England within these few years there were so many weeping eyes at one time ; and not without cause. For all men saw in his fall the public ruin of England, except such as indeed did perceive nothing. Meantime standing in the same place, the duke modestly and with a grave countenance made a sign to the people with his hand, that they would keep themselves quiet. Which done, and silence obtained, he spake unto them in this manner.

" Dearly beloved friends, there is no such matter here in hand as you vainly hope or believe. It seemeth thus good unto Almighty God, whose ordinance it is meet and necessary that we all be obedient unto. Wherefore I pray you all to be quiet, and to be contented with my death, which I am most willing to suffer ; and let us now join in prayer unto the Lord for the preservation of the king's majesty, unto whom hitherto I have always shewed myself a most faithful and true subject. I have always been most diligent about his majesty in his affairs both at home and abroad, and no less diligent in seeking the common good of the whole realm." At which words all the people cried out, " It is most true." The duke on their silence proceeding, said, " Unto whose majesty I wish continual health, with all felicity and all prosperous success." Whereunto the people again cried out, " Amen." The duke then added also, " I do wish unto all his counsellors the grace and favour of God, whereby they may rule in all things uprightly with justice. Unto whom I exhort you all in the Lord to shew yourselves obedient, as it is your bounden duty, under the pain of condemnation, and also most profitable for the preservation and safeguard of the king's majesty.

" Moreover, as heretofore I have had oftentimes affairs with divers men, and hard it is to please every man, therefore if there be any who hath been offended and injured by me, I most humbly require and ask him forgiveness ; but especially Almighty God, whom throughout all my life I have most grievously offended ; and all others whosoever they be that have offended me, I do with my whole heart forgive them. Now I once again require you, dearly beloved in the Lord, that you will keep

yourselves quiet and still, lest through your tumult you might trouble me. For albeit the spirit be willing and ready, the flesh is frail and wavering, and through your quietness I shall be much more composed. Above all I desire you to bear me witness that I die here in the faith of Jesus Christ; desiring you to help me with your prayers, that I may persevere constant in the same unto my end."

After this, turning himself again, he kneeled down. Then Dr. Cox, who was present to counsel and advise him, delivered a certain scroll into his hand, wherein was contained a brief confession unto God. This being read the duke stood up again without any trouble of mind, and first bade the sheriffs farewell, then the lieutenant of the Tower, and others, taking them all by the hand which were upon the scaffold with him. Then he gave money to the executioner; which done, he put off his gown, and kneeling down again in the straw, untied his shirt strings. After that, the executioner coming to him turned down his collar about his neck and all other things which hindered him. Then lifting up his eyes to heaven and covering his face with his own handkerchief, he laid himself down along, shewing no trouble or fear, neither did his countenance change. But because his doublet covered his neck, he was commanded to rise up and put it off; and then laying himself down again upon the block, and calling thrice upon the name of Jesus, saying, "Lord Jesus, save me," as he was the third time repeating the same, even as the name of Jesus was in uttering, in a moment he was bereft both of head and life, and slept in the Lord; being taken away from all dangers and evils of this life, and resting in the peace of God: in the preferment of whose truth and gospel he always shewed himself an excellent instrument and member, and therefore hath received the reward of his labour.

He was a man of extraordinary virtues, of great candour, and eminent piety: he was always a promoter of justice, and a patron of the oppressed. He was a better soldier than statesman, being too easy and open-hearted to be so cautious as such times and such employments required. The people saw that all this conspiracy, for which he and the other four suffered, was only a forgery: the other accomplices were quickly discharged, and Palmer, the chief witness, became Northumberland's particular confidant: and even those indiscreet words which the duke had spoken in his warmth, and his gathering armed men about him, was imputed to Palmer's artifices, who had put him in fear of his life, and thus made him do and say those things for which he lost it. His four friends all ended their lives, with the most solemn protestations of innocence; and the whole matter was looked on as a contrivance of Northumberland's, by which he entirely lost the affections of the people. The chief objection to the duke was, his having raised much of his estate out of the spoils of bishops' lands, and his palace<sup>d</sup> out of the ruins of some churches; and to this was added a remark, that he did not claim the benefit of the clergy, which would have saved him. Since he had so spoiled the church, they imputed it to a particular judgment on him

<sup>d</sup> That beautiful building and ornament of the country, Somerset-house, in the Strand, London.

that he forgot it; but in this they were mistaken, for in the act by which he was condemned, it was provided that no clergy should purge that felony—another proof, if it were wanting, that he was the innocent victim of a cruel conspiracy.

The day after the duke of Somerset's execution, a session of parliament was assembled. The first act which passed established the common prayer-book, as it was now amended. The bishops were required to proceed by the censures of the church against such as used it not: they also authorised the book of ordinations, and enacted the same penalties against offenders, that were in the act for the former book three years before. The papists took occasion of the changes now made to say, that the new doctrines and ways of worship changed as fast as the fashions. It was answered, that it was no wonder if corruptions, which had been creeping in for a thousand years, were not all discovered and thrown out at once; and since they had been every age making additions of new ceremonies, it might be excused if the purging them out was done by such easy degrees. The book was not to be received till All-hallows, because it was hoped that in the interval the reformation of the ecclesiastical laws would have been finished. The following law passed for holy-days and fasts—"No days are to be esteemed holy in their own nature, but by reason of those holy duties which ought to be done in them, for which they were dedicated to the service of God. Days are esteemed to be dedicated only to the honour of God, even those in which the saints were commemorated. Sundays, and the other holy-days, are to be religiously observed, and the bishops are to proceed to censures against offenders. The eves before them are to be fasts, and abstinence from flesh are enacted both in Lent and on Fridays and Saturdays." The liberty to tradesmen to work on these days, was abused to a public profanation of them, and the stricter clauses in the act were little regarded. An act also passed empowering churchwardens to gather collections for the poor, and the bishops to proceed against such as refused to contribute; which, though it was a bill that taxed the people, yet had its rise in the house of lords. An act likewise passed for the marriage of the clergy. Whereas the former act about it was thought only a permission of it, as some other unlawful things were connived at; upon which the wives and children of the clergy were reproachfully used, and the word of God was not heard with due reverence; therefore their marriages were declared good and valid. The bishopric of Westminster was reunited to London, only the collegiate church was still continued.

The convocation now confirmed the articles of religion which had been prepared in the former year, and thus was the reformation of worship and doctrine brought to such a degree, that since that time there has been very little alteration made. One branch of it was still unfinished, and was now under consultation, touching the government of the church, and the rules of the ecclesiastical courts. Two acts had passed in the former reign, and one in this, empowering a commission to revise all the laws of the church, and digest them into a body. King Henry had issued the commission, and the persons were named who made some progress in it, as appears by some of Cranmer's letters to him. In this reign it had been begun several times; but the changes in

the government had caused it to be laid aside. Thirty-two were found to be too many for preparing the first draught, so that eight were appointed to make it ready for them: these were Cranmer, Ridley, Petre, Martyr, Trahern, Taylor, Lucas, and Gosnold, two bishops, two divines, two civilians, and two common lawyers; but it was generally believed that Cranmer drew it entirely by himself, while the rest only corrected what he designed. Haddon and Cheek were employed to put it in Latin; in which they succeeded so well, and arrived at so true a purity in the Roman style, that it is equal to a work of the best ages. The work was cast into fifty-one titles; perhaps it was designed to bring it near the number of the books into which Justinian digested the Roman law. The eight finished it, and offered it to the thirty-two; who divided themselves into four classes, every one of which was to offer his corrections, and when it had passed through them all, it was to be presented to the king for his confirmation; but he died before it was quite finished.

The principal objects of this bill are well worthy of being known. The first title was concerning the catholic faith: it was made capital to deny the christian religion. The books of scripture were reckoned up, and the apocrypha left out. The four first general councils were received; but both councils and fathers were to be submitted to only as they agreed with the scriptures. The second enumerates and condemns many heresies, extracted out of the opinions of the church of Rome, and the tenets of the anabaptists. The judgment of heresy was to lie in the bishop's court, except in exempted places. Persons suspected might be required to purge themselves, and those who were convicted, were to abjure and do penance; but such as were obstinate were declared infamous, and not to have the benefit of the law, or of making testaments, and so all capital proceedings for heresies were laid aside. Blasphemy against God was to be punished as obstinate heresy. Bishops were appointed once a year to call all their clergy together to examine them concerning their flocks: and itinerant preachers were to be often employed for visiting such precincts as might be put under their care. All marriages were to be after bans, and to be annulled if not done according to the book of common prayer. Corrupters of virgins were to marry them; or if that could not be done, to give them the third part of their goods, and suffer punishment. Marriages made by force, or without consent of parents, were declared null. Polygamy was forbid. A clergyman guilty of adultery was to forfeit his goods and estate to his wife and children, or to some pious use; and to be banished or imprisoned during life: a layman guilty of it was to forfeit the half, and be banished or imprisoned during life: wives who were guilty were to be punished in the same manner. The innocent party might marry again after a divorce. Desertion, or mortal enmity, or the constant perverseness of a husband might induce a divorce. Patrons were charged to give presentations without making bargains; to choose the fittest persons, and not to make promises till the livings were vacant. The bishops were required to use great strictness in the trial of those whom they ordained; all pluralities and non-residence were condemned, and all who were presented were to purge themselves of simony by oath. All superstitious purgations were condemned. The communion was to be every Sunday in cathedrals,

and a sermon to be in the afternoon: such as received the sacrament were to give notice to the minister the day before, that he might examine them. The catechism was appointed to be explained an hour in the afternoon on holy-days. After the evening prayer the poor were to be taken care of. Penances were to be enjoined to scandalous persons; and the minister was to confer with some of the ancients of the people concerning the state of the parish, that admonitions might be applied as there was occasion. A rural dean was to be in every precinct to watch over the clergy according to the bishop's directions: archdeacons were to be over them, and the bishop over all; who was to have yearly synods, and visit every third year. His family was to consist of clergymen, in imitation of St. Austin, and other ancient bishops; these he was to train up for the service of the church. When bishops became infirm they were to have co-adjutors; archbishops were to do the episcopal duties in their diocese, and to visit their province. Every synod was to begin with a communion, and after that, the ministers were to give an account of their parishes, and follow such directions as the bishop should give them. A scheme was drawn of excommunication, which was entrusted to churchmen for keeping the church pure, and was not to be inflicted but for obstinacy in some gross fault. Such as had the king's pardon for capital offences were yet liable to church-censures. Then followed the office of absolving penitents: they were to come to the church-door and crave admittance, and the minister having brought them in, was to read a long discourse concerning sin, repentance, and the mercies of God. Then the party was to confess his sin, and to ask God and the congregation pardon; upon which the minister was to lay his hands on his head, and to pronounce the absolution. Then a thanksgiving was to be offered to God at the communion-table for the reclaiming that sinner. The other heads of this work relate to the other parts of the law of those courts.

There were at this time remedies under consideration for the great misery and poverty of the clergy: but the laity were so much concerned to oppose them, that there was no hope of bringing them to any good effect, till the king should come to be of age, and endeavour to recover again a competent maintenance for them out of the hands of those who had devoured their revenues. Heath and Day, the bishops of Worcester and Chichester, were this year deprived of their bishoprics, by a court of delegates composed all of laymen: but it does not appear for what offences they were suspended. The bishoprics of Gloucester and Worcester were united, and put under Hooper's care; but soon after, the former was made an exempted archdeaconry, and he was declared bishop only of Worcester. In every see, as it became vacant, the best manors were seized by such hungry courtiers as had the interest to procure the grant of them. It was thought, that the bishops' sees were so enriched, that they could never be made poor enough: and such haste was made in spoiling them, that they were reduced to a condition hardly possible for a bishop to subsist in them. If what had been thus taken from them had been converted to good uses, such as supplying the inferior clergy, it had been some mitigation of the robbery: but their lands

were taken up by laymen, who thought of making no compensation for the spoils.

This year the reformation had gained more ground in Ireland than formerly. Henry VIII. had assumed to himself, by consent of the parliament of that kingdom, the title of king of Ireland: the former kings of England having only been called lords of it. The popes and emperors pretended that such titles could be given only by them: the former said, all power in heaven and earth was given to Christ, and by consequence to his vicar. The latter, as carrying the title of Roman emperor, pretended that as the imperial power anciently bestowed those titles, so it devolved on him who retained only the name and shadow of that great authority. But princes and states have thought they may bring themselves under what titles they please. Though the kings of England were well obeyed within the English pale, yet the Irish continued barbarous and uncivilized, and were guided entirely by the heads of their names or tribes, and were obedient or rebellious as they directed them. In Ulster they had a great dependance on Scotland, and there were some risings there, during the war with that country, which were quieted by giving the leading men pensions, and getting them to come and live within the English pale. Monluc, bishop of Valence, being then in Scotland, went over thither to raise new commotions; but his efforts had no effect. While he was there his lasciviousness came to be discovered by an odd accident: a woman of the town, brought to him by some English friars, and secretly kept by him, searching among his clothes, fell on a small bottle of something very odorous, and drank it off; which being discovered by the bishop, put him in a most violent passion, for it had been given him as a present by Solymán the magnificent, when he was ambassador at his court. It was called the richest balm of Egypt, and valued at 2000 crowns. His rage grew so boisterous that all about him discovered both his passion and lewdness at once. The reformation was set up in the English pale, but had made small progress among the Irish. This year Basle was sent over to labour among them. He was an eager writer, and a learned zealous man. Goodaker was sent to be primate of Armagh, and Basle was to be bishop of Ossory. Two Irishmen were also promoted with them; who undertook to advance the reformation there. The archbishop of Dublin intended to have ordained them by the old pontifical, and all except Basle were willing it should be so; but he prevailed that it should be done according to the new book of ordinations: after that he went into his diocese, but found all there in dark popery, and before he could make any progress the king's death put an end to his designs.

The world had long been anxiously looking for the result of the council of Trent, trusting that it might lead to the establishment of order throughout the European countries; which appeared no less to have been desired both by princes and bishops in hopes that differences of religion would have been composed, and the corruptions of the court of Rome reformed by it. This had made the pope very apprehensive of it: but such was the cunning of the legates, the number of Italian bishops, and the dissensions of the princes, that it had an effect quite

contrary to what all sides expected. The breach in religion became past reconciling by the positive decisions they made: the abuses of the court of Rome were confirmed by the provisos made in favour of the privileges of the apostolic see: and the world was at length so cured of their longings for a general council, that none has been since that time desired. The history of that council was written with great exactness and judgment by father Paul, of Venice, while it was yet fresh in all men's memories; and though it discovered the whole secret of the transactions there, yet none set himself to write against it for forty years; then Pallavicini at last undertook it, and upon the credit of many memorials. In many things he contradicts father Paul; but in the main of the history they both agree, so far that it is manifest things were not fairly carried, and that matters were managed by intrigue rather than fair and open discussion.

Prince Maurice declared for the liberty of Germany, and took Augsburgh, and several other towns. The king of France fell upon the empire with a great force, and by surprise made himself master of Metz and Verdun, and thought to have got Strasburgh. Maurice sent his demands to the emperor for the landgrave's liberty, and for restoring the freedom of the empire: but the emperor being slow in making answer, he marched on to Inspruck, where he surprised a post, and was within two miles of him before he was aware of it, so that the emperor was forced to flee, nor stopped till he was safe in Italy. Thus the very army and prince which had been chiefly instrumental in the ruin of the empire, now again asserted its freedom; and the emperor's great design on Germany was so blasted, that he could never after put any life in it. He was forced to discharge his prisoners, and to call in the proscriptions; and after some treaty, the edict of Passa was made by which the free exercise of the protestant religion was granted to the princes and towns: and thus did that storm which had almost overwhelmed the princes of that persuasion end, without any other considerable effect beyond the translation of the electoral dignity from John to Maurice. The emperor's misfortunes increased on him, for against all reason he besieged Metz in December, and after he had ruined his army in it he was forced to raise the siege. He retired into Flanders in such discontent that for some time he would not admit any to approach him. There it was believed he first formed that design, which some years after he put in execution, of forsaking the world, and exchanging the pomp of a court for the retirement of a monastery. This strange turn in his affairs gave a great demonstration of an over-ruling Providence governing all human affairs, and of that particular care that God had of the reformation, in recovering it when it seemed to be lost, and hopeless of recovery in the German states.

In the year 1553, another visitation took place in England. Visitors were sent to examine what plate was in every church, and to leave in each only one or two chalices of silver, with linen for the communion-table and for surplices; to bring all other things of value to the treasurer of the king's household, and to sell the rest and give it to the poor. But from these and numerous other changes, the public attention soon became diverted by a rumour of the young king's alarming

affliction. His wisdom and virtue were appreciated in all parts of the land, and for his own sake as well as on account of the reformation, the rumour excited deep and general lamentation.

He had contracted cold by violent exercises, which in January settled into so obstinate a cough that all the skill of physicians and the aid of medicine proved ineffectual. There was a suspicion taken up and spread over all Europe that he was poisoned: but no certain grounds appear for justifying it. During this sickness, Ridley preached before him, and among other things spoke much on charity, and the duty of men of high condition to be eminent in good works. The king was much touched with this; and, after sermon, he sent for the bishop, and treated him with such respect that he made him sit down covered: he then told him what impression his exhortation had made on him, and desired to be directed by him how to do his duty in that matter. Ridley took a little time to consider of it, and after some consultation with the lord mayor and aldermen of London, he brought the king a scheme of several foundations: one for the sick and wounded; another for such as were wilfully idle: and a third for orphans. Without delay Edward endowed St. Bartholomew's hospital for the first, Bridewell for the second, and Christ church, near Newgate, for the third; enlarging the grant he made the former year for St. Thomas's hospital in Southwark. The statutes and warrants relating to these were not finished before the 26th of June, though he gave order to make all the haste that was possible: and when he set his hand to them he blessed God for prolonging his life till he finished his designs concerning them. These houses have, by the good government and great charities of the city of London, continued to be so useful, and grown to be so well endowed, that they may be reckoned among the noblest in Europe.

The king bore his sickness with great submission to the will of God, and seemed concerned in nothing so much as the state that religion and the church would be in after his death. The duke of Suffolk had three daughters: the eldest was married to the lord Guildford Dudley, son to the duke of Northumberland; the second to the earl of Pembroke's eldest son; and the third to one Keys. The duke of Northumberland married also his two daughters; one to sir Henry Sydney, and the other to the earl of Huntingdon's eldest son. He grew to be so much hated by the people, that the jealousy of the king's being poisoned was fastened on him. But he regarded these things little, and resolved to improve the fears the king was in concerning religion to the advantage of lady Jane Grey. Edward was easily persuaded to order the judges to put some articles, which he had signed for the succession of the crown, in the common form of law. They answered that the succession being settled by act of parliament, could not be taken away except by the same authority; yet the king required them to do what he commanded them. But the next time they came to the council they declared, that it had been made treason to change the succession by an act passed in this reign, so that they could not meddle with it. Montague was chief justice, and spoke in the name of the rest. On this Northumberland fell into a great passion against him, calling him traitor for refusing to obey the king's commands. The judges were not



shaken by his threatenings; and they were again brought before the king, who sharply rebuked them for their delays: but they said that all they could do would be of no force without a parliament, yet they were required to perform it in the best manner they could.

At last Montague desired they might first receive pardon for what they were to do, which being granted, all the judges, except Gosnold and Hale, agreed to the patent, and delivered their opinion that the lord chancellor might put the seal to it, and that then it would be good in law. The former of these was at last wrought on; so that Hale was the only man who stood out to the last: he was a zealous protestant, and would not give his opinion against his conscience upon any consideration whatsoever. The privy counsellors were next required to set their hands to it: Cecil, in a relation he wrote of this transaction, says that hearing some of the judges declare so positively that it was against law, he refused to set his hand to it as a privy counsellor, but signed it only as a witness to the king's subscription. Cranmer stood out long, he came not to the council when it was passed, and refused to consent to it when he was pressed to it; for he said he would never have a hand in disinheriting his late master's daughters. The dying king was at last set on him, and by his importunity prevailed with him to do it; upon which the seal was put to the patents. The distemper continued to increase, so that the physicians despaired of the king's recovery. A confident woman undertook his cure, and he was put into her hands; but she left him worse than she found him; and this heightened the jealousy against the duke of Northumberland, who had introduced her, and put the physicians away. At last, to crown his designs, he got the king to write to his sisters Mary and Elizabeth, to come and divert him in his sickness: and the matter of the exclusion had been carried so secretly, that they apprehending no danger had begun their journey.

On the 6th of July the king felt death approaching, and prepared himself for it in a most devout manner. He was often heard offering up prayers and ejaculations to God. A few moments before he died he prayed earnestly that God would take him out of this wretched life, and committed his spirit to him; interceding very fervently for his subjects, that God would preserve England from popery, and maintain his true religion among them. Then turning his face, and seeing who was by him, he said unto them, "Are ye so nigh? I thought ye had been further off." Dr. Owen said, "We heard you speak to yourself, but what you said we know not." He then smiling said, "I was praying to God." The last words of his life were these, "I am faint, Lord have mercy upon me, and take my spirit." Soon after that he breathed out his pious soul to God, his emaciated body resting in Sir Henry Sydney's arms. Endeavours were used to conceal his death for some days, with design to draw his sisters into the snare before they should be aware of it, but that could not be done.

Thus died Edward VI. in the sixteenth year of his age. He was counted the wonder of that time;<sup>e</sup> he was not only learned in the

<sup>e</sup> The preceding year, Cardan the great philosopher of that age passed through England on his return from Scotland to the Continent. He waited on the youthful king, and was so charmed with his great knowledge and rare qualities, that he always spoke of him as the

tongues, and the liberal sciences, but knew well the state of his kingdom. He kept a book in which he had written the characters of all the eminent men of the nation; he studied fortification, and understood the mint well: he knew the harbours in all his dominions, with the depth of water, and way of coming into them. He understood foreign affairs so well, that the ambassadors who were sent into England published very extraordinary things of him in the several courts of Europe. He had great quickness of apprehension; but being distrustful of his memory, he took notes of every thing he heard that was considerable, in Greek characters, that those about him might not understand what he wrote.

The following anecdote related of him may serve to shew, that the playfulness of youth would sometimes break out amidst the dignity of the monarch. He resided much at Greenwich, and being there on St. George's day, in the fourth year of his reign, when he was come from the sermon into the presence-chamber, there being his uncle the duke of Somerset, the duke of Northumberland, with other lords and knights of that order, called, "The Order of the Garter," he said to them, "My lords, I pray you, what Saint is St. George, that we here so honour him?" At which question the lords being all astonished, the lord treasurer gave answer and said, "If it please your majesty, I never read in any history of St. George, but only in *Legenda aurea*, where it is thus set down: 'St. George out with his sword, and run the dragon through with his spear.'" The king could not a great while speak for

most excellent character of his age he had ever seen: and after his death, he wrote the following account of him.

"All the graces were in him: he understood many tongues when he was yet but a child; together with the English, he knew both Latin and French; he also understood Greek, Italian, and Spanish. Nor was he ignorant of logic, of the principles of natural philosophy, or of music. The sweetness of his temper was admirable. His gravity became the majesty of a king, and his disposition was suitable to his high degree. These things are not spoken rhetorically, and beyond the truth, but are indeed short of it. When I was with him, he was in his fifteenth year, in which he spake Latin politely and promptly. He asked me what was the subject of my book, *De rerum veritate*, which I dedicated to him? I answered, that in the first chapter I gave the true cause of comets, which had been long enquired into, but was never found out before. On his asking the cause, I said it was the concurrence of the light of wandering stars. He asked how that could be, since the stars move in different motions? How came it that the comets were not dissipated, or did not move after them according to their motions? To this I answered, 'They do move after them, but much quicker than they, by reason of the different aspect; as we see in crystal, or when a rainbow rebounds from a wall: for a little change makes a great difference of place.' The king said, 'How can that be, where there is no subject to receive that light, as the wall is the subject for the rainbow?' To this I answered, That this was as in the milky-way, or where many candles were lighted; the middle place where their shining met was white and clear." From this sample it may be imagined what he was. The ingenuity and sweetness of his disposition had raised in all good and learned men, the greatest expectation of him possible. He began to love the liberal arts before he knew them, and to know them that he might use them: and in him there was such an attempt of nature, that not only England, but the world hath reason to lament his being so early snatched away. How truly was it said of such extraordinary persons, that their lives are short, and seldom do they come to be old! He gave us an essay of virtue, though he did not live long to give a pattern of it. When the gravity of a king was needful, he carried himself like an old man, and yet he was always affable and gentle, as became his age. These extraordinary blossoms gave but too good reason to fear, that a fruit which ripened so fast could not last long.

laughing, and at length said, "I pray you, my lord, and what did he with his sword the while?"

His virtues were wonderful: when he was made to believe, that his uncle was guilty of conspiring the death of the other counsellors, he upon that abandoned him. Barnaby Fitzpatrick was his favourite, and when he sent him to travel he often wrote to him, to keep good company, to avoid excess and luxury, and to improve himself in those things that might render him capable of employment on his return. He was afterwards made lord of Upper Ossory in Ireland, by queen Elizabeth, and well answered the hopes which this excellent king had of him. Edward was very merciful in his nature, which appeared in his unwillingness to sign the warrant for burning the Maid of Kent. He took great care to have his debts well paid, reckoning that a prince who breaks his faith and loses his credit, has thrown up that which he can never recover, and made himself liable to perpetual distrust and extreme contempt. He took special care of the petitions that were given him by poor and oppressed people. But his great zeal for religion crowned all the rest. It was not a temporary heat about it that excited him, but it was a true tenderness of conscience, founded on the love of God and his neighbours.

These extraordinary qualities, set off with great sweetness and affability, made him universally beloved by his people. Some called him their Josiah, others Edward the Saint, and others the Phoenix that rose out of his mother's ashes. All people concluded, that the sins of England must have been very great, since they provoked God to deprive the nation of so signal a blessing, as the rest of his reign would, to all appearance, have proved. Bishop Ridley, and the other good men of that time, made great lamentations of the vices, which were grown then so common, that men had passed all shame in them. Luxury, oppression, and a hatred of religion had over-run the higher ranks of people, who gave a countenance to the reformation, merely to rob the church; but by that, and their other practices, were become a great scandal to so good a work. The inferior classes were so much in the power of the priests, who were still, notwithstanding their outward compliance, papists in heart, and were so much offended at the spoil they saw made of all good endowments, without putting other and more useful ones in their room, that they who understood little of religion, laboured under great prejudices against every thing that was done in such a manner. And these things, as they provoked God highly, so they disposed the people much to that sad catastrophe which was experienced in the following reign.

# BOOK XI.

## THE REIGN OF QUEEN MARY.

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### SECTION I.

ACCESSION AND DEPOSITION OF THE LADY JANE GREY—FIRST ENTERING OF QUEEN MARY TO THE CROWN—ALTERATIONS OF RELIGION, AND OTHER PERTURBANCES HAPPENING THE SAME TIME IN ENGLAND.

THE attention of British protestants is now called to a period of church history which cannot fail to awaken in their hearts that sympathy for their ancestors, which at present lies dormant in too many bosoms. A long career of religious prosperity appears to have obliterated from their minds the cruel persecutions of their forefathers, who for them bled in every vein—for them were consigned to devouring flames in every part of their country—preparing and establishing for their descendants, by the sacrifice of themselves, genuine liberty of person and of conscience. And while we review with gratitude and admiration effects produced by such causes, let us learn to appreciate those blessings which, by the continued providence of God, we have so long enjoyed.

It has been asserted by Roman catholics, that all those who suffered death during the reign of queen Mary, had been adjudged guilty of high treason, in consequence of their having stood up in defence of lady Jane Grey's title to the crown. To disprove this, however, is no difficult matter, since every one conversant in history must know, that those who are tried on the statute of treason are to be hanged or beheaded. How can even papists affirm that ever men in England were burned for this crime? Some few suffered death in the ordinary way of process at common law, for their adherence to lady Jane; but none of those were burned. Why, if traitors, were they taken before the bishops, who have no power to judge in criminal cases? Even allowing the bishops, as peers, to have had power to judge, yet their own bloody statute did not empower them to execute. The proceedings against the martyrs are still extant, and they were carried on directly according to the forms prescribed by their own statute. There was not one of those burned in England ever accused of high-treason, much less were they tried at common law. And this should teach the reader to value a history of transactions in their own country, particularly of their blessed martyrs, in order that they may be able to see through the veil which falsehood has cast over the face of truth. It should also be observed, that Mary's title to the throne was acknowledged by a very large number whom she burned as heretics, and that none of her burnings were considered necessary to render her throne and crown secure.

What time king Edward, by long sickness, became more feeble and weak, the marriage was provided, concluded, and shortly after solemnized in May, 1553, between the lord Guilford, son of the duke of Northumberland, and lady Jane Grey, daughter of the duke of Suffolk, and grand-niece of Henry VIII. When king Edward was dead, this lady Jane was established in the kingdom by the nobles' consent, and proclaimed queen at London, and in other cities where was any great resort. In the meantime, while things were working at London, Mary, who had knowledge of her brother's death, wrote to the lords of the council, reminding them of her title to the crown, and complaining of the preparations made to withstand her. "Wherefore, my lords," she concluded, "we require you, and charge you and every one 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 letter, signed with our hand, shall be your sufficient warrant in this behalf."

To this letter the lords of the council replied, that after king Edward's death the lady Jane was invested with and possessed the just right and title to the imperial crown by the ancient laws of the realm, and also by the late king's letters patent, sealed with the great seal of England in presence of the most part of the nobles, councillors, and judges, with divers others grave and sage personages, assenting and subscribing to the same; and that they must therefore, as of most bounden duty and allegiance, assent unto her said grace, and to none other. At the same time reminding the lady Mary, that the marriage between her father and the lady Katharine being declared null, she was justly made illegitimate and uninheritable to the crown. "Wherefore," they said, "we can no less do, but, for the quiet both of the realm and you also, advertise you to surcease by any pretence to vex and molest any of our sovereign lady queen Jane's subjects from their true faith and allegiance due unto her grace: assuring you, that if you will for respect show 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 be 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, your ladyship's friends, showing yourself an obedient subject. From the Tower of London, in this ninth of July, 1553."

This letter was signed by Canterbury, Winchester, Ely, Northumberland, Bedford, Northampton, Suffolk, Arundel, Shrewsbury, Pembroke, Riche, and twelve other lords of the council. On receiving which the lady Mary withdrew into Norfolk and Suffolk, where the duke of Northumberland was hated for the service that had been done there under king Edward, in subduing the rebels; and there, gathering to her such aid of the common people on every side as she might, kept herself close for a space within Framlingham castle. Here she was joined by many who promised her their aid, on condition that she would not attempt the alteration of the religion established by king Edward. This was readily agreed to by Mary;

upon which they asserted her right, and she promised to maintain the true religion, and the laws of the land.

Northumberland's proceeding against the duke of Somerset, and the suspicions that lay on him as the author of the late king's untimely death, begat a great aversion in the people to him, which disposed them to set up queen Mary. She in the mean time was very active. She gathered all in the neighbouring counties about her. The men of Suffolk were generally for the reformation, and a great body of them came to her, and asked if she would promise not to alter the religion established in king Edward's days. She assured them she would make no changes; but should be content with the private exercise of her own religion. Upon this they all vowed to live and die with her. The earl of Sussex, and several others, raised forces and proclaimed her queen. When this reached the knowledge of the council, they sent the earl of Huntingdon's brother to raise men in Buckinghamshire, and meet the forces that should be sent from London, at Newmarket.

The duke of Northumberland was ordered to command the army. He was now much distracted in his thoughts; for it was of equal importance to keep London and the privy counsellors steady, and to conduct the army well: a misfortune in either of these was likely to be fatal to him. He was at a loss what to do: not a man of spirit who was firm to him could be left behind; and yet it was most necessary to disperse the force that was daily growing about queen Mary. The lady Jane and the council were removed to the Tower, not only for state, but for security; for here the council were upon the matter prisoners. He could do no more, but lay a strict charge on the council to be firm to lady Jane's interests. He therefore marched out of London with 2000 horse, and 6000 foot, on the 14th of July: but no acclamations or wishes of success were to be heard as he passed through the streets. The council gave the emperor notice of the lady Jane's succession, and complained of the disturbance that was raised by Mary, and that his ambassador had officiously meddled in their affairs; but the emperor would not receive the letters. Mary's party in the mean time continued daily to augment. Hastings went over to her with 4000 men out of Buckinghamshire, and she was proclaimed queen in many places. At length the privy council began to see their danger, and to think how to avoid it. The earl of Arundel hated Northumberland. The marquis of Winchester was dexterous in shifting sides for his advantage. The earl of Pembroke's son had married the lady Jane's sister, which made him think it necessary to redeem the danger he was in by a speedy turn. To these many others were joined. They pretended it was necessary to give an audience to the foreign ambassadors, who would not have it in the Tower: and the earl of Pembroke's house was chosen, he being least suspected.

When they got out, they resolved to declare for queen Mary, and rid themselves of Northumberland's uneasy yoke, which they knew they must bear if he were victorious. They sent for the lord mayor and aldermen, and easily gained their concurrence. They then went immediately to Cheapside, and proclaimed the queen; and from thence they went to St. Paul's, where *Te deum* was sung. They sent next to the

Tower, requiring the duke of Suffolk to quit the government of that place, and the lady Jane to lay down the title of queen. To this she submitted with as much greatness of mind as her father shewed of abjectness. They sent also orders to Northumberland to dismiss his forces, and to obey Mary as queen; and the earl of Arundel and lord Paget were sent to carry these welcome tidings to her. When Northumberland heard of the change that was in London, he disbanded his forces, went to the market-place at Cambridge, where he then was, and proclaimed the queen. The earl of Arundel was sent to apprehend him, and when he was brought to him, in the most servile manner he fell at his feet to beg his favour. He and three of his sons, and Sir Thomas Palmer—his wicked instrument against the duke of Somerset—were all sent to the Tower. All people now flocked to implore the queen's favour, and Ridley among the rest; but he too was sent to the Tower: for she was both offended with him for his sermon, and resolved to put Bonner again in the see of London. Some of the judges, and several noblemen were also sent to the Tower; among the rest the duke of Suffolk, who was three days after set at liberty. He was a weak man, and could do little harm, he was consequently chosen as the first instance towards whom the queen should express her clemency.

She came to London on the 3rd of August, and on the way was met by her sister, lady Elizabeth, with a thousand horse, whom she had raised to come to the queen's assistance. On arriving at the Tower, she liberated the duke of Norfolk, the duchess of Somerset, and Gardiner; also the lord Courtenay, son to the marquis of Exeter, who had been kept there ever since his father's attainder, whom she made earl of Devonshire. In this easy manner was Mary I. seated on the throne of England. To a disagreeable person and weak mind, she united bigotry, superstition, and cruelty. She seems to have inherited more of her mother's than her father's qualities. Henry was impatient, rough, and ungovernable; but Catherine, while she assumed the character of a saint, harboured bitter rancour and hatred against the protestants. It was the same with her daughter Mary, as appears from a letter in her own hand-writing, now in the British museum. In this letter, which is addressed to bishop Gardiner, she declares her fixed intention of burning every protestant; and it contains an insinuation, that as soon as circumstances would permit, she would restore back to the church the lands that had been taken from the convents. This, however, discovers an ignorance, equalled only by her tyranny, for the convents had been demolished, except a few of their churches; and the rents were in the hands of the first nobility, who, rather than part with them, would have overturned the government both in church and state.

On some occasions Mary had discovered no small degree of subtilty. During her father's life, "The king's displeasure at her was such," says bishop Burnet, "that neither the duke of Norfolk nor Gardiner durst venture to intercede for her." Cranmer was the only man who hazarded it, and did it effectually. But after her mother's death, she hearkened to other counsels, so that upon Anne Boleyn's fall, she made a full submission to her father, as was mentioned before. She did also in many letters which she writ both to her father and to Cromwell, "Protest

great sorrow for her former stubbornness, and declared, that she put her soul in his hand, and that her conscience should be always directed by him; and being asked what her opinion was concerning pilgrimages, purgatory, and reliques, she answered, that she had no opinion, but such as she received from the king, who had her whole heart in his keeping, and might imprint upon it in these and in all other matters whatever his inestimable virtue, high wisdom, and excellent learning, should think convenient for her." So perfectly had she learned the style that she knew was most acceptable to her father.

Her promise to the Suffolk men also shewed the craft of her character, which was equalled only by its cruelty. The sword of power being now in her hand, she began to employ it against those who had supported the title of lady Jane Grey. This devoted victim remained with her husband, lord Guildford, almost five months in the Tower, waiting her pleasure. The duke of Northumberland had offers of pardon on condition of renouncing his religion and hearing mass; which he not only did, but also exhorted the people to return to the catholic faith. Notwithstanding this, within a month after confinement he was condemned and beheaded. The papists immediately published and spread abroad his recantation; but the duke, in consequence of his crimes arising from a sordid ambition, died unpitied; nay, he was insulted on the scaffold by those who remembered in what manner he had acted to their beloved Somerset.

Sir Thomas Palmer and Sir John Gates were the next who suffered. The former confessed his faith in the reformed religion, and lamented that he had not lived more conformably to its precepts. Mary having thus begun her reign with the blood of these men, and with hearing mass in the Tower, clearly evinced the career in which she intended to proceed, and that she should but little regard the promise she had made to the Suffolk men. Besides these ill omens, there were other things which every day more and more discomfited the people, and which too plainly betrayed the queen's aversion to the reformation. Gardiner was made lord chancellor and bishop of Winchester. Bonner was advanced to the bishopric of London, by displacing Ridley. Day was promoted to the see of Durham, by displacing Scory. Tonsal was made bishop of Chichester, and Heath bishop of Worcester: Hooper was committed to the Fleet; and Vesie was made bishop of Exeter, by removing Miles Coverdale. All these innovations greatly alarmed the protestants, and afforded equal rejoicings to their enemies. Having thus laid the foundation of her reign in blood and treachery, Mary removed from the Tower to Hampton-court, and caused a parliament to be summoned on the 10th of October ensuing.

We have mentioned Dr. Ridley, bishop of London, among those who were removed. He was a learned and pious prelate, who in the time of queen Jane, by order of the council, preached a sermon at Paul's Cross, declaring his opinion concerning the lady Mary, and enumerating the evils that might arise by admitting her to the crown: prophesying, as it were, that she would bring in a foreign power to reign over them, and subvert the christian religion then happily established. This, with another sermon after things were changed, disconcerted the queen beyond



measure. The Sunday following her accession to the throne, Mr. Rogers preached, discoursing very learnedly on the gospel for the day. Whereupon Mary, perceiving things not to go forward according to her mind, consulted with her council how to bring about by other means, what by open law she could not well accomplish; and accordingly, by proclamation, prohibited any man from preaching or reading openly the word of God in churches, except by licence, which Gardiner took care to give only to such as would conform to his doctrine. The clergy differed in opinion how far they were bound to obey this prohibition: some thought they might forbear public preaching when they were so required, if they made it up by private conferences and instructions: others thought, that if this had been only a particular hardship upon a few, regard to peace and order should have obliged them to submit to it; but since it was general, and done on purpose to extinguish the light of the gospel, they ought to go on, and preach at their peril. Of this last sort several were put in prison for their disobedience, among others Hooper and Coverdale.

On the 22d of August, the queen declared in council, That though she was fixed in her own religion, yet she would not compel others to its observance; but would leave that to the motions of God's Spirit, and the labours of good preachers. The day after Bonner went to St. Paul's, and Bourne his chaplain preached, and extolled Bonner much, inveighing against the sufferings he had undergone. He took occasion from the gospel of the day to speak largely in justification of Bonner, saying that four years ago he had preached from the same text, and in the same place, for which he was most cruelly and unjustly cast into that most vile dungeon the Marshalsea, where he was confined during the reign of king Edward. The sermon provoked his hearers so as to cause them to murmur and stir in such a sort, that the mayor and aldermen feared an uproar: some cast stones at the preacher, and one hurled a dagger at him. In short, the tumult became so violent that Bourne was silenced, broke off his discourse, and durst no more appear in that place; his discourse tended much to the dispraise of king Edward, which the people could in no wise endure. Mr. Bradford then stood forth, at the request of Mr. Bourne's brother, and spoke so mildly and effectually to the people, that with a few words quite pacified them. This done, he and Mr. Rogers conducted Mr. Bourne home; for which generous conduct they were both, shortly after, rewarded with long imprisonment, and at last with fire in Smithfield, under the pretence, that the authority they shewed in quelling the tumult was a proof of their being the authors of it!

It has already been intimated that all the pulpits were now put under an interdict, till the preachers should obtain a licence from Gardiner: and that he resolved to grant licences to none but such as would preach as he should direct them. His conduct encouraged the papists generally, and in their love of ancient rites and superstitions they began speedily to replace their images, and to revive their ceremonies in many of the churches. Every thing in fact seemed to threaten a subversion of the reformation, and the immediate re-establishment of all the errors and enormities of the Romish church.

## SECTION II.

THE REPORT OF THE DISPUTATION HAD AND BEGUN IN THE CONVOCATION HOUSE AT LONDON, APPOINTED BY THE QUEEN, OCT. 18, 1553.

ON October 18th, Dr. Weston, who had been chosen prolocutor, certified to the house, that it was the queen's pleasure the learned men there assembled should debate of matters of religion, and constitute laws, which her grace and the parliament would ratify. "And for that," said he "there is a book of late set forth, called the Catechism, 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 a book of Common Prayer very abominable," as it pleased him to term it. "I thought it therefore best, first to begin with the articles of the Catechism, concerning the sacrament of the altar, to confirm the natural presence of Christ in the same, and also transubstantiation. Wherefore, it shall be lawful, on Friday next, for all men freely to speak their conscience in these matters, that doubts may be removed, and they satisfied therein."

The Friday coming, being the 20th of October, when men had thought they should have entered disputations of the questions proposed, the prolocutor exhibited 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, denying its being published by the consent of that house, requiring all them to subscribe to the same, as he himself had done. The whole house assented, except the deans of Rochester and Exeter, the archdeacons of Winchester, Hereford, and Buckingham, and one more.

And whilst the rest were about to subscribe these two articles, John Philpot spoke concerning the articles of the Catechism, and asserted that it had been composed by the order and authority of the convocation. Moreover, he said, as concerning the article of the natural presence in the sacrament, that it was against reason and order of learning, and also very prejudicial to the truth, that men should be moved to subscribe before the matter were thoroughly examined and discussed. But when he saw his allegation was to no purpose, he requested the prolocutor that there might be an equal number of persons of both sides concerned in this disputation, and desired that he would intercede with the lords, that some of those that were learned, and setters-forth of the same Catechism, might be admitted into the house; and that Dr. Ridley and Mr. Rogers, with two or three more, might be liberated to be present at this disputation, and to be associated with them. This request was thought reasonable, and was proposed to the bishops, who returned for answer, that it was out of their power to call such persons to the house, since some of them were prisoners; but they would petition the council in this behalf, and in case any of them were absent that ought to be of the house, they were agreeable to their admission. After this, they minding to have entered into disputation, there came a gentleman as messenger 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 unto Monday, at one of the clock at afternoon.

Upon that day, the prolocutor made a protestation, in the presence of many earls, lords, knights, gentlemen, and divers others of the court and of the city also, that they of the house had appointed this disputation, not to call in question the truth to which they had subscribed, but that those gainsayers might be resolved respecting their doubts.

Then he demanded of Mr. Haddon, whether he would reason against the questions proposed, or no. To whom he answered, that he had certified him before in writing that he would not, since the request of such learned men as were demanded to be assistant with them, would not be granted. Mr. Elmar was likewise asked, who made the like answer: adding that they had already too much injured the truth by their subscribing before the subjects were discussed. Mr. Weston, turning to Mr. Cheney, or Cheyney, desired to know whether he would propose his doubts concerning transubstantiation; when the latter answered, "I would gladly my doubts to be resolved which move me not to believe transubstantiation. The first is out of St. Paul to the Corinthians, who, speaking of the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, called it oftentimes bread, after the 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 Theodoret, who making mention of the sacramental bread and wine after the consecration, saith, that they go not out of their former substance, form, and shape. These be some of my doubts, among many others, wherein I require to be answered."

Then the prolocutor assigned Dr. Moreman to answer him, who to St. Paul answered him thus: "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 alleged, that Hesychius called the sacrament both bread and flesh. "Yea," said Moreman, "Hesychius calleth it bread, because it *was* bread, and not because it *is* so." And, passing over Origen, he came to Theodoret, and said, that men mistook his authority by interpreting a general into a special, as Peter Martyr has done in the place of Theodoret, interpreting *ὀψία* for substance, which is a special signification of the word; whereas *ὄψια* is a general word, as well to accidents as to substance. "And therefore I answer thus unto Theodoret: that the sacramental bread and wine do not go out of their former substance, form, and shape; that is to say, not out of their accidental substance and shape."

After this Mr. Cheney sat down; and by and by Mr. Elmar rose, declaring that Moreman's answer to Theodoret was not just or sufficient, but an illusion and subtle evasion, contrary to Theodoret's meaning," etc. After this stood up John Philpot; and then began a further discussion, in which Dr. Moreman, the dean of Rochester, and Dr. Watson took part. The night coming on, the prolocutor broke up the disputation for that time; and appointed Philpot to be the first that should begin the disputation next day, concerning the presence of Christ in the sacrament.

On Wednesday, October 25th, John Philpot was prepared to enter upon the disputation, minding first to have made a certain oration in Latin, of the matter of Christ's presence which was then in question; which the prolocutor perceiving, he forbade him to make any declaration or oration in Latin, but to deliver his arguments in English. After remind-

ing him of what he had appointed, and that his arguments were prepared in Latin, Philpot added, "You have sore disappointed me, thus suddenly to go from your former order: but I will accomplish your commandment, leaving mine oration apart; and I will come to my arguments, which, as well as so sudden a warning can serve, I will make in English. But, before I bring forth any 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 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 truth and manifest meaning of the Scriptures: That by transubstantiation of the sacramental bread and wine, Christ's natural body should, by the virtue of the words pronounced by the priest, be contained and included under the forms of bread and wine. This kind of presence, imagined by men, I do deny, and against this I will reason."

But before he could end his speech, he was interrupted by the prolocutor, and commanded to descend to his argument. "I am about it," quoth Philpot, "if you will let me alone. But first I must needs ask a question of my respondent, Dr. Chedsey, concerning a word or two of your supposition; that is, of the sacrament of the altar, what he meaneth thereby? Dr. Chedsey answered, that in their supposition they took the sacrament of the altar and the sacrament of the mass to be all one. "Then," quoth Philpot, "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, neither is Christ in any wise present in it." This he offered to prove before the whole house, the queen and her council, or before six of the most learned men of that house of a contrary opinion, and refused none. "And if I shall not be able to maintain, by God's word, that I have said, and confound those six which shall take upon them to withstand me in this point, let me be burned with as many fagots as be in London, before the court gates!" This he uttered with great vehemency of spirit.

The prolocutor, urged by some that were about him, consented that he should be allowed an argument, so that he would be brief therein. "I will be as brief," quoth Philpot, "as I may conveniently. And, first, I will ground my arguments upon the authority of Scripture, whereon all the buildings of our faith ought to be grounded; and after I shall confirm the same by ancient doctors of the church. And I take the occasion of my first argument out of Matthew xxviii., of the saying of the angel to the three Marys, seeking Christ at the sepulchre, saying, "He is risen, he is not here;" and, Luke xxiii., the angel asketh them, "Why seek ye the living among the dead?" Likewise 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; therefore it is not on earth included in the sacrament. I will confirm this yet more effectually by the saying of Christ in John xvi.: "I came from my Father into the world, and now I leave the world and go away to my Father:" the which coming and going he meant of his natural body. Therefore we may affirm thereby, that it is not now in the world. But I look here to be

answered with a blind distinction of visibly and invisibly, that he is visibly departed in his humanity, but invisibly he remaineth notwithstanding in the sacrament.—But I will prove that no such distinction ought to take away the force of that argument, by the answer which Christ's disciples gave unto him, speaking these words: 'Now thou speakest plainly, and utterest forth no proverb;' which words St. Cyril, interpreting, saith, 'That Christ spake without any manner of ambiguity and obscure speech.' And therefore I conclude hereby thus, 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 to remain in the sacrament upon earth invisibly, contrary to the plain words of Christ, ought not to be allowed; for nothing can be more uncertain, or more parabolical or insensible, than so to say. Here now will I attend what you will answer, and so descend to the confirmation of all that I have said, by ancient writers."

Then Dr. Chedsey took upon him to answer every point progressively. First to the saying of the angel, "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 spoken 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, who knew that Christ would visibly ascend to heaven; but that doth not exclude the invisible presence of his natural body in the sacrament. St. Chrysostom, writing to the people of Antioch, affirms 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 Elisæus. 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, yet abideth invisibly in the sacrament of the altar.

Philpot replied, "You have not directly answered to the words of the angel, 'Christ is risen and is not here;' because you have omitted that which was the chief point. For I proceed further, as thus, He is risen, ascended, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father: therefore he is not remaining on earth. Neither is your explication of Cyril sufficient. But I will presently return to your interpretation of Cyril, and plainly declare it, after I have refuted the authority of Chrysostom, which is one of the chief principles that you adduce to support your carnal presence in the sacrament; which being well understood, pertaineth nothing thereunto." The prolocutor was irritated and started with impatience to think that one of the chief pillars on this point should be overthrown. He therefore recited the authority in Latin, and afterwards turned it into English, calling the attention of all present to remark that saying of Chrysostom which he thought invincible on their side. "But I will make it appear," said Philpot, "that it serves little

for your purpose, for I have two objections to propose; one drawn from Scripture, the other from the very place of Chrysostom himself.

“First, where he seemeth to say, that Christ ascending took his flesh with him, and left his flesh also behind him, truth it is: 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 thereby are we become one flesh with him: so that Chrysostom might thereby right 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 the world, who are the members of Christ, and flesh of his flesh, as very aptly St. Paul to the Ephesians, chap. v., doth testify: ‘We are flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bones.’ And if perchance any man will reply that he entreateth there of the sacrament, so 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 lately read, are these words: that Christ, after he ascended into heaven, left unto us, endued 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. St. Paul doth witness, ‘As many of us as are baptized in Christ have put upon us Christ;’ and thus you may understand that St. Chrysostom maketh nothing for your carnal and gross presence in the sacrament.”

The fifth day’s debate was opened on Friday, October 27th. The prolocutor began with observing, that the convocation had spent two days in disputing about one father, which was Theodoret, and about one Greek word, (*ὁμοία*;) and now they were assembled to answer all things that could be objected; therefore, he desired they would shortly propound their arguments. Upon this Haddon, dean of Exeter, requested leave to oppose Mr. Watson, who, with Morgan and Harpsfield, were appointed to answer him. Mr. Haddon then demanded, if any substance of bread and wine remained after consecration? To which Watson replied by asking another question, namely, whether he thought there was a real presence of Christ’s body or not? Mr. Haddon said, it was a breach of order that one, who was appointed respondent, should be opponent; nor should he, whose business was to object, answer. Mr. Haddon then proceeded to shew, from the words of Theodoret, that the substance of bread and wine remained; for his words are; “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. On this they were driven again to a discussion of the Greek word above mentioned; and Mr. Haddon proved it to mean a substance, both by its etymology, and by the words of Theodoret. He then asked Watson, when the bread and wine became symbols? Watson answered, “After consecration, and not before.” Then Mr. Haddon raised out of his author the following syllogism:

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

Mr. Cheyney addressing himself particularly to Mr. Watson, began after this manner. "You said that Mr. Haddon was not fit to dispute, because he had not granted the natural and real presence, but you are much less fit to answer, because you take away the substance of the sacrament." Watson said, that he had subscribed to the real presence, and should not go from that; but he would explain what he meant by subscribing to the real presence, far otherwise than they supposed. He then 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 poor 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 prolocutor perceiving that Mr. Watson was closely attacked, called upon Mr. Morgan to help him out, who said that Theodoret did no more than what was justifiable; for, first he granted the truth, and then, for fear of such as were not fully instructed in the faith, he spake mystically: he granted the truth, by calling the bread and wine the body and blood of Christ; after which he seems to give somewhat to the senses and to reason: but that Theodoret was of the same opinion with them, will appear from his words that follow, which are the cause of what went before; therefore he says, the immortality, &c. whereby it appears, that he meant the divine, and not the human nature.

Watson now said: "Suppose Theodoret be on your side, he is but one; and what is one against the consent of the whole church?" Cheyney affirmed, that not only Theodoret was of his opinion, that the substance of bread and wine do remain, but many others also, particularly Irenæus, who making mention of this sacrament says: "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 which the substance of our flesh is nourished and doth consist." From whence I infer, that if the thanksgiving doth nourish our body, then there is some substance besides Christ's body. To this both Watson and Morgan replied, observing, that the words, "by which," in that sentence of Irenæus, were to be 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 said, that it was not the body of Christ which nourished our bodies; and granting that the flesh of Christ nourisheth to immortality, yet it doth not make for their argument, although it might be true; no more than that answer which was made to the allegation out of St. Paul, 'the bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?' with many others; whereunto you answered, that bread was not to be 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 brought in Hesychius, and used the same reason that he did, of burning of symbols; and he asked them, What was burnt? Watson said we must not inquire; when Cheyney asked, Whereof came

those ashes — not from substance? or can any substance arise from accidents?

Here Mr. Harpsfield was called to the assistance of Watson, and began with a fair preamble about the omnipotency of God, and the weakness of human reason as to the comprehension and attainment of religious matters; observing, that whatsoever we saw, or tasted, it was not convenient to trust our senses. He also related a curious legend out of St. Cyprian, how a woman saw the sacrament burning in her coffer! “Now that which burned there,” said Harpsfield, “burneth here, and becometh ashes; but what that was which burnt we cannot tell.” Mr. Cheyney continued still to force them with this question—“What was it that was burnt? it was either the substance of bread, or else the substance of the body of Christ—which is too great an absurdity to grant.” At length they answered, it was a miracle. At this Mr. Cheyney smiling, said that he would then proceed no further.

Dr. Weston now asked the company, whether those men had not been sufficiently answered? Certain priests said, “Yes;” but the multitude exclaimed—“No, no!” Dr. Weston answered sharply, that he asked not the judgment of the rude multitude, but such as were members of that house. He then demanded of Mr. Haddon and his fellow-disputants, whether they would answer them other three days? Haddon, Cheyney, and Elmar all replied, “No.” Upon which the archdeacon of Winchester, Mr. Philpot, said they should be answered; and though all others refused to answer, yet he would not; but would himself answer them all in turns. The prolocutor abused him, saying, that he should go to Bedlam; to whom the archdeacon seriously answered, that he himself was much more suited to the place.

On the sixth debate, October 30th, the prolocutor, addressing himself to Mr. Philpot, demanded whether, in the questions before propounded, he would answer their objections? Mr. Philpot said if they would answer but one of his arguments sufficiently, he would reply to all the objections they could bring. The prolocutor then bid him state his argument, and it should be resolutely controverted by some of them. Mr. Philpot then proceeded—“On Wednesday last, I was compelled to silence before I had prosecuted half my argument, the sum of which was, that the human body of Christ had ascended into heaven, and gone to the right hand of God the Father; wherefore, after the imagination of man, it could not be situated upon earth invisibly in the sacrament of the altar. My argument is this. One and the self-same nature receiveth not any thing that is contrary to itself. But the body of Christ is a human nature, distinct from the Deity, and is a proper nature of itself. I infer therefore that it cannot receive any thing that is contrary to that nature, and that varieth from itself. To be bodily present and to be bodily absent—to be on earth, and to be in heaven—and all at one time, are things incompatible with the nature of a human body. Therefore, it cannot be said of the human body of Christ, that the self-same body is both in heaven and on the earth at one instant, either visibly or invisibly.” Morgan objected to the first part of the argument, which Philpot supported out of Vigilius, an ancient writer.

Morgan cavilled still, and said it was no scripture, and desired him



to prove the same from thence; upon which Philpot quoted St. Paul, who says that "Christ is made like unto us in all points, except sin;" adding, "As one of our bodies cannot receive in itself anything contrary to the nature of a body, as to be in St. Paul's Church and in Westminster Abbey at one and the same instant; or to be in London visibly and in Lincoln invisibly at one time; whereof he concluded that the body of Christ might not be in more places than one, which is in heaven; and so consequently not to be contained in the sacrament of the altar." To this the prolocutor answered that it was not true that Christ was like unto us in all points, as Philpot took it, except sin. For that Christ was not conceived by the seed of man, as we be. Whereunto Philpot 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.

Morgan again cavilled; when Philpot said that he was not destitute of other Scriptures to confirm his argument, quoting the words of St. Peter: "Whom heaven must receive until the consummation of all things," etc; which words were spoken of his humanity. "And if," said he, "heaven must hold Christ, then can he not be here on earth, in the sacrament, as is pretended."

After this the prolocutor spake to Philpot, and said, "Lest thou shouldest slander the house, and say that we will not suffer you to declare your mind, we are content that you shall come into the house as you have done before; so that you be apparelled in a long gown and a tippet, like as we be, and that you shall not speak but when I command you." "Then" quoth Philpot, "I had rather be absent altogether."

Thus did they reason, till at length, about the middle of December, queen Mary interferred, and sending to Bonner, bishop of London, commanded him to dissolve the convocation. Near the same time the parliament broke up, having first repealed all such statutes as concerned any alteration of religion, and administration of the sacraments, in the reign of Edward VI. In this session also the parliament were acquainted with the queen's intended marriage with Philip, the emperor's son. In the mean time, cardinal Pole, having been sent for by Mary, was requested by the emperor to stay with him, to the intent, according to general opinion and report, that the cardinal's presence in England should not be a bar to the marriage between his son and the queen; to accomplish which, he sent a most splendid embassy, with full power; which had such good success, that, after a few days, the marriage between Mary and Philip was settled on the following terms. The government to rest solely with the queen. Her hand alone to give authority to every thing. No Spaniard to be capable of any office. No change to be made in the law, nor the queen to be required to go out of England against her will, nor their issue but by consent of the nobility. The queen to have of jointure 60,000*l.* out of Spain. Their son to inherit Burgundy and the Netherlands, as well as England. Their daughters to succeed to her crown, and to have such portions from Spain as were generally given to king's daughters. The prince to have no share in the government after her death.

## SECTION III.

WYATT'S REBELLION—LADY JANE GREY—CONVERSATION WITH FECKNAM  
—LETTERS—BEHAVIOUR AT EXECUTION, WITH OTHER MATTERS.

THE year 1554 commenced with persecution. Dr. Crome was committed to the Fleet, for preaching without license on Christmas-day; and Thomas Wootton, a protestant esquire, on account of his religious profession. The publication of the queen's intended marriage was very ill received by the people and several of the nobility; and soon a rebellion arose, whereof sir Thomas Wyatt was one of the chief promoters. He said that the queen and council would, by this marriage, bring upon the realm slavery and popery. He resided in the county of Kent, and as soon as intelligence was received in London of the insurrection there, and of the duke of Suffolk having fled into Warwick and Leicestershire, with a view of raising forces in those counties, the queen caused them both, with the Carews of Devonshire, to be proclaimed traitors. At the same time she sent some forces, under the duke of Norfolk, into Kent; but, on reaching Rochester-bridge, he found himself so deserted, that he was obliged to return to London. The earl of Huntingdon was sent into Warwickshire to apprehend the duke of Suffolk, who, entering the city of Coventry before Suffolk, frustrated his designs. In his distress, the duke confided in a servant of his, named Underwood, in Astley-park, who, like a false traitor, betrayed him. And so he was brought to the Tower of London.

Sir Peter Carew, hearing what was done, fled into France; but the others were taken. Wyatt came towards London in the beginning of February. The queen, hearing of Wyatt's coming, came into the city to the Guildhall, where she made a vehement oration against him. When she had concluded, Gardiner, standing by her, with great admiration cried to the people, "Oh, how happy are we, to whom God hath given such a wise and learned prince!" etc.

On the 3rd of February, lord Cobham was committed to the Tower. Wyatt was now 4000 strong, and came to Southwark, but could not force the bridge of London: he was informed the city would all rise if he should come to their aid; but he could not find boats for passing into Middlesex or Essex, so he was forced to go to the bridge of Kingston. On reaching it, he found it cut; yet his men repaired it, and he reached Hyde-park the next morning. Weary and disheartened, his troops were reduced to 500, and the queen's forces could have easily dispersed them; yet they let them go forward, that they might be obliged to surrender at discretion. He marched through the Strand, and got to Ludgate. Returning from thence, he was opposed at Temple-bar, and there surrendered himself to sir Clement Parson, who brought him to court, with the remains of his army, after about one hundred had been killed. A great number of the captives were hanged; and Wyatt was beheaded on Tower hill, and then quartered.

It was now resolved to proceed against lady Jane Grey and her husband. She had lived six months in the hourly meditation of death; so she was not much surprised when the catastrophe arrived. Fecknam,

alias Howman, was sent from the queen, two days before her death, to commune with her, and to reduce her from the doctrine of Christ to queen Mary's religion: the effect of which communication here followeth.

*Fecknam.* Madam, I lament your heavy case; and yet I doubt not but that you bear out this sorrow of yours with a constant and patient mind.

*Jane.* You are welcome unto me, sir, if your coming be to give Christian exhortation. And as for my heavy case, I thank God, I do so little lament it, that rather I account the same for a more manifest declaration of God's favour towards me, than ever he showed me at any time before. Therefore, there is no cause why either you or others which bear me good will should lament or be grieved with this my case, being a thing so profitable to my soul's health.

*Fecknam.* I am here come to you at this present, sent from the queen and her council, to instruct you in the true doctrine of the right faith: although I have so great confidence in you, that I shall have, I trust, little need to travel with you much therein.

*Jane.* Forsooth, I heartily thank the queen's highness, who is not un-mindful of her humble subject; and I hope that you will no less do your duty therein, truly and faithfully, according to that you were sent for.

*Fecknam.* What is then required of a Christian man?

*Jane.* That he should believe in God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost: three Persons and one God.

*Fecknam.* What? Is there nothing else to be required or looked for in a Christian, but to believe in him?

*Jane.* Yes, we must love him with all our heart, with all our soul, and with all our mind; and our neighbour as ourself.

*Fecknam.* Why? then faith justifieth not, nor saveth not.

*Jane.* Yes verily, faith, as St. Paul saith, alone justifieth.

*Fecknam.* Why? St. Paul saith, "If I have all faith without love, it is nothing."

*Jane.* True it is; for how can I love him whom I trust not? Or how can I trust him whom I love not? Faith and love go both together, and yet love is comprehended in faith.

*Fecknam.* How shall we love our neighbour?

*Jane.* To love our neighbour is to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, to give drink to the thirsty, and to do to him as we would to ourselves.

*Fecknam.* Why? then it is necessary unto salvation to do good works also, and it is not sufficient only to believe.

*Jane.* I deny that, and I affirm that faith only saveth; but 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. For when we have done all, yet we be unprofitable servants, and faith only in Christ's blood saveth us.

*Fecknam.* How many sacraments are there?

*Jane.* Two—the one the sacrament of baptism, and the other the sacrament of the Lord's supper.

*Fecknam.* No, there are seven.

*Jane.* By what scripture find you that?

*Fecknam.* Well, we will talk of that hereafter. But what is signified by your two sacraments?

*Jane.* By the sacrament of baptism, 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.

*Fecknam.* Why, what do you receive in that sacrament? Do you not receive the very body and blood of Christ?

*Jane.* No surely, I do not so believe. I think that at the supper I neither receive flesh nor blood, but bread and wine; which bread when it is broken, and the wine when it is drunken, put 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.

*Fecknam.* Why, doth not Christ speak these words, "Take, eat, this is my body?" Require you any plainer words? Doth he not say, it is his body?

*Jane.* I grant, he saith so; and so he saith, "I am the vine, I am the door;" but he is never the more for that, the door or the vine. Doth not St. Paul say, "He calleth things that are not as though they were?" 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 of his disciples.

*Fecknam.* Why, is it not as possible that Christ, by his power, could make his body both to be eaten and broken, and to be born of a virgin, as to walk upon the sea, having a body, and other such like miracles as he wrought by his power only?

*Jane.* Yes verily, if God would have done at his supper any miracle, he might have done so: but I say, that then he minded no work nor miracle, but only to brake his body and shed his blood on the cross for our sins. But I pray you to answer me to this one question: Where was Christ when he said, "Take, eat, this is my body?" Was he not at the table when he said so? He was at that time alive, and suffered not till the next day. What took he, but bread? what brake he, but bread? and what gave he, but bread? Look, what he took he brake: and look, what he brake he gave: and look, what he gave they did eat: and yet all this while he himself was alive, and at supper before his disciples, or else they were deceived.

*Fecknam.* You ground your faith upon such authors as say and unsay both in a breath; and not upon the church, whom ye ought to credit.

*Jane.* No, I ground my faith on God's word, and not upon the church. For if the church be a good church, the faith of the church must be tried by God's word; and not God's word by the church, neither yet my faith. Shall I believe the church because of antiquity, or 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? which things if they deny to us, then deny they to us part of our salvation. And I say, that 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!

*Fecknam.* That was done for a good intent of the church, to avoid a heresy that sprang on it.

*Jane.* Why, shall the church alter God's will and ordinance, for good intent? How did king Saul? The Lord God defend!

With these and such like persuasions he would have had her lean to the church, but it would not be. There were many more things whereof they reasoned, but these were the chiefest. After this, Fecknam took his leave, saying that he was sorry for her: "For I am sure," quoth he, "that we two shall never meet."

"True it is," replied lady Jane, openly, "that we shall never meet, except God turn your heart; for 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."

A letter of the lady Jane to master Harding, late chaplain to the duke of Suffolk, her father, and then fallen from the truth of God's most 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, who 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 runaway. 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 now so shamefully shrink, and so horribly abuse the testament and 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 chooseth rather to live miserably with shame to the world, than to die, and gloriously with honour reign with Christ, in whom even in death is life? Why dost thou now show 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 thee and framed thee? Wilt thou now forsake Him that called thee from the custom-gathering among the Romish antichristians, 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 another, being not thine own, but his? How canst thou, having knowledge, or how darest thou neglect the law of the Lord, and follow the vain traditions of men; and, whereas thou hast been a public professor of his name, become now a defacer of his glory? Wilt thou refuse the true God, and worship the invention of man, the golden calf, the whore of Babylon, the Romish religion, the abominable idol, the most wicked mass? Wilt thou torment again, rend and tear the most precious body of our Saviour Christ, with thy bodily and fleshly teeth? Wilt thou take upon thee to offer up any sacrifice unto God for our sins, considering that Christ offered up himself, as Paul saith, upon the cross, a lively sacrifice once for all? Can neither the punishment of the Israelites—which, for their idolatry, they so oft received—nor the terrible threatenings of the prophets, nor the curses of God's own mouth, fear thee to honour any other god than him? Dost thou so regard Him that spared not his dear and only Son for thee, so diminishing, yea, utterly extinguishing his glory, that thou wilt attribute the praise and honour due unto him to the idols, 'which have mouths and speak not, eyes and see not, ears and hear not;' which shall perish with them that made them?

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“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 who 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 power of darkness, over hell, death, and damnation, through their most redoubted captain, Christ.—To whom, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all honour, praise, and glory everlasting. Amen.”

A letter written by the lady Jane in the end of the New Testament in Greek, the which she sent unto 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 you to die. It shall win you more than you should have gained by the possession of your woeful father's lands. For as, if God had prospered him, you should have inherited his lands; so, if you apply diligently

to 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 waking, 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 ye 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 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 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 the 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, and also a letter to her father, and part of that to Mr. Harding, are here omitted for want of space. It remaineth now, coming to the end of this virtuous lady, to infer the manner of her execution, with the words and behaviour of her at the time of her death. First, when she mounted the scaffold, she said to the people standing thereabout, "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.—I pray you all, good Christian people, to bear me witness that I die a true 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, and loved myself and the world: therefore this 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 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 her to Fecknam, saying, "Shall

I say this psalm?" and he said, "Yea." Then said she the psalm of "Miserere mei Deus," in English, in most devout manner throughout to the end. Then she stood up, and gave her maiden, Ellen, her gloves and handkerchief, and her book to Mr. Bruges. After this, she untied her gown, in which the executioner offered to help her; but she, desiring him to let her alone, turned towards her two gentlewomen, who helped her off therewith, and also with her frowes, paaft and neckerchief, giving to her a fair handkerchief to knit about her eyes. Then the executioner kneeled down and asked her forgiveness, which she willingly granted, and said, "I pray you dispatch me quickly." Then she kneeled, saying, "Will you strike before I lay me down?" The executioner said, "No, madam." Then tied she the handkerchief about her eyes, and feeling for the block, she said, "What shall I do? 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 was beheaded the lady Jane, and with her also the lord Guilford, her husband, one of the duke of Northumberland's sons. Judge Morgan, who gave the sentence of condemnation against her, shortly 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 ended his life. Upon the 21st of the same month, Henry duke of Suffolk, the father of lady Jane, was also beheaded at the Tower-hill; and, about the same time, many gentlemen and yeomen were condemned for this conspiracy, whereof some were executed in London and some in the country.

On the 24th of the same month of February, 1554, Bonner, bishop of London, sent down a commission to all the pastors and curates of his diocese, for the taking of the names of such as would not come, the Lent following, to auricular confession, and to the receiving at Easter. And on the 4th of the next month there was a letter sent from the queen to bishop Bonner requiring that all the canons and ecclesiastical laws of Henry the Eighth's time should be put in execution.

Injunctions were now given to the bishops, to execute such ecclesiastical laws as had been in force in king Henry's time: that in their courts they should proceed in their own names; that the oath of supremacy should be no more exacted; that none suspected of heresy should be put in orders; and that all married clergymen should separate from their wives. If they left their wives, the bishops might put them in some other cure, or reserve a pension for them out of their livings. Rules for ordination were established on popish principles. The queen gave also a special commission to Bonner, Gardiner, Tonstall, Day, and Kitchin, to proceed against the archbishop of York, and the bishops of St. David's, Chester, and Bristol, and to deprive them of their bishoprics, for having contracted marriage, and thereby broken their vows and defiled their function. She also authorized them to call before them the bishops of Lincoln, Gloucester, and Hereford, who held their bishoprics only during their good behaviour; and since they had done things contrary to the laws of God, and the practice of the universal church, to declare their bishoprics void.



## SECTION IV.

ACCOUNT OF A PUBLIC DISPUTATION WHICH WAS APPOINTED BY THE QUEEN'S SPECIAL COMMAND IN A CONVOCATION HELD AT ST. MARY'S CHURCH IN OXFORD.

In April 1554, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, were conveyed as prisoners from the Tower to Windsor; and from thence to Oxford, to dispute with the divines and learned men of both the universities, Oxford and Cambridge, concerning the presence, substance, and sacrifice of the sacrament. The doctors and graduates appointed to dispute against them were of Oxford—Dr. Weston, prolocutor, Dr. Tresham, Dr. Cole, Dr. Oglethorpe, Dr. Pie, Mr. Harpsfield, and Mr. Fecknam. Of Cambridge, Dr. Young, vice-chancellor, Dr. Glyn, Dr. Seton, Dr. Watson, Dr. Sedgewick, and Dr. Atkinson. The questions of dispute were—Whether the natural body of Christ be really in the sacrament, after the words spoken by the priest or not? Whether in the sacrament, after the words of consecration, any other substance do remain, than the substance of the body and blood of Christ? and whether in the mass there be a sacrifice propitiatory for the sins of the quick and the dead?

On the 13th of April the doctors of Cambridge arrived at Oxford, and lodged all at the Cross Inn, with one Wakecline, some time a servant to bishop Bonner. After the ceremonies of welcome, and after consultation concerning the delivery of their letters and instrument of grace, they all repaired to Lincoln college to Dr. Weston the prolocutor, and to Dr. Tresham the vice-chancellor, to whom they delivered their letters, declaring what they had done touching the articles and graces. Having concluded on a procession, sermon, and convocation, on the day following, and that the doctors of Cambridge should be incorporated with the university of Oxford, and the doctors of Oxford with those of the university of Cambridge, they returned to their inn. The same day, the three prisoners were separated, Dr. Ridley to the house of Mr. Irish, Latimer to another house; while Cranmer remained in Bocardo, a prison in Oxford.

The following day the vice-chancellor of Cambridge, with the other doctors of that university, again repairing to Lincoln college, found the prolocutor above in the chapel, with a company of the house singing mass for the dead, and tarried there until the end. Then having consulted together in the master's room, they all came to the university church of St. Mary's, where, after another consultation in a chapel, the vice-chancellor of Oxford caused the vice-chancellor of Cambridge, and the rest of the doctors of that university, to send for their scarlet robes brought from Cambridge. By this time, the regents in the congregation-house, had granted all the Cambridge doctors their graces, to be incorporated there; and so they went up and were immediately admitted, Dr. Oglethorpe presenting them, and the proctor reading the statute, and giving them their oaths.

They now all came into the choir to hold the convocation of the university: the mass of the Holy Ghost was solemnly sung before them

by the choir-men of Christ's church. First, the cause of the convocation was opened in English by the vice-chancellor and prolocutor declaring that they were commissioned by the queen, and wherefore they were sent; and caused master Say, the register, openly to read the commission. That done, the vice-chancellor read the Cambridge letters openly, and then concluded that three notaries, one for the convocation, one for Cambridge, and one for Oxford, should testify of their doings. Then they ordered the notaries to provide parchment, that the whole assembly might subscribe to the articles, except those who had subscribed before in the convocation-house at London and Cambridge. And so the vice-chancellor began first; after him the rest of the Oxford men, as many as could in the mass time.

The mass being done, they went in procession to Christ's church; and there the choir sang a psalm, and after that a collect was read. They then departed to Lincoln college, where they dined with the mayor, one alderman, four beadles, and the Cambridge notary. After dinner they all went again to St. Mary's church; where, shortly after, all the commissioners arrived, and sat before the altar, to the number of thirty-three persons: Dr. Cranmer was then sent for, and shortly after arrived in custody. The archbishop paid his respects to them with much humility, standing with his staff in his hand, and though he had a stool offered him, refused to sit. The articles against him were read, and a copy of them delivered to him; after which he was given in charge to the mayor, who remanded him to prison.

Dr. Ridley was next brought in, who hearing the articles against him, immediately replied that they were all false; and said farther, that they sprang from a bitter and sour root. Then he was asked whether he would dispute or not? 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 have time, but must dispute on Thursday; and till then he should have books. He said it was unreasonable that he might not have his own books and time also. Then they gave him the articles, and desired him to write his opinion upon them that night; after which they commanded the mayor to take him whence he came.

Last of all came in Mr. Latimer, 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, and was set in a chair. After his denial of the articles, when he had Wednesday appointed for disputation, he alleged age, sickness, disuse, and lack of books, saying, that he was almost as meet to dispute as to be a captain of Calais: but he would declare his mind either by writing or word, and would stand to all they could lay upon him; complaining, moreover, that he was permitted to have neither pen nor ink, nor yet any book but the New Testament in his hand, which 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. At this the commissioners were not a little offended; and Dr. Weston said that he would make him grant that it had both marrow-bones and sinews in the New Testament. To whom Latimer said again, "That you will never do, master Doctor." And so, forthwith, they put him to silence; so that whereas he was desirous to tell what he meant by those terms, he could

not be suffered. The great press and throng of people were then dispersed, and the convocation adjourned. At nine o'clock on Sunday morning, Mr. Harpsfield preached at St. Mary's, where the doctors in their robes were placed in due order of precedence. After sermon, they all dined at Magdalen college, and supped at Lincoln college, with Dr. Weston; whither Cranmer sent his answer upon the articles in writing.

On Monday, Dr. Weston, with the residue of the visitors, censors, and opponents, repairing to the divinity school, each installed himself in his place. Cranmer was brought thither, and set in the answerer's place, with the mayor and aldermen by him; when the prolocutor, apparelled in a scarlet gown, after the custom of the university, began the disputation with this oration:—

“You are assembled hither, brethren, this day to confound the detestable heresy of the verity of the body of Christ in the sacrament.” At these strange words several of the learned men burst out into great laughter, as though, in the entrance of the disputation, he had betrayed himself and his religion, by terming the opinion of the verity of Christ's body in the sacrament a detestable heresy! The rest of his oration was intended to prove, that it was not lawful 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. On this Dr. Cranmer, desiring leave, answered—“We are assembled to discuss and to lay before the world those doubtful points which ye think it unlawful to dispute. 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 my answer then is looked for in vain.”

Then Chedsey, the first opponent, began: “Rev. Doctor, these three conclusions are put forth unto us at present to dispute upon—In the sacrament of the altar, is the natural body of Christ, and also his blood, present really under the forms of bread and wine, by virtue of God's word pronounced by the priest? Does there remain any of the former substance of bread and wine after the consecration, or any other substance but the substance of God and man? Is the lively sacrifice of the church in the mass propitiatory, as well for the quick as the dead? These are the arguments on which our present controversy rests. Now, to the end we might not doubt how you take the same, you have already given unto us your opinion thereof. I term it your opinion, in that it disagreeeth from the catholic. Wherefore I thus argue: Your opinion differeth from Scripture: ergo, you are deceived.”

*Cranmer.* I deny the antecedent.

*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 his true body was given for us: ergo, his true body is in the sacrament.

*Cranmer.* His body is truly present to them that truly receive him; but spiritually. And so it is taken after a spiritual sort; for 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; that as truly as you receive this sacrament, so truly shall you receive the benefit promised by receiving the same worthily.”

*Chedsey.* Your opinion differeth from the church, which saith, that the true body is in the sacrament: ergo, your opinion therein is false.

*Cranmer.* I say and agree with the church, that the body of Christ is in the sacrament effectually, because the passion of Christ is effectual.

*Chedsey.* Christ, when he spake these words, "This is my body," spake of the substance, but not of the effect.

*Cranmer.* I grant he spake of the substance, and 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.

And because it should be too tedious, Cranmer said, to discourse of the whole, he delivered his written opinion to Dr. Weston, with answers to the three propositions, requiring that it might be read openly to the people; which the prolocutor promised, but did not. The copy of this writing here followeth:—

"In the assertions of the church and of religion, trifling and newfangled novelties of words are to be eschewed, whereof ariseth nothing but contention; and we must follow as much as we can 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, corporeally; so that by the body of Christ is understood a natural body 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 Scripture, so as the words thereof seem to import no open sense, is most contumelious against our only Lord and Saviour Christ Jesus, 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."

*Chedsey.* 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: insomuch as we, communicating thereof, do partake in the grace of Christ; so that you mean hereby 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 let us consider what is written in Matt. xxvi., Mark xiv., Luke xxii., and 1 Cor. xi. Matthew saith, "As they sat at supper, Jesus took bread," etc. In Mark there is the same sense, although not the same words, who also for one part of the sacrament speaketh more plainly, saying, "Jesus taking bread," etc. After the same sense also writeth Luke, "And when Jesus had taken bread," etc. "In the mouth of two or three witnesses," saith the Scrip-

ture, "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 thereof. Ergo, it is not true that you say, there is 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 as of the efficacy as of the substance. And forso-much 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.

Hereupon Cranmer put forth a lengthened explication, which the prolocutor said should be read in that place hereafter, and requested them to fall to the arguments.

*Ched.* The Scriptures in many places do affirm, that Christ gave his natural body: Matt. xxvi., Mark xiv., Luke xxii. Ergo, I do conclude that the natural body is in the sacrament.

*Cran.* To your argument I answer—If you understand by the body natural, the organic body, that is, having such proportion and members as he had living here, then I answer negatively. Furthermore, as concerning the evangelists, this I say and grant, that Christ took bread, and called it his body.

*Ched.* The text of the Scripture maketh against you, for the circumstance thereto annexed doth teach us, not only there to be the body, but also 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. And therefore the substance of bread is not here contained.

*Cran.* I understand not yet what you mean by this word *contained*. If you mean *really*, then I deny your major.

*Ched.* 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."

*Cran.* I grant, Christ 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 ye say then? Is the bread the breaking of his body, and the cup the shedding of his blood really? If you say so, I deny it.

*Ched.* 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." Here is the same substance of the body, which the day after was given, and the same blood which was shed. And I urge the Scripture, which teacheth that it was no fantastical, no feigned, no spiritual body, nor body in faith, but the substance of the body.

*Cran.* You must prove that it is contained; but Christ said not which is contained. He gave bread, and called it his body. I halt not in the words of the Scripture, but in your word, which is feigned and imagined by yourself.

The disputation went on, but only by repeating on both sides what had already been said more than once or twice. Mr. Chedsey having at last finished his argument, Dr. Oglethorpe, one of the arbitrators, said—"You still come in 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. What sort of body is meant? what is the body spoken of? the bread is the body."

*Cran.* I answer to the question—It is the same body which was born of the Virgin, was crucified, ascended; but tropically, and by a figure. And so I say, the bread is the body, as a figurative speech, speaking sacramentally, for it is a sacrament of his body.

*Oglethorpe.* 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. But no householder maketh his testament after that sort.

*Cran.* Yes; there are many that do so. For what matter is it, so it be understood and perceived? I say, Christ used figurative speech in no place more than in his sacraments, and specially in this of his supper.

*Ogle.* No man of purpose doth use tropes in his testament; for, if he do, he deceiveth them that he comprehendeth in his testament: therefore Christ useth none here. The good man of the house hath respect that his heirs, after his departure, may live in quiet and without wrangling. But they cannot be in quiet if he use tropes. Therefore, I say, he useth no tropes.

*Cran.* I deny your minor, and insist that he may use them.

*Weston*, the prolocutor, then said—"Augustine, in his book entitled *De unitate Ecclesiæ*, ch. x., 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, who is ready to go to his grave, no man saith, that he hath made a lie; and he is not accounted his heir who 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 both 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?'"

Thereupon followed a lengthened discussion between Cranmer, Weston, and Oglethorpe. After which Cranmer resumed: "And why should we doubt to call it the sacrament of the body of Christ, offered upon the cross, seeing both Christ and the ancient fathers do so call it? Chrysostom himself declareth—'O miracle! O the good will of God towards us, which sitteth above at the right hand of the Father, and is holden in men's hands at the time of sacrifice, 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, and is touched; which no man having any judgment will say or think to be spoken without trope or figure."

*West.* What miracle is it if it be not his body, and if he spake only of the sacrament, as though it were his body? But hear what Chrysostom farther saith—"I shew forth that thing on 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 the king sitting under the cloth of state, 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 show 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 showed us upon the earth.

*Cran.* What! upon the earth? No man seeth Christ upon the earth: he is seen here with the eyes of our mind only, with faith and spirit.

*West.* I pray you, what is it that seemeth worthy highest honour on earth? Is it the sacrament, or else the body of Christ?

*Cran.* Chrysostom speaketh of the sacrament; and the body of Christ is showed forth in the sacrament.

*West.* Ergo, then the sacrament is worthy greatest honour.

*Cran.* I deny the argument.

*West.* That thing is showed forth, and is now on the earth: "*ostenditur et est,*" which is worthy highest honour. But only the body of Christ is worthy highest honour: ergo, the body of Christ is now on the earth.

*Cran.* I answer, the body of Christ to be on the earth, but so as in the sacrament, and as the Holy Ghost is in the water of baptism.

*West.* Chrysostom saith, "*ostendo,*" "I show forth," which noteth a substance to be present.

*Cran.* That is to be understood sacramentally.

*West.* He saith, "*ostendo in terra,*" "I show forth on earth," declaring also the place where.

*Cran.* That is to be understood figuratively. Your major and conclusion are all one.

Here Weston called upon Cranmer to answer to one part, bidding him repeat his words; which when he essayed to do, such was the uproar in the divinity school, that his mild voice could not be heard. And when he went about to explain to the people that the prolocutor did not correctly English the words of Chrysostom, using for *ostenditur in terra*, "he is showed forth on the earth," *est in terra*, "he is on the earth;" whereas Chrysostom hath not *est*, nor any such word implying being on the earth, but only of showing, as the grace of the Holy Ghost, *in baptismo ostenditur*, "is showed forth in baptism." And oftentimes as he did inculcate this word *ostenditur*, the prolocutor rudely interrupted him, and, substituting noise and insolence for argument, called him unlearned and impudent; at the same time, pointing at him scornfully, urged the people to silence him with hissing, clapping of hands, and other species of tumult, which this reverend man most patiently and meekly did abide, as one well inured to the suffering of such reproaches. And the prolocutor, not yet satisfied with this rude and unseemly demeanour, did urge and call upon him to answer the argument; and then he bade the notary to repeat his words.

From Chrysostom the disputants went to Tertullian, from whom Chedsey, who was better acquainted with the fathers than the prolocutor

himself, quoted as follows, for the purpose of again raising on their testimony his favourite and absurd syllogism: "Tertullian, speaking of the resurrection of the body, saith, 'Let us consider as concerning the proper form of the Christian man, what great prerogative this vain and foul 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 is so 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 impositions 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.' Whereupon I gather this argument—The flesh eateth the body of Christ; therefore the body of Christ is eaten with the mouth."

To this quotation Cranmer replied, with some interruption from Weston and Chedsey, thus—"Tertullian calleth that the flesh which is the sacrament. For although God works all things in us invisibly, beyond man's reach, yet they are so manifest, that they may be seen and perceived of every sense. 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.—Read that which followeth, and you shall perceive that, by things external, an internal operation 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."

A long discussion then took place between Chedsey, Cranmer, Weston, and Tresham. Dr. Young, vice-chancellor of Cambridge, at length strove to change the direction of the dispute, by putting certain questions to Cranmer relative to the nature of Christ's body, the subordination of sense and reason to faith, and the manner in which the words of the Lord Jesus were to be understood for the just belief of his doctrines, and the just observance of his commands and institutions.

*Young.* 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?

*Cran.* There is no natural body of Christ, but his organical body.

*Young.* I demand, whether sense and reason ought to give place to faith?

*Cran.* They ought.

*Young.* Whether Christ be true in all his works? And whether, at his supper, he minded to do that which he spake or no?

*Cran.* Yea, he is most true, and truth itself. In saying he spake, but in saying he made not, but made the sacrament to his disciples.

*Young.* A figurative speech is no working thing. But the speech of Christ is working: ergo, it is not figurative.

*Cran.* I said not, that the words of Christ do work, but Christ himself; and he worketh by a figurative speech.



*West.* If a figure work, it maketh of bread the body of Christ.

*Cran.* A figurative speech worketh not.

*West.* A figurative speech, by your own confession, worketh nothing. But the speech of Christ in the supper, as you grant, wrought somewhat: ergo, the speech of Christ in the supper was not figurative.

*Cran.* I answer, these are mere sophisms. The speech doth not work; but Christ, by the speech, doth work the sacrament. I look for Scriptures at your hands, for they are the foundation of disputations.—Ambrose 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 thing signified by it.—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.

The discussion was carried on for some time between Cranmer, Young, Weston, Pie, Chedsey, and Harpsfield. Cranmer, in his answers, evinced the meekness of wisdom, and the ingenuousness and integrity of truth, whenever their clamour would allow him to reply, or he considered their sophistries and quibbles deserving refutation. Their disordered disputation, sometimes in Latin, sometimes in English, continued almost till two of the clock. Being at length finished, and the arguments written and delivered to the hands of master Say, the prisoner, Dr. Cranmer, was had away by the mayor, and the doctors dined together at the University college.

DISPUTATION AT OXFORD BETWEEN DR. SMITH, WITH HIS OTHER COLLEAGUES AND DOCTORS, AND BISHOP RIDLEY.

The next day following, April 12th, was brought forth Dr. Ridley to dispute in the divinity school; against whom was set Dr. Smith to be principal opponent. This Dr. Smith had often changed his religious opinions; but not from conviction of conscience, as appears from his recantation, and also from his letter to Cranmer in king Edward's time. The rest of his opponents were Drs. Weston, Tresham, Oglethorpe, Glin, Seton, Cole, Watson; masters Harpsfield, Ward, Pie, Harding, Curtop, and Fecknam: to all of whom he answered very learnedly. Dr. Weston, the prolocutor, commenced the disputation, with the following speech:—

“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 Jesus Christ in the eucharist. Christ is true, who 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 upon us his Holy Spirit, which is the 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.”

Dr. Smith then said—“This day, right learned master Doctor, three

questions are propounded, whereof no controversy among Christians ought to be moved. They are these—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. Whether in the sacrament after the words of consecration, there be any other substance than the body and blood of Christ? Whether in the mass there is the sacrifice of Christ propitiatory. Touching these questions, although you have publicly declared your judgment on Saturday last; yet I will again demand your answer on the first question; upon which I stand here now to learn what may be answered."

Dr. Ridley then addressed the convocation as follows without any material interruption :

"I received of you the other day, right worshipful Mr. Prolocutor, and you 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 how soon he only 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 shall demand the same: besides this, considering my duty to the church of Christ, and to your worships, 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 of these things ye now demand of me, I have thought otherwise in times past than now I do, yet (I call God to record upon my soul, I lie not) I have not altered my judgment, as now it is, either by constraint of any man or law, 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 of the ancient fathers.

"These things I do rather recite at this present, because it may happen to some of you hereafter, as in times past it hath done to me: I mean, if ye 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 a few words do that which I think ye all expect I should; 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 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 the 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 unprepared I am to handle it accordingly, as well for lack of time, as also 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."

#### 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, are really present under the forms of bread and wine.

*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 the schoolmen teach, and at this time the church of Rome doth defend, it is false and erroneous, and plainly contrary to the doctrine which is according to godliness. 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 one who is but meanly exercised in holy writ, that I need not now (especially in this company of learned men) 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 St. Paul, or any other. And if it be that which is in the evangelists, or in St. Paul, what that is. 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 Melchisedek. For as far as I know, the holy scriptures doth allow no more.

"Moreover, there is ambiguity in this word *really*, whether it be taken as the logicians term it "*transcendent*," that is, 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; or whether it be taken to signify the very same thing, having body, life, and soul, which was assumed and taken by the word of God, into the unity of person. In which sense, seeing the body of Christ is really in Heaven, because of the true manner of his body, it may not be said to be here on the earth.

“There is yet a further doubtfulness in these words, *under the forms of bread and wine*, whether the forms be there taken to signify the only accidental and outward shows 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 St. 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.

“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, or first part of my argument, is plain; and the minor, or second part, is proved thus:—This doctrine maintaineth a real, corporeal, 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 disagreeeth from God’s word, from the rule of faith, and cannot but draw with it many absurdities. Therefore, the second part is true. The former part of this argument is manifest, and the latter may yet further be confirmed thus: 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 who erred concerning the two natures in 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 mine argument is true.”

#### 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.

*Ridley.* 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 this answer, being contented with that which is already added before to the answer of the first proposition.

“ 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. That which Christ took, on which he gave thanks, and which he brake, he gave to his disciples, and called 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.

“ We may no more believe bread to be transubstantiate into the body of Christ, than the wine into his blood. 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: and they 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 are: ‘ 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,’ etc. ‘ For we being many, are all one bread,’ etc.”

#### THE THIRD PROPOSITION.

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

*Ridley.* I answer to this third proposition as I did to the first; and moreover I say, that being taken in such a 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 counted wicked and blasphemous against the most precious blood of our Saviour Christ.

“ Concerning the Romish mass which you use at this day, or the lively sacrifice thereof, propitiatory and available for the sins of the quick and the dead, the holy scripture has not so much as one syllable. There is ambiguity in the name *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 Penitents to be sent away. And then as touching these words, *the lively sacrifice of the church*, there is doubt whether they are to be understood figuratively and sacramentally, 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 mockery, as men are wont to say in sport, of a foolish and ignorant person, that he is apt as well in conditions as in knowledge; being apt in neither of them. Finally, there is doubt in

the word *propitiabile*, 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."

The following is an abridged form of Bishop Ridley's argument on the sacrifice of atonement. "No sacrifice ought to be done, but where the priest is meet to offer the same. All other priests are unmeet to offer propitiatory sacrifices, save only Christ. Therefore, no other priests ought to sacrifice for sin, but Christ alone.

"After that eternal redemption is found and obtained, there needeth no more daily offering for the same. But Christ coming an high Priest, found and obtained for us eternal redemption. Therefore, there needeth now no more daily oblation for the sins of the quick and the dead. All remissions 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. In the mass, the passion of Christ is not in verity, but in a mystery representing the same. 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.' And again—'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 the second time without sin unto salvation.' 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 propitiatory sacrifices."

Dr. Smith, the principal opponent of Ridley, now drew that holy bishop into a most unprofitable controversy on the real presence. Scarcely an idea occurred which has not been more than once before the reader already. On which side the truth lay, may be seen from a few of Ridley's answers.

"You import as though I had made a strong argument by Christ's going up into heaven. But however my argument is made, you collect it not rightly. For it doth not only rest upon his ascension, but upon his abiding there also.—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 the earth also. But if you mean a real presence, according to some thing that appertaineth to Christ's body, certainly the ascension and abiding in heaven hinder not at all that presence. Wherefore Christ's body after that manner is here present to us in the Lord's supper; by grace I say, as Epiphanius speaketh it.—I do not straightly 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.

“ I do not bind Christ in heaven so straitly. I see you go about to beguile me with your equivocations. Such equivocations are to be distinguished. If you mean by his sitting in heaven, to reign with his Father, he may be both in heaven and also on earth. But if you understand his sitting to be after a corporeal manner of sitting, so is he always permanent in heaven. For Christ to be corporeal here on earth, when corporeally he is resident in heaven, is clearly contrary to the holy scriptures, as Austin saith; ‘ The body of Christ is in heaven, but his truth is dispersed in every place.’ Yet I do not deny that Christ was seen, even here on earth, after he had risen. I account this a sound and firm argument to prove the resurrection. Whether they saw him in heaven or on earth, 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 maketh sufficiently for the matter. Certain it is, he rose again: for he could not have been seen, unless he had risen again.

“ 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.—I grant he was seen visibly and corporeally: but yet have you not proved that he was seen in earth.—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 rapt 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. Wherefore we cannot but judge uncertainly of those things which be uncertain.”

*Smith.* We have Egesippus and Linus against you, which testify that Christ appeared corporeally 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 thence: 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, who saw Christ before his ascending in heaven. With what face therefore dare you affirm it to be a thing uncertain, which these men do manifestly witness to have been done?

Ridley suggested the uncertainty of this account; at the same time maintaining that even its certainty would not make against him. “ I account not these men’s reports so sure as the canonical scriptures. But if at any time Christ 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; but that he may be seen upon the earth according to his divine pleasure, whensoever it pleaseth 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 corporeal substance.”

Harpsfield now took up the papal cause against Ridley, and endeavoured to confound him by means of Chedsey's famous argument with Mr. Philpot, respecting the bequest of Elijah's mantle and spirit to his venerable successor in office. Of course the authority of Chrysostom on this subject was introduced, and the popish disputant thought his armour perfect proof, and his victory absolutely certain and secure. It is needless to repeat the dialogue, as it contains nothing beyond what has already appeared. It may be remarked that the wearisome repetition of the same authorities and the same sophistries to ensnare the reformers, is a standing proof of the desperate condition to which, both intellectually and religiously, the cause of popery was even then reduced. What effect such arguments at that time might have had on minds prepared for them by superstitious discipline, we are unable to say: certain it is, however, that in the judgment of all candid readers in the present day they must appear altogether puerile and unworthy even of serious contempt.

Weston and Cole successively followed Harpsfield in attacking the persecuted but patient bishop—who might well have said to either of them what the author of "Sacred Classics," in more modern times, said to a pert and prating chaplain, who was examining him for ordination—"I have forgotten more learning than you ever possessed!" Passing over their ridiculous efforts, we come to that of Dr. Glin, who claims more serious notice from his having been an old friend of Dr. Ridley. The following intercourse took place between them.

*Glin.* I see that you evade all scriptures and fathers; I will go to work with you after another manner. Jesus Christ hath here his church known on earth, of which you were once a child, although now you speak contumeliously of the sacraments.

*Rid.* This is a grievous reproach, 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 on 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.

*Glin.* Then I ask this question—Hath the catholic church ever, or at any time, been idolatrous?

*Rid.* 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.

*Glin.* That church ever hath worshipped the flesh of Christ in the eucharist.

*Rid.* And I also worship Christ in the sacrament, but not because he is included in the sacrament; even 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 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 showed, and by a sacramental signification, but not by the corporeal presence of the body of his flesh.

*Glin.* Augustine against Faustus saith, "Some there were who thought us, instead of bread and of the cup, to worship Ceres and Bacchus." From this I gather, 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 Augustine and Cyprian.

*Rid.* We handle the signs reverently: but we worship the sacrament as a sacrament, not as a thing signified by the sacrament.

*Glin.* What is the symbol or sacrament?

*Rid.* Bread.

*Glin.* Therefore we worship bread.

*Rid.* There is a deceit in the word *adoramus*. We worship the symbols when we reverently handle them. We worship Christ wheresoever we perceive his benefits: but we understand his benefit to be greatest in the sacrament.

*Glin.* Think you that Christ hath now his church?

*Rid.* I do so.

*Glin.* But all the church adoreth Christ verily and really in the sacrament.

*Rid.* You know yourself that the eastern church would not acknowledge transubstantiation, as appeareth in the council of Florence.

*Cole.* That is false: for in the same they did acknowledge transubstantiation, although they would not intreat of the matter, for that they had not in their commission so to do.—It was not because they did not acknowledge the same, but because they had no commission so to do.

*Curtop.* Reverend sir, I will prove and declare, that the body of Christ is truly and really in the eucharist: and whereas the holy fathers, both of the west and east church, have written many things and no less manifest of the same matter, yet will I bring forth only Chrysostom. The place is this: "That which is in the cup, is the same that flowed from the side of Christ." But true and pure blood did flow from the side of Christ. Therefore, his true and pure blood is in the cup.

*Watson.* It is a thing commonly received of all, that the sacraments of the new law give grace to them that worthily receive.

*Rid.* True it is, that grace is given by the sacrament, but as by an instrument. The inward virtue and Christ give the grace through the sacrament.

*Wat.* What is a sacrament?

*Rid.* I remember there be many definitions of a sacrament in Augustine; but I will take that which seemeth most fit to this present purpose. A sacrament is a visible sign of invisible grace.—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.

*Wat.* But there is difference between the mystical body and natural body.

*Rid.* There is, I grant you, a difference; but the head of them both is one.

*Wat.* 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 are not the sacraments of the New Testament.

*Rid.* 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 of 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 who worthily receive the sacrament.

*Wat.* If the substance of bread and wine do remain, then the union betwixt Christ and us is promised to them that take bread and wine. But that union is not promised to bread and wine, but to the receivers of the flesh and blood. "He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood hath eternal life." Therefore the substance of bread and wine remaineth not.

*Rid.* The promise undoubtedly is made to the flesh and blood, but the same is to be received in the sacrament through faith. Every sacrament hath grace annexed unto it instrumentally. But there are divers understanding of this word "habet," "hath;" for the sacrament hath not grace included in it; but to those that receive it well, it is turned to grace. After that manner the water in baptism hath grace promised, and by that grace the Holy Spirit is given; not that grace is included in water, but that grace cometh by water.—There is no promise made to him that taketh common bread and common wine; but to him that receiveth the sanctified 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. But the thing of the sacrament is the flesh and blood.—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.—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, as Origen doth testify.—The bread which we break, is it not a communication of the body of Christ? And we, being many, are one bread, one body of Christ.

*Wat.* What doth he mean by bread in that place?

*Rid.* The bread of the Lord's table, the communion of the body of Christ.

*Wat.* Hearken what Chrysostom saith on this place: "The bread which we break," etc. Wherefore did he not say participation? Because he would signify some greater 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.

*Rid.* Let Chrysostom have his 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.

*Wat.* "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 are they that 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."

*Rid.* All we are one mystical body, which do communicate of one Christ in bread, after the efficacy of regeneration. I speak of the bread of the Lord's table. It is one, the church being one, because one bread is set forth upon the table: and so of one bread altogether do participate, who communicate at the table of the Lord. All, I say, which at one table together have communicated in the mysteries might well so do. But the heavenly and celestial bread is likewise one, whereof the sacramental bread is a mystery; which being one, all we together do participate. 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 in one congregation, and which all did communicate together at one table.

*Wat.* What? Do you exclude then from the body of Christ all them which did not communicate, being present?

*Fecknam.* But Cyprian saith, "Bread which no multitude doth consume:" which cannot be understood but only of the body of Christ.

*Rid.* Also Cyprian in this place did speak of the true body of Christ, and not of material bread.

*Feck.* Nay, rather he did there speak of the sacrament in that tractation, "De Cœna Domini," writing upon the supper of the Lord.

*Rid.* Truth it is, and I grant he entreateth there of the sacrament: but, also, he doth admix something therewithal of the spiritual manducation.

*Smith.* When the Lord saith, "This is my body," he useth no tropical speech: therefore you are deceived.

*Rid.* I deny your antecedent.

*Smith.* I bring here Augustine expounding these words, "'*Ferebatur 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 that same body in his own hands." Augustine here did not see how this place, after the letter, could be understood of David; because no man can carry 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."

*Rid.* I deny your argument, and I explicate the same. Augustine could not find, after his own understanding, how this could be understood of David after the letter. Augustine goeth here from others in this exposition, but I go not from him. But let this exposition of Augustine 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 Augustine, 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 by his disciples.—If Augustine 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. He verily did bear himself, but in a sacrament: and Augustine afterwards added *quodam modo*, that is, sacramentally.

*Smith.* You understand not what Augustine 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.

Then Dr. Tresham began to speak, moved (as it seemed to Ridley) with great zeal; desiring he might reduce him again to the mother church. He was unknown to Ridley, who thought him some good old man; but afterwards smelled a fox under a sheep’s clothing.

*Tresham.* 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 others, decreed that bread and wine, by the power of God’s word, was transubstantiated into the body and blood of the Lord. Therefore whosoever saith contrary, cannot be a child of the church, but a heretic.

*Rid.* 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.”

Another then came in, whom 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 there is the true and real body in the sacrament of the altar.”

*Rid.* 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, wherein the Greeks would agree with the Romanists; albeit, hitherto I confess it was left free 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. Ridley meekly said that could not be.

*Weston.* I, with one argument, will throw down to the ground your opinion, out of Chrysostom; 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 selfsame 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 here the Lord in the manger, but on the altar. Here a woman holdeth him not in her hands, but a priest.”

*Rid.* We worship the same 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 Augustine, *De Doctrinâ Christianâ*: not in carnal servitude; that is, we do not worship servilely the signs for the things; for that should be, as he also saith, the 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 Augustine also said. And the Divine Majesty, as saith Cyprian, doth never absent itself 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.* That which the woman did hold in her womb, the same thing holdeth the priest.

*Rid.* I grant the priest holdeth the same thing, but after another manner. She did hold the natural body; the priest holdeth the mystery of the body. I say that Chrysostom meant it spiritually.

The prolocutor Weston, now dissolving the disputation, had these words: "Here you see the stubborn, the glorious, 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!'"

DISPUTATION HAD AT OXFORD THE 18TH DAY OF APRIL, 1554, BETWEEN MASTER HUGH LATIMER, AND MASTER SMITH AND OTHERS.

After these disputations of bishop Ridley ended, next was brought out master Hugh Latimer to dispute; which disputation began at eight of the clock in such form as before, and ended about eleven: but it was most in English, for Latimer alleged he was out of use with the Latin, and unfit for that place. There replied unto him master Smith of Oriel College; Dr. Cartwright, Harpsfield, and divers others had snatches at him, and gave him bitter taunts. He escaped not hissings and scornful laughings, no more than they that went before him. He was very faint, and desired that he might not long tarry; and he durst not drink for fear of vomiting. 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.

*Weston.* 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 anything to answer, I do admonish you that you answer in short and few words.

*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.

*Weston.* Take your ease, father.

*Lat.* 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 conclusions whereunto I must answer are these:—

“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 by the virgin Mary, under the kinds of the appearance of bread and wine; in like manner his blood. 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. 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, I think it is set forth with certain new-found terms that are obscure, and do not sound according to the speech of the scripture. But however I understand it, this I do answer plainly, though not without peril, 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, as a presence by which we abide in Christ, and Christ abideth in us, to the obtaining of eternal life, if we persevere. And this 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 scorner should suppose me, with the Anabaptists, to make nothing of the sacrament but a naked and bare sign. As for that which is feigned of many, concerning their 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 in God’s word, but is a thing invented and found out by man, and therefore to be taken as false; and I had almost said, as the mother and nurse of the 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, seemeth subtilly to sow sedition against the offering which Christ himself offered for us in his own proper person, according to those words of St. Paul, “That Christ his own self hath made purgation of our sins.” And afterwards, “That he might be a merciful and faithful high priest concerning those things which are to be done with God, for the taking away of our sins.” So that the expiation of our sins may be thought rather to depend on this, that Christ was an offering priest, 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, especially in that it tendeth to the overthrowing and making fruitless the cross of Christ; for truly it is no base or mean thing to offer Christ. And, therefore, well may a man say to my lords and masters, the offerers—“By what authority do ye this? and who gave you this authority? A man cannot take any thing, except it be given him from above; much less then ought any man presume to usurp any honour, before he be thereto called. Again, “If any man sin,” saith St. John, “we have (not a master and offerer at home, which can sacrifice for us at mass) 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 the Lord hath ordained, that they that preach the gospel, shall live of the gospel.” Whereas he should have said, the Lord hath ordained, that they that sacrifice at mass, should live of their sacrificing, that there might be 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, rather than that our offerers should do there as they do. “*Feed,*” saith Peter, “as much as ye may the flock of Christ;” but ye say, Nay, rather let us *sacrifice* as much as we may for the flock of Christ. If 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 ye cease from feeding the flock, how shall ye be taken? Truly catholic enough. But if you cease from sacrificing and massing, how will that be taken? At the least, I warrant ye shall be called heretics. 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 he may learn to sacrifice and mass it.

“Thus I have taken the more pains to write, because I refused to dispute, in consideration of my debility thereunto: that all men may know I have so done not without great pains, having been allowed no man to help me. God is my witness that I would as fain obey my sovereign as any in this realm: but in these things I can never do it with an upright conscience. However, the Lord God be merciful unto us. Amen.”

The prolocutor, on receiving this paper, addressed the venerable writer, artfully leading him by a train of familiar questions into an argument, the chief parts of which are as follow:

*West.* Then refuse you to dispute? Will you here then subscribe?

*Lat.* No, 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.

*West.* You said on Saturday last that you could not find the mass, nor the marrow-bones thereof, in your book. What find you then there, in your book?

*Lat.* A communion; or two communions. I find no great diversity in them; they are one supper of the Lord. I like the last very well; but I do not well remember wherein they differ.

*West.* You call the sacrament 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.” St. Paul findeth fault with the Corinthians, that some of them were drunk at this supper; and you know no man can be drunk at our communion.

*Lat.* The first was called *Cæna Judaica*, “The Jewish Supper,” when they eat the paschal lamb together; the other *Cæna Dominica*, “The Lord’s Supper.”

Dr. Smith now interposed and said—“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. I ask, I say, whether Christ’s body be really in the sacrament?”

To this Latimer replied—“I trust I have obtained of master 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 master prolocutor.”

*Smith.* Whatsoever ye have given up, shall be registered among the acts.

*Lat.* Disputation requireth a good memory; my memory is gone clean, and marvellously weakened, and never the better, I think, for the prison. I have long sought for the truth in this matter of the sacrament, and have not been of this mind more than 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.

In answer to a charge that he was once a Lutheran, he said boldly, “No, I was a papist: for I never could perceive how Luther could defend his opinion without transubstantiation.—I do not take in hand to defend Luther’s sayings or doings. If he were here, he would defend himself well enough. I told you before that I am not meet for disputations. I pray you read mine answer, wherein I have declared my faith.”

*Tresham.* It is written, “Except ye shall eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye shall have no life in you.” Which when the Capernaïtes and many of Christ’s disciples heard, they said, “This is a hard saying,” etc. 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?

*Lat.* Christ meant of the spiritual eating of his flesh, as Augustine saith.

*Tresham.* Of what flesh meant Christ? his true flesh, or no?

*Lat.* Of his true flesh, spiritually to be eaten by faith, and not corporally.

*Tresham.* Of what flesh mean the Capernaïtes?

*Lat.* Of his true flesh also; but to be taken with the mouth.

*Tresham.* They, as ye confess, did mean Christ’s 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.

*Lat.* I say, Christ understood it not of the bodily mouth, but of the mouth of the spirit, mind, and heart.

*Tresham.* I prove the contrary, that Christ understandeth it of the eating with the bodily mouth. For, whereas custom is a good 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 intimate that Christ did understand his words here cited by me, out of John vi., of the eating with the mouth.

*Lat.* 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.

After further discussion with Tresham, Seton, Cartwright, and Smith, the prolocutor Weston attacked Latimer out of St. Augustine, saying:

“Augustine, in his *Enchiridion*, saith, ‘We must not deny that the souls of the dead are relieved by the devotion of their friends which are living, when the sacrifice of the Mediator is offered for them.’ Where he proveth the verity of Christ’s body, and praying for the dead. And it is affirmed that the same Augustine said mass for his mother.” To which the venerable man answered—“But that mass was not like yours, which thing doth manifestly appear in his writings, which are against it in every place. And Augustine is a reasonable man, who requireth to be believed no further than he bringeth scripture for his proof, and agreeth with God’s word.”

The prolocutor said, “Well, Mr. Latimer, this is our intent, to wish you well, and to exhort you to come to yourself, and remember that without Noah’s Ark there is no health. What have they been that were the beginners of your doctrine? none but a few flying apostates, running out of Germany for fear of the fagot. What have they been which have set forth the same in this realm? a sort of light heads, which were never constant in any one thing, as it was to be seen in the turning of the table, when 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 hovel 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. In them was it true that Hilary saith, ‘We make every year and every month a faith.’ A runagate Scot took away the adoration or worshipping of Christ in the sacrament, by whose procurement that heresy was put into the last communion-book; so prevailed that one man’s authority at that time. You never agreed with the Zurichers, or with the Germans, or with the church, or with yourself. Your stubbornness cometh of a vain glory, which is to no purpose: for it will do you no good when a fagot is in your beard. And we see all, by your own confessions, how little cause ye have to be stubborn. The queen’s grace is merciful, if ye will turn.”

*Latimer.* 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.

*Weston.* Here you all see the weakness of heresy against the truth: he denieth all truth, and all the old fathers.

And thus, good reader, thou hast the chief parts of this doctory disputation showed forth unto thee, against these three worthy confessors and martyrs of the Lord, wherein thou mayest behold the disordered usage of the university-men, the unmannerly manner of the school, the rude tumult of the multitude, and the fierceness and interruption of the doctors. And what marvel, if the prolocutor, having the law in his own hand, to do what he listed, would say for himself, “*Vicit veritas*,” although he said never a true word, nor made ever a true conclusion almost, in all that disputation.

On the following Friday, April 20th, the commissioners sat at St. Mary's church, as they had done on the Saturday before, when Dr. Weston in an imperious manner demanded of Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, whether or not they would subscribe? He rudely told Cranmer that he had been overcome in the late disputation. The latter, in answer, charged him and his party with unfairness and blind partiality, urging that he had been overcome by noise only; and that he had no chance of success unless he had brawled as loud as they, and that four or five of them had frequently attacked him at once. Ridley and Latimer were asked what they would do? they replied that they would stand to what they had said: on which they were all called together, and sentence was read over them, that they were no members of the church: and therefore they, with their favourers and patrons, were condemned as heretics. And in reading of it—they were asked whether they would turn or not; but they bade them read on in the name of God, for they were not inclined to turn. So they were all three condemned.

To this sentence Cranmer first answered—"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." Ridley followed the archbishop—"Although I be rot of your company, yet 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 gone." Latimer then said—"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."

On the ensuing Saturday the papists had a mass, with a general procession and great solemnity. Cranmer was caused to behold the procession out of the grating of the Bocardo prison; Ridley from the sheriff's house; and Latimer being brought to see it from the bailiff's house thought that he should have gone thence to burning, and spake to one Augustine, a peace-officer, to make a quick fire: but when he came to Carfax, the Oxford market-place, where four ways meet, he ran as fast as his aged bones would carry him, to one Spencer's shop, and would not look towards the vain procession. On the following Monday, Weston took his journey up to London, with the letters certificatory from the university to the queen, by whom Cranmer directed his letters supplicatory unto the council: which the prolocutor opened by the way, and seeing the contents, sent them back again, refusing to carry them. Ridley also hearing of the prolocutor's going to London, sent to him his letters, which he desired him to carry up to certain bishops in London.

## SECTION V.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE PAPISTS AGAINST THE PROTESTANTS.—BEHEADING OF THE DUKE OF SUFFOLK.—DECLARATION OF MR. BRADFORD AND OTHERS.—MARRIAGE OF QUEEN MARY WITH PHILIP, PRINCE OF SPAIN.—EVENTS THAT FOLLOWED THE MARRIAGE.

Having finished our account of the disputations between the Roman catholics and the protestant divines of the reformed religion, of Oxford

we shall now prosecute the historical narration of this tumultuous reign. So many things happened in different parts of the realm, that it is difficult to preserve due order of time in reciting them, we shall therefore return to the month of July, 1553, when the duke of Northumberland was brought to London, and the following persons of distinction were committed to the Tower with him. The earls of Warwick and of Huntingdon; lords Ambrose, Dudley, and Hastings; Sir John and Sir Henry Gates, Andrew Dudley, Sir Thomas Palmer, and Dr. Sands, chancellor of Cambridge. Of these lord Hastings was the only one who, on his complaint, obtained liberation.

The latter end of the same month several other noblemen and gentlemen, together with the bishop of London, and the chief justices of the king's bench and the common pleas, were committed either to the confinement of the Tower, or the custody of the sheriff of London.

Three days after, the queen entered the city, and her first concern was to liberate her friends. For this purpose she first proceeded to the Tower, where she remained seven days, and then removed to Richmond. She gave orders for Dr. Day to be delivered out of the Fleet, and Dr. Bonner out of the Marshalsea. The same day Tonstal and Gardiner were liberated from the Tower, and Gardiner was received into the queen's privy council, and made lord chancellor. The Latin *Dirige* was sung within the Tower by all the king's choristers, the bishop of Winchester being chief minister, and the queen and most of the council were present. A few days after, the king's remains were brought to Westminster and there buried; on which occasion 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 performed all things as in times past; the queen being present.

Dr. Bourne preached at Paul's Cross soon after, and commands were issued throughout the city, that no apprentices should come to the sermon, nor bear any knife or dagger. Other committals to the Tower took place, among them Mr. Bradford, Mr. Beacon, and Mr. Vernon. 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 presiding as high judge. Soon after these cases were determined Sir Andrew Dudley, Sir John and Sir Henry Gates, and Sir Thomas Palmer, were arraigned and condemned, the lord marquis of Winchester being high judge. At the same time a letter was sent to Sir Henry Tyrel, and to Anthony and Edmund Brown, esquires, praying them to commit to ward all such as should contemn the queen's order of religion, or keep themselves from church, and there to remain until they should be conformable, and to signify their names to the council.

In the course of the month, Dr. Watson, chaplain to the bishop of Winchester, preached at St. Paul's Cross, at whose sermon were present the marquis of Winchester, the earls of Bedford and Pembroke, the lord Rich, and 200 of the guard with their halberds, lest the people should have offered to disturb the preacher. Apostacies now began. The duke of Northumberland, the marquis of Northampton, Sir Andrew Dudley, Sir John Gates, and Sir Thomas Palmer, heard mass within

the Tower, after which they all received the sacrament in one kind only, as in popish times. On the same day also the queen set forth a proclamation, signifying to the people that she could not hide any longer the religion which she from her infancy had professed, and prohibiting in the proclamation all printing and preaching—so adverse are the press and the pulpit to error.

The unhappy noblemen, however, found their apostacy unavailing to save their lives. Two days after they had bowed before the idolatrous mass, three of them had to bow their wretched heads beneath the axe of the executioner. They suffered on Tower-hill; and on the same day several others of the nobility heard mass within the Tower, and afterwards received the sacrament in one kind; some of them in sad preparation for the same fate. It was rumoured that Cranmer had promised to say mass after the old manner, and that he even had said it at Canterbury. Upon this, in order to check the evil effects of this artifice of his enemies, and to confirm his friends in their opinion of his steadiness, he published the following declaration, on Sept. 7, 1553.

“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 VIII., seeing the great abuses of the Latin mass, reformed some things therein in his life-time; and afterwards our late sovereign lord king Edward VI. took the same wholly away, for the manifold and great errors and abuses of the same, and restored in the place thereof Christ’s holy supper, according to his own institution, and such as the apostles used in the primitive church. To overthrow this the devil now goeth about by lying 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, reporting abroad, that I have set up the mass at Canterbury, and that I offered to say mass at the burial of our late sovereign, king Edward VI., and before the queen’s highness, at St. Paul’s church, and I know 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 turn to the hindrance of God’s truth, they are in no wise 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, flattering, lying and dissembling monk, one Dr. Thornton, who caused it to be set there without mine advice or counsel. The Lord recompense him in that day! 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 which is contained in the holy communion, set out by the most innocent and godly prince king Edward VI. in his high court of parliament, is conformable to that order which our Saviour Christ did both observe, 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, nor the primitive church, but is manifestly contrary to the same, and containeth many horrible abuses in it. And although many do report that 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 ministration of the sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies, but also all the doctrine and religion set out by our sovereign lord king Edward VI. to be more pure, and according to God's word, than any other that hath been used in England these 1000 years: so that God's word may be judge, and that the reasons and proofs of both parties may be set out in writing, 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 1500 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 1500 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 1500 years past; and so shall they never be able to prove theirs."

This protest of Cranmer obtained for him an almost immediate committal to the Tower. Latimer had been conducted to the same confinement the previous day. The queen was then at Richmond busied in preparing for her coronation. Anxious to know that the foes she most dreaded were safe, she came in little more than a week herself to the Tower, where she staid a short time to give every necessary direction concerning their secure custody and their purposed trial and punishment. After two or three days she proceeded from the Tower through the city, where many pageants were made to receive her, and thus she was triumphantly brought to Whitehall. On the following Sunday she went from Whitehall to Westminster Abbey, accompanied with most of the nobility of the realm, and all the foreign ambassadors, and the mayor of London, with all the aldermen. Out of the Abbey, to receive her, were brought three silver crosses, accompanied by about fourscore singing men, in very rich and gorgeous copes. Amongst them was the dean of Westminster, and divers of the queen's chaplains, all of whom bore some ensign in their hands; after them followed ten bishops, all mitred, with their crosier staves in their hands. In this order they returned from Westminster Hall, before 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, delivered a sermon to the queen and the nobility. It was hoped that a general pardon would have been proclaimed within the Abbey at the time of her coronation; but all the prisoners of the Tower and of the Fleet were excepted, and upwards of sixty others.

The vice-chancellor of Cambridge challenged one Mr. Pierson, who still ministered the communion in his own parish, and received strangers of other parishes to the same, but would not say mass. Whereupon, within two days after, he was discharged from further ministering in his cure. The archbishop of York also was sent to the Tower, Oct. 4, 1553.

On Sunday, the 15th of October, Laurence Saunders preached at All-hallows in Bread Street, where he declared the abomination of the mass, with divers other matters, very notably and godly; whereof more will be heard hereafter. But about noon of the same day, he was sent for by the bishop of London, and from thence committed to the Marshalsea.

On Thursday, October 5th, the new parliament met. There had been great violence used in many elections, and many false returns were made: some who were known to be zealous for the reformation were forcibly turned out of the house of commons, which was afterwards offered as a ground upon which that parliament, and all acts made in it, might have been annulled. There came only two of the reformed bishops to the house of lords, the two archbishops and three bishops being in prison; two others were turned out, the rest stayed at home, so only Taylor and Harley, the bishops of Lincoln and Hereford, attended. When mass began to be said, they are reported to have gone out, and were never suffered to come to their places again: others say, they refused to join in that worship, and were in consequence violently thrust out. In the house of commons some of the more forward moved that king Edward's laws might be reviewed, but things were not yet ripe enough for that.

On Sunday, Oct. 20, Dr. Weston preached at Paul's Cross. In the beginning of his sermon he desired the people to pray for the souls of the departed. "You shall pray," said he, "for all them that be departed, who 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; said that the catechism in Latin lately published was abominable heresy, and likened its defenders to Julian the apostate, and the book to a dialogue written by Julian, wherein Christ and Pilate were the speakers; with many other things. This sermon Mr. Coverdale learnedly confuted in writing, and would have publicly read his refutation had he been allowed.

Soon after these events the vice-chancellor of Cambridge went to Clare Hall, and removed Dr. Madew, on account of his being married, and placed Mr. Swynbourne in the mastership there, by virtue of the lord chancellor's letters. On Oct. 28, the papists in King's College, Cambridge, revived their whole service again in the Latin tongue, contrary to the law, then not repealed; but anticipating its repeal very soon after. The vice-chancellor sent for the curate of the Round church 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 about the middle of November. The archdeacon's official visited Huntingdon, where he charged to imprison all such as disturbed the queen's proceedings, in hindering the Latin service, setting up their altars, and saying mass or any part thereof: whereby it was easy to see how these men meant to proceed, having the law once on their side, who thus so readily, against a manifest law, would attempt the punishment of any man.

In December there were two proclamations at London; one for

repealing certain acts made by king Edward, and for setting up the mass before the feast of the nativity. The other was, that no man should interrupt any of those who would say mass after it became established. The parliament continued till the 5th of December. In it were dissolved, as well all the statutes made of præmunire in the time of king Henry VIII. as also other laws and statutes concerning religion and administration of sacraments, decreed under Edward VI.; while it was appointed, that on the eve of St. Thomas ensuing, the old form and manner of church-service, used in the last year of king Henry, should again be restored.

About this time a priest of Canterbury said mass on one day, and on the following he came into the pulpit, and desired the people to forgive him: for he said he had betrayed Christ, not as Judas did, but as Peter did, and made a long sermon against the mass. At the beginning of the new year, 1554, four ambassadors came into London from the emperor, and were honourably received. Their names were, le comte de Egmont, le comte de Lalen, monsieur Corire, le chancelier Nigry. Very soon after, there were appointed a great number of new bishops, deans, and other church dignitaries; more than were ever made at one time since the conquest. They were, Dr. Holyman, bishop of Bristol; Dr. Cotes, bishop of West-Chester; Dr. Hopton, bishop of Norwich; Dr. Bourne, 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. Brookes, bishop of Gloucester; Dr. Moreman, coadjutor to the bishop of Exeter, and after his decease bishop of Exeter; Dr. Glyn, bishop of Bangor; Mr. Fecknam, dean of St. Paul's; Dr. Reynolds, dean of Bristol; with several others.

The vice-chancellor of Cambridge now called a congregation general, wherein amongst other things he shewed, that the queen would have there a mass of the Holy Ghost upon the 18th of the following February, which was her birth-day. This was accordingly fulfilled on the day appointed, and that very solemnly. For opposing this measure Dr. Crome was committed to the Fleet, and one Addington was committed to the Tower. The same day, the bishop of Winchester declared openly in the court that the treaty of marriage between the queen's majesty and the prince of Spain was concluded: and the day following, the mayor, the aldermen, and several of the commons, were at the court, and there they were commanded by the lord chancellor to prepare the city to receive prince Philip of Spain; declaring unto them what a catholic, mighty, prudent, and wise prince he was.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> When the treaty of the queen's marriage came to be known, the house of commons was much alarmed at it; and they sent their speaker with twenty of their members, with an address to her not to marry a stranger: they were indeed so inflamed, that the court judged it necessary to dissolve the parliament. Gardiner, upon this, let the emperor know that the jealousies which were taken up on account of the match were such, that unless very extraordinary conditions were offered, it would occasion a general rebellion. He also wrote to him that great sums of money must be sent over, both to gratify the nobility, and to enable them to carry the elections to the next parliament in opposition to such as would stand against them. As for conditions, it was resolved to grant any that should be demanded; for the emperor reckoned that if his son were once married to the queen of England, it would be easy for him to govern the councils as he pleased.

Several additional arrests were now made: the lord Marquis of Northampton was again committed to the Tower, and Sir Edward Warner with him. Mr. Justice Hales was committed to the Marshalsea; and Mr. Rogers to Newgate. During several days about this time, the Londoners prepared a number of soldiers, by the queen's command, to go into Kent against the commons. These were commanded by the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Wormwood, Sir Henry Jerningham, Sir George Hayward, and ten other captains. The soldiers, when they came to Rochester bridge, where they should have set upon their enemies, most of them left their own captains, and came wholly to the Kentish men; and so the captains returned to the court both void of men and victory, leaving behind them six pieces of ordnance and treasure.

In January, the duke of Suffolk, with his brethren, departed from his house at Shene, and went into Leicestershire; after whom the earl of Huntingdon was sent to take him and bring him to London; and on his return proclaimed the duke traitor as he rode. A few days after his arrival in the city, he was arraigned at Westminster, and the same day condemned to die by his peers; the earl of Arundel being chief judge. The three sons of Lord Cobham, a noble family, every generation of which were faithful to the reformed cause, were also arraigned at Westminster: the youngest was condemned, whose name was Thomas; the other two came not to the bar. About the same time Lord John Gray was arraigned at Westminster, and condemned. Lord Thomas Gray, and Sir James Croft, were brought through London to the Tower, with a number of horsemen; and Sir Nicholas Throgmorton was committed to the same common receptacle.

The latter end of this month February, Henry Gray duke of Suffolk, was brought forth to the scaffold on Tower Hill, and in his coming thither there accompanied him Dr. Weston as his spiritual father, notwithstanding, as it seemed, against the will of the duke. For when the duke went up to the scaffold, Weston, being on the left hand, pressed to go up with him; when he, with his hand, put him down again off the stairs; but Weston taking hold of the duke, forced him down likewise. And as they ascended the second time, the duke again put him down. Then Weston said, that it was the queen's pleasure he should attend. Wherewith the duke casting his hands abroad, ascended up the scaffold, and paused a long time after. He then 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 sacrifice; for Christ died for me, and for all them that truly repent, and stedfastly trust in him. And I do repent, desiring you all to pray to God for me; and that when you see my breath depart from me, you will pray that he may receive my soul." And then he desired all men to forgive him.

Dr. Weston then declared with a loud voice, that the queen's majesty had forgiven him. With that several of the standers by said, with audible voices, "Such forgiveness God send thee!" The duke then kneeled, and said the psalm *Miserere mei Deus* unto the end, holding



up his hands, and looking up to heaven. And when he had ended he said, "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit." Then he arose, and delivered his cap and his scarf unto the executioner, who, on his knees asked the duke forgiveness. "God forgive thee, and I do," said the duke: "and when thou dost thine office, I pray thee do it well, and send me out of this world quickly, and God have mercy on thee." Then stood there a man who said, "My lord, how shall I do for the money that you owe me?" The duke said, "Alas, good fellow, I pray thee trouble me not now, but go thy way to my officers." He then tied a handkerchief about his face, kneeled down, and said the Lord's prayer, and, "Christ have mercy upon me." After which he laid his neck on the block, and the executioner took the axe, and at the first blow struck off his head and then held it up to the people.

The same day about 240 prisoners received pardon, and came through the city with halters about their necks. The next day Sir William Sentlow, one of the lady Elizabeth's gentlemen, was committed as a prisoner to the master of the horse. On the day following Sir John Rogers was committed to the Tower. Within a few days after, all such priests in the diocese of London as were married were divorced from their livings, and commanded to bring their wives within a fortnight, that they might be likewise divorced from them; this was an act of the bishop's own power. The next month certain gentlemen of Kent were sent into that county to be executed, among whom we find the two Mantels, two Knevets, and Bret. When the elder Mantel was under the gallows, upon his being turned off the rope broke. Upon this the priests present urged him to recant, and receive the sacrament of the altar, promising him the queen's pardon: but this worthy gentleman rejected their insidious council, and chose rather to die, than live by dishonouring God.

We now come to the second year of Mary's short and affecting reign. As Easter approached, every householder in London was commanded to appear before the alderman of his ward, and all were commanded, that they, their wives, and servants, should prepare themselves for confession, and receive the sacrament at Easter; and that neither they, nor any of them should depart out of the city until Easter was past. Additional excitement was produced by the lady Elizabeth, the queen's sister, being brought to the Tower. At the same time the marquis of Northampton, the lord Cobham, and Sir William Cobham, were released from their confinement. On Easter-day, in the morning, at St. Pancras in Cheap, the crucifix, with the vessel in which the host was kept, were stolen out of the sepulchre, before the priest declared 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 that which he called the body of Christ was not there indeed. Whereupon, being half dismayed, the priests consulted among themselves, whom they thought the likeliest to do this; in which consultation they remembered one Marsh, who a little before had been dismissed from his 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 charged him to have kept company with his wife, since that they were by commandment divorced. Whereunto 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 separate prisons, though he was ill and needed her care.

A ludicrous event distinguished the beginning of April. A cat was 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, as though in the act of elevating the host. At this the queen and the bishops were very angry ; and the same afternoon there was a proclamation issued, that whosoever could bring forth the guilty party, should have twenty nobles, which were afterwards increased to twenty marks, but none could or would earn them.

The first occasion of setting up this gallows was well understood. After the bishop of Winchester's sermon before the queen, for the speedy execution of Wyat's soldiers, there were several gibbets set up in divers parts of the city ; two in Cheapside, one at Leadenhall, 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's Park corner, one at Cripplegate : all which remained for the terror of others, from February to June. But at the coming in of the queen's husband they were taken down.

It should have been remarked that when Wyat was brought to the scaffold on Tower-hill, he spoke these words concerning the lady Elizabeth, and the earl of Devonshire : " Concerning what I have said of others in my examination, to charge any as partakers of my doings, I accuse neither my lady Elizabeth's grace, nor my lord of Devonshire. I cannot accuse them, neither am I able to say, that to my knowledge they knew any thing of the 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."

Even at this dark and corrupt period the benefit of trial by jury was in some instances remarkably seen. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton was suspected to be of the conspiracy with the duke of Suffolk and the rest against the queen. But 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 jury could not in conscience find him guilty ; for which the jury being substantial men of the city, were each bound in the sum of 500 nobles, to appear before the queen's council at a day appointed there to answer such things as should be said against them. This conscientious jury appeared accordingly before the council in the Star Chamber, upon Wednesday, April the 25th, from whence, after certain questioning, they were committed to prison, Emanuel Lucas and Mr. Whetstone to the Tower, and the other ten to the Fleet. Sir James Croft and Mr. Winter, two friends of Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, were imprisoned at the same time, and were soon after arraigned. Croft was sentenced, but the other re-committed. Soon after William Thomas was arraigned at Guildhall, and condemned ; on the following day he was hanged, drawn, and quartered. His accusa-

tion was, for conspiring the queen's death, of which he was generally supposed innocent. This is certain, that he made a godly end, and wrote many fruitful exhortations and letters in the prison before his death.

A solemn disputation was now appointed at Cambridge, between Mr. Bradford, Mr. Saunders, Mr. Rogers, and their protestant friends, and the doctors of both universities on the papal side. Whereupon those defenders of the truth who were in prison, having notice thereof, notwithstanding they were destitute of books, and not ignorant of the purpose of their adversaries, and how the cause had been prejudged before at Oxford; nevertheless they thought that they ought not refuse the offer, if they might be quietly heard; and therefore wisely pondering the matter with themselves, by a public consent, directed out of prison a declaration of their mind by writing. Wherein first, as touching the disputation, although they knew that they should do no good, because all things were pre-determined; yet they would not refuse to dispute, if the disputation might be either before the queen, or before the council, or before the parliament, or if they might argue by writing; for else, if the matter were left with the popish doctors in their own schools, they had sufficient proof by the experience of Oxford, what little good would be done at Cambridge. Consequently, declaring the faith and doctrine of their religion, and exhorting the people to submit with all patience and humility, either to the will or punishment of the higher powers, they appealed from them to be their judges in this behalf, and so ended their protestation. This was drawn up by Miles Coverdale, late of Exon, and signed on the 18th day of May, 1554, by thirteen reformers, among whom were Farrar, Taylor, Bradford, Philpot, Rogers, Saunders, Wigorn, Crome, and Glouce. Episcopus, *alias* John Hooper.

The lady Elizabeth, sister to the queen, now excited considerable attention and anxiety on both sides. On the 19th of May, in this year, she was brought to the Tower, and committed to the custody of Sir John Williams, afterwards lord Williams of Thame, by whom her highness was gently and courteously treated. She afterwards was sent to Woodstock, and there committed to the keeping of Sir Henry Benifield, knight of Oxborough, in Norfolk; who, on the contrary, both forgetting her estate, and his own duty, as it is reported, shewed himself more hard and straight towards her, than either cause was given on her part, or reason of his own should have led him. Some such restraint, however, was thought necessary on the part of her jealous and vindictive sister, especially in the immediate prospect of the Spanish prince, her husband, arriving in England. He landed at Southampton July 20th. As he placed his foot for the first time on British ground he drew his sword, and carried it a little way naked in his hand. This was interpreted as a sign that he intended to rule by the sword; but his friends ingeniously said, it imported that he would draw his sword for the defence of the nation. The mayor of Southampton brought him the keys of the town, which he took from him, and gave them back, without the least shew of his being pleased with this expression of respect. Five days after, the marriage took place in the cathedral church at Winchester, by the bishop of Winchester, in the presence of a great number of noble-

men of both realms. At the altar, the emperor's ambassador being present, he openly pronounced that, in consideration of that marriage, the emperor had granted and given to his son the kingdom of Naples, and other domains and titles. Whereupon the 1st of August following, there was a proclamation, that from that time forth the style of all manner of writing should be altered, and the following be used through the realm:—"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, archduke and duchess of Austria, duke and duchess of Milan, Burgundy, and Brabant, count and countess of Hapsburg, 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 the pedigree of the prince from Edward III., and John of Gaunt. Among others, Mr. White, then bishop of Lincoln, who was intoxicated with a poet's as well as a patriot's joy at the marriage, made several verses, which were answered by the bishop of Norwich and other sober-minded writers. In a short time, the king and queen removed from Winchester to several other places, and by easy journies came to Windsor Castle, where he was installed with the Order of the Garter. A remarkable circumstance occurred at this ceremony: a herald took down the arms of England at Windsor, and in the place of them would have set up the arms of Spain, but he was commanded by certain lords to restore the former to their place.

The peculiar fondness of papists for pageantry of every kind, as well as the general spirit of the age, was now manifested in the several progresses and processions of the new king and queen, as they were called, through some parts of the country and streets of the city. In addition to the display of flags and the discharge of cannon, giants were placed in conspicuous parts with addresses in their hands; conduits were built and adorned in the gayest manner; images of worthies, as they were called, were placed here and there, holding presents and inscriptions. Such was the fulsome desire to gratify the prince, that in one place were some verses describing the five worthies of the world in five Philips, namely, Philip of Macedon, Philip the Emperor, Philip the Bold, Philip the Good, and Philip prince of Spain and king of England! In other places he was saluted by an image representing Orpheus, and the English people likened to savage beasts, following after Orpheus's harp, and dancing after king Philip's pipe!

Bonner, bishop of London, with the pomp of all his prebendaries about him, in St. Paul's choir, the cross being laid along upon the pavement, and also the doors of the church being shut, proceeded to say and sing divers prayers: which done, they anointed the cross with oil in divers places, and afterwards crept unto it, and kissed it. Then they took the cross and set it in its accustomed place, and all the while the whole choir sang *Te Deum*, which ended, they rang the bells, not only for joy, but also for the notable and great fact they had done therein. The new prince was present, and after Dr. Harpsfield had finished his oration in Latin, he set forward through Fleet Street, and so came to Whitehall, where he with the queen remained

four days, and from thence removed unto Richmond. The pageants being over, all the lords had leave to depart into their counties, with strait command to bring all their accoutrements and artillery into the Tower of London. Now there remained no English lord at court, but the bishop of Winchester.

The king's gravity proved very unacceptable to the English, who love a mean between the stiffness of the Spaniards and the gaiety of the French. But if they did not like his temper, they were out of measure in love with his bounty and wealth: for he brought over a vast treasure with him, the greatest part of which was distributed among those, who, for his Spanish gold, had sold their country and religion. At his coming to London, he procured the pardon of many prisoners, and among others, of Holgate, archbishop of York. He also interposed for preserving lady Elizabeth, and the earl of Devonshire. Gardiner was much set against them, and thought they made but half work so long as she lived. The earl of Devonshire, to be freed from all jealousy, went beyond the sea, and died a year after in Italy, some said of poison. Philip at first took care to preserve the lady Elizabeth on a generous account, pitying her innocence, and hoping by so acceptable an act of favour to recommend himself to the nation: but interest soon after fortified those good and wise inclinations; for when he lost all hope of issue by the queen, he considered that the queen of Scotland, who was soon after married to the dauphin, was next in succession after lady Elizabeth; so that if she should be put out of the way, the crown of England would become an accession to the French crown; and therefore he took care to preserve her, and perhaps hoped to have wrought so much on her by his good offices, that if her sister should die without children, she might be induced to marry him. But this was the only grateful thing he did in England. He affected so extravagant a state, and was so sullen and silent, that it was not easy for any to come within the court; and access to him was not to be had, without demanding it with almost as much formality as ambassadors used when they desired an audience: so that a general discontent was quickly spread into most places of the kingdom. But Gardiner was well pleased, for the conduct of affairs was put entirely in his hands.

In the month of September, bishop Bonner began his visitation. The chief purpose of it was to see whether the old service, with all its rites, was again set up; and to inquire concerning the lives and labours of the clergy, of their marriage, and their living chastely; whether they were suspected of heresy, or of favouring heretics. Bonner conducted himself on this occasion like a madman; for if either the bells were not rung when he came near any church, or if he had not found the sacrament exposed, he was ready to break out into the foulest language; and not content with that, he was accustomed to beat his clergy when he was displeased with any thing; for he was naturally cruel and brutal. He took care to have those parts of scripture, that had been painted on the walls of the churches, to be washed off: and upon this it was said, that it was necessary to dash out the scripture, to make way for images, for they agreed so ill, that they could not decently stand together.

Upon the Sunday following the bishop of Winchester, lord chancellor

of England, preached at St. Paul's Cross before all the council. The gospel whence he made his sermon was from Matthew, chap. xxii., where the Pharisees came unto Christ, and among them one asked Christ which was the greatest commandment. Christ answered, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and thy neighbour as thyself: in these two are comprehended the law and the prophets." After a long declaration of these words, speaking much of love and charity, at last he had occasion to speak of the true and false teachers: saying, that all the preachers almost in king Edward's time, preached nothing but voluptuousness, and blasphemous lies, affirming their doctrine to be that false doctrine whereof St. James speaketh in his third chapter, that it was full of perverse zeal, earthly, full of discord and dissention, that the preachers reported nothing truly, and that if a man vowed to-day, he might break it to-morrow at his pleasure, with many other things. 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. He concluded the discourse by an extravagant piece of flattery on the king and queen.

## SECTION VI.

CARDINAL POLE ARRIVES FROM ROME.—HIS ABSOLUTION.—GARDINER'S SERMON.—NATION RETURNS TO POPERY.—FAITHFULNESS OF THE PROTESTANT LEADERS.—DIFFERENCE OF SENTIMENT BETWEEN POLE AND GARDINER RESPECTING HERETICS.

A treaty had commenced between Mary and the pope on her first coming to the throne, when the pope's legate at Brussels sent over Commendone, to see if he could speak with her, and to persuade her to reconcile her kingdom to the apostolic see. The management of the matter was left to his discretion, and the legate would not trust this secret to Gardiner, nor any of the other bishops. Commendone came over in the disguise of a merchant, and by accident met with one of the queen's servants, who had lived years beyond sea, and was known to him, and by his means procured access to the queen. She assured him of her firm resolution to return to the obedience of that see, but charged him to manage the matter with great prudence; for if it were too early discovered, it might disturb her affairs, and obstruct the design. By him she wrote both to the pope and to cardinal Pole; and instructed Commendone, in order to the sending over Pole with a legatine power, which accordingly took place. On his arrival, he first addressed the king and queen, inviting them to return to the sheepfold of the church. The queen felt a strange emotion of joy within her, as he made his speech, which her flattering attendants encouraged her to interpret as a sign that she should have a son! On this prediction *Te Deum* was sung and bonfires soon blazed around the city. The priests proclaimed that another John the Baptist was at hand, who had leaped on the salutation of the vicar of Christ!! Both houses agreed on an address to the king

and queen, that they would intercede with the legate to reconcile them to the see of Rome, and they offered to repeal all the laws they had made against the pope's authority, in sign of their repentance. Upon this the cardinal came to the parliament, which was held at Whitehall on account of her majesty's confinement there by indisposition. She sat with the prince 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 embassage their majesties' pleasure is to be signified unto you all by his own mouth, trusting that you will receive and accept it in benevolent and thankful wise as their highnesses have done, and that you will give an attentive and inclinable ear unto him."

The lord chancellor having ended, the cardinal began his oration, declaring the causes of his coming, and his desires and requests. In the mean time, the court-gate was kept shut until he had made an end of his oration.

The next day after, the three estates assembled again in the great chamber of the court at Westminster; where the king and queen's majesties and the cardinal being present, they did exhibit (all kneeling on their knees) a supplication to their highnesses; which 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 a 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, gave them this absolution:—

"Our Lord Jesus Christ, who 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 the third, his vicegerent on 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."

This business finished, they all went into the chapel, and there singing *Te Deum*, with great solemnity declared the joy for this reconciliation. The report of the cardinal's quick success was with great speed sent unto Rome; as well by the king and cardinal's letters, which hereafter follow, as also otherwise. 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 in the same.

On Sunday, December 2nd, Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and lord chancellor of England, preached at Paul's Cross, at which sermon the king and cardinal Pole were present. He took for his text these words of the epistle of St. Paul to the Romans, "This also we know the season, brethren, that we should now awake out of sleep, for now is our salvation nearer than when we believed." From them he shewed how the saying of St. Paul was verified upon the Gentiles, who had a long time slept in dark ignorance, not knowing God: therefore St. Paul, to stir up their heavy dulness, willed them to awake out of their long sleep, because their salvation was nearer than when they believed. In amplifying this matter, and comparing present times with theirs, he took occasion to declare what difference the Jewish sacraments had from those of the christians, wherein he used these words:—

"Even as the sacrament of the Jews declared Christ to come, so do our sacraments declare him 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 are 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 a 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, unlike any other realm in Christendom. Secondly, as in sleep men dream sometimes of killing, sometimes of maiming, sometimes of burning or drowning, sometimes of 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 know as well as I, whereof I appeal to your own 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 stopped, and we fast asleep? Moreover, when a man would gladly sleep, he will put out the candle, lest peradventure it may hinder 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 were 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,



who ruled as they listed, could not be head 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, our two archbishops were both 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 means 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 then 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 done 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 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 defer the matter no 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 as my lord cardinal Pole, who can speak unto us as unto brethren, and not as strangers. And let us now awake, who have so long slept, and in our sleep have done so much mischief to the sacraments of Christ, denying the blessed sacrament of the altar, and pulling down the altar, which thing Luther himself would not do, but

rather reproved them that did it, examining them of their belief in Christ."

The above was the sum of his sermon. He afterwards prayed, first for pope Julius III., 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. A striking proof this of the ascendancy of the priesthood in the realm, since intercession for that entire order preceded prayer for the senators, nobles, and even the sovereign and the royal family. Nay, departed saints must wait their turn after the existing priesthood, foreign and domestic, supreme, superior, and subordinate, have been blessed with the intercessions of the congregation. This ended, the time being late, they began in St. Paul's to ring their evening song, whereby the preacher could not be well heard, which caused him to make an end of his sermon.

About this time a messenger was sent from the parliament to the pope, to desire him to confirm and establish the sale of abbey and chauntry lands: for the lords and the parliament would grant nothing in the pope's behalf, before their purchases were fully confirmed. Meanwhile the whole convocation, both bishops and others, were sent for to Lambeth to the cardinal, who forgave them all their perjuries, schisms, and heresies, and they all there kneeled down, and received his absolution; and after an exhortation and gratulation for their conversion to the catholic church made by the cardinal, they departed.

The new year, 1555, commenced with several arrests of protestants assembled for devotion. About thirty men and women of the city, with Mr. Rose, their minister, were taken as they were in a house in Bow church-yard, celebrating the communion, and were the same night all committed to prison. Two days after Mr. Rose was brought before the bishop of Winchester, the lord chancellor, and the same day committed to the Tower, after some communication between the bishop and him. It appears that a reference to the queen in his prayers was reported against him. He was charged with saying, and some of his congregation with repeating, these words—"God turn the heart of queen Mary from idolatry, or else shorten her days." There is reason to believe that the alternative of shortening her days was added by the accusers. The former petition however was enough to endanger their liberty and their lives. It was construed treason against her majesty. At the apprehending of Mr. Rose and his companions, word was brought thereof to bishop Hooper, being then in the Fleet; whereupon the bishop sent a letter of consolation to the said prisoners; enjoining them not to fear their adversaries, though he acknowledged the papist's church was more bloody and tyrannical, than ever was the sword of the heathens.

On Tuesday, the 8th of January, nineteen of the lower house of the parliament, with the speaker, came to Whitehall to the king, and offered him the government of the realm and of the issue, if the queen should fail, which was confirmed by act of parliament within ten days after. On the 16th of the same month, the parliament was clean dissolved; and on the 18th all the council went unto the Tower, and there the same day discharged and set at liberty all the prisoners, or most part of them, among

whom were the late duke of Northumberland's sons, Ambrose, Robert, and Henry, Sir Andrew Dudley, Sir John Rogers, Sir James Crofts, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, Sir Nicholas Arnold, Sir George Harper, Sir Edward Warner, Sir William Sentlow, Sir Gawen Carew, Mr. Gibbes, Cuthbert Vaughan, with many others.

On January 22nd, all the preachers who were in prison, were called before the bishop of Winchester, and certain others, at his house in St. Mary Overy's. Being asked whether they would convert, and enjoy the queen's pardon, or else stand to that they had taught; they all answered, that they would stand to that they had taught: they were then committed to straiter prison than before, with charge that none should speak with them: of whom, one James George, died in prison, being there in bonds for religion and righteousness' sake, and as he was exempted burial in the popish church-yard, was buried in the fields.

Cardinal Pole by no means sanctioned severe measures, for when the bishops, with the rest of the convocation-house, were before the cardinal at Lambeth, he desired them to repair every man where his cure and charge lay, exhorting them to treat their flock with all mildness, and to endeavour to win the people rather by gentleness, than by extremity and rigour, and so let them depart. Some complied; but a large portion remained in London further to excite the people of the metropolis in favour of popery. On the anniversary of St. Paul, then a high day in the city, there was a general and solemn procession through London, to give God thanks for their conversion to the catholic church. To set out their glorious pomp there were fourscore and ten crosses, one hundred and sixty priests and clerks, who had every one of them copes upon their backs, singing loudly. There followed also, for the better estimation of the sight, eight bishops; and last of all came Bonner, bishop of London, carrying a splendid box containing the host under a gorgeous canopy. There were also present the mayor, and aldermen, and all the livery of every occupation. Moreover the king also himself, and the cardinal, came to St. Paul's church the same day. As the king was entering the church, at the steps going up to the choir, all the gentlemen that of late were set at liberty out of the Tower, kneeled before him and offered unto him themselves and their services. The procession continued till sun set, and after the procession there was commandment given to make bonfires at night. Whereupon did rise among the people a doubtful talk why all this was done: some saying it was that the queen being likely to have a son; while others thought that it was for joy that the realm was joined again to the see of Rome.

It would appear that Gardiner and his abettors obtained considerable influence over the milder views of Pole, so as to induce him to sanction their bitter proceedings against some of the more distinguished and devoted protestants of the day: for, on Jan. 28, the bishops had commission from the cardinal to sit upon, and order, according to the laws, all such preachers and heretics as were in prison; and according to this commission, the same day the bishop of Winchester, and the other bishops, with certain of the council, sat at St. Mary Overy's church, and called before them bishop Hooper, Mr. Rogers, and Mr. Cardmaker, who were brought thither by the sheriffs; from whence, after communi-

cation, they were committed to prison till the next day, but Cardmaker submitted himself. The next day Hooper, Rogers, Taylor, and Bradford, were brought before them, and sentence of excommunication and judgment ecclesiastical was pronounced upon bishop Hooper and Mr. Rogers, by the bishop of Winchester, who sat as judge in Caiaphas's seat, and drove them out of the church, according to their law and order. Dr. Taylor and Bradford were re-committed to prison. On the day following Dr. Taylor, Dr. Crome, Mr. Bradford, Mr. Saunders, and Dr. Farrar, some time bishop of St. David's, were before the bishops. Dr. Taylor, Saunders, and Bradford, were excommunicated; and sentence being pronounced upon them, they were committed to the sheriffs. Crome desired two months respite, which was granted him: and Farrar was again committed to prison till another time. All these men shewed themselves to be learned, as indeed they were: but what availeth either learning, reason, or truth itself, where arbitrary will alone beareth rule?

After the examination and condemnation of these good men and preachers, commissions and inquisitors were sent abroad into all parts of the realm: by reason whereof a great number of most godly and true christians, especially of Kent, Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk, were apprehended, brought up to London, cast into prison, and most of them afterwards either consumed cruelly by fire, or else through evil handling died in prisons, and were buried on the dung-hills or in the fields.

The parliament being dissolved, the first thing taken into consideration was the way to proceed against the heretics. Cardinal Pole had been suspected to bear some favour to them, but he took great care to avoid all occasions of being any more blamed for that; and indeed he lived in that distrust of all the English, that he opened his thoughts to very few: his chief confidants were two Italians who came over with him, Priuli and Ormaneto. Secretary Cecil, who in matters of religion complied with the times, was observed to have more of his favour than any other Englishman. Pole was an enemy to all severe proceedings; he had observed that cruelty rather inflamed than cured the distemper of heresy; he thought the better and surer way was to begin an effectual reformation of the manners of the clergy, since it was the scandal given by their ill conduct and ignorance, that was the chief cause of the growth of heresy: so he concluded, that if a primitive discipline should be revived, the nation might in time be gained by gentle methods. Gardiner, on the other hand, being of an abject and cruel temper himself, thought the strict execution of the laws against the Lollaards was that to which they ought chiefly to trust: if the preachers were made public examples, he concluded the people would be easily reclaimed: for he pretended that it was visible, if King Henry had executed the act of the six articles vigorously, all would have submitted. He confessed a reformation of the clergy was a good thing, but all times could not bear it. If they should proceed severely against scandalous churchmen, the heretics would take advantage that to deframe the church the more, and raise a clamour against all clergymen. The queen was for joining both these counsels together, and intended to proceed at the same time both against scandalous churchmen and incorrigible protestants.

## BOOK XII.

CONTAINING A FURTHER ACCOUNT OF THE MURDERING OF GOD'S SAINTS,  
WITH THE PROCESSES AND NAMES OF SUCH GOOD MARTYRS AS  
IN THIS TIME OF QUEEN MARY WERE PUT TO DEATH.

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### SECTION I.

LIFE AND MARTYRDOM OF JOHN ROGERS AND LAURENCE SAUNDERS.

ON the 4th of February, 1555, suffered the constant martyr of God, master John Rogers, concerning whose life, examinations, and sufferings, the following particulars are set forth.

John Rogers, vicar of St. Sepulchre, and reader at St. Paul's, received his education in the university of Cambridge, and at length was chosen chaplain to the English factory at Antwerp. There he became acquainted with Mr. Tindall, whom he assisted in his translation of the New Testament, and with Miles Coverdale, who, with several other protestants, had been driven from England on account of the five articles, in the latter end of the reign of Henry VIII. By conversing with these undaunted and pious servants of God, Mr. Rogers became learned in the scriptures, and finding, according to these sacred oracles, that matrimony was honourable to all, he entered into that state, and went with his wife to Wittenburg, in Saxony, where, through indefatigable study and application, he in a short time attained such a knowledge of the Dutch language as to be capable of taking charge of a christian congregation in that part of Europe. After abandoning his popish superstitions, this aged minister served his cure faithfully and diligently for many years, until it pleased God to dispel the mists of papal darkness from his native country and restore the glorious light of the pure gospel of Christ, by the introduction of his chosen servant Edward VI. to the English throne.

Mr. Rogers then complied with a request to leave his living in Saxony, and come into England to preach the gospel, without any previous condition, appointment, or establishment whatever: and having laboured in the vineyard of his Master for a time with great success, Dr. Ridley, then bishop of London, gave him a prebend in his cathedral church of St. Paul's: he was afterwards chosen by the dean and chapter one of the divinity-lecturers in that church. There he continued till queen

Mary, soon after her accession, banished the true religion, and restored the superstition and idolatry of the church of Rome, with all the horrid cruelties of blood-thirsty Antichrist.

When Mary was in the Tower of London, imbibing Gardiner's pernicious counsels, Mr. Rogers preached at Paul's Cross, confirming those doctrines which he and others had taught in king Edward's days, and exhorting the people, with peculiar energy, to continue stedfast in the same, and to beware of the false tenets that were about to be introduced. For this sermon the preacher was summoned before the council, then filled with popish and bloody bishops; before whom he pleaded his own cause, in so pious and bold, yet prudent a manner, as to obviate their displeasure for that time, and was accordingly dismissed. But after Mary's proclamation to prohibit the doctrines of the reformed religion, Mr. Rogers, for a contempt of the same, was again summoned before a council of bishops, who, after having debated upon the nature of his offence, ordered him to keep close prisoner in his own house. There he remained a considerable time, till at the instigation of the sanguinary Bonner, bishop of London, he was removed to Newgate, and placed among common felons. What passed between him and the adversaries of Christ, during the time of his imprisonment, is not certainly known; but his examinations he left in his own hand-writing; the principal parts of which are here given.

The examination and answer of John Rogers, made to the lord chancellor Gardiner, and to the rest of the council, Jan. 22nd, 1555 :--

First, the lord chancellor said unto me thus: "Sir, you have heard the state of the realm in which it standeth now."

*Rogers.* No, my lord, I have been kept in close prison; and except there have been some general thing said at the table, when I was at dinner or supper, I heard nothing; and there have I heard nothing whereupon any special thing might be grounded.

Then said the lord chancellor mockingly, "General things, general things! Ye have heard of my lord cardinal's coming, and that the parliament hath received his blessing, not one resisting it, but one man which did speak against it. Such an unity, and such a miracle, hath not been seen. And all they, of which there are eight score in one house, have with one assent received pardon of their offences, for the schism that we have had in England, in refusing the holy father of Rome to be head of the catholic church. How say you? are you content to unite yourself to the faith of the catholic church with us, in the state in which it is now in England? will you do that?"

*Rog.* The catholic church I never did nor will dissent from.

*Gar.* Nay, but I speak of the state of the catholic church, in that wise in which we stand now in England, having received the pope to be supreme head.

*Rog.* I know no 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 doctrines of the old and pure catholic church, four hundred years after Christ.

*Gar.* Why didst thou then acknowledge king Henry VIII. to be supreme head of the church, if Christ be the only head?

*Rog.* 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.

*Gar.* Yea, if thou hadst said so in his days, thou hadst not been alive now. 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*?

*Rog.* My lord, without fail I cannot believe, that ye yourselves think in your hearts that he is supreme head in forgiving of sins, 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 ago condescended unto it.

*Gar.* Tush! that parliament was with great cruelty constrained to abolish and put away the supremacy from the bishop of Rome.

*Rog.* 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?

*Gar.* 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.

*Rog.* I will first see it proved by the Scripture. Let me have pen, ink, and books, etc., and I shall take upon me more plainly to set out the matter, so that the contrary shall be proved to be true; and let any man that will, confer with me by writing.

*Gar.* Nay, that shall not be permitted thee. Here are two things, mercy and justice: if thou refuse the queen's mercy now, then shalt thou have justice ministered unto thee.

*Rog.* 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.

*Gar.* 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. If thou wilt enter into one church with us, tell us that; or else thou shalt never have so much proffered thee again as thou hast now.

*Rog.* I will find it first in the scripture, and see it tried thereby, before I receive him to be supreme head. I find not the bishop of Rome in the creed. For the word *catholic* there 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 plainly 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.

*Gar.* Shew me one of them—one! let me hear one!

*Rog.* 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 1 Cor. xiv. To speak with tongues is to speak with a strange tongue, as Latin or Greek, etc.; 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 yourselves and God only.

I was willing to have declared how and after what sort these two texts do agree; as, to wit, "to speak not to man, but unto God," and "to speak into the wind;" and so to have gone forward with the proof of my matter begun, but here arose a noise and a confusion. And here also 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 even when I would take hold on my proof, the lord chancellor bade to prison with me again. Then sir Richard Southwell said to me, "Thou wilt not burn in this gear when it cometh to the purpose, I know well that." To whom I replied, "Sir, I cannot tell, but I trust in my Lord God, yes;" lifting up mine eyes unto heaven.

Then my lord of Ely told me much of the queen's pleasure and meaning, saying that she took them that would not receive the bishop of Rome's supremacy to be unworthy to have her mercy, etc. 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. "A married priest, and have not offended the law!" cried they. I 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. I married in Dutchland. And if you 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 ye might be sure I would not have done if the laws of the realm had not permitted it before. You say to me that there was never a catholic man or country who ever yet granted that a priest might have a wife. But I say that the catholic church never denied marriage to priests, nor yet to any other man." On giving this answer, Rogers was about to leave the chamber, the sergeant holding him by the arm ready to conduct him back to confinement. At his departure, the bishop of Worcester, who had before interposed with some trifling questions, taunted him with ignorance of what and where the true catholic church was—a taunt which might with much more justice have been addressed to him and his coadjutors in this persecuting course.

A second examination of Mr. Rogers soon after took place, most of which is here given in his own words. "Being asked again by the lord chancellor what I thought concerning the blessed sacrament; whether I believed it 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 have often told you 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 the words *really* and *substantially*, to signify otherwise than corporeally: but corporeally Christ is only in heaven, and so cannot Christ be so also in your sacrament. My lord you have dealt with me most cruelly, for you 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 spoke 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 provide for, and have not received a penny from my livings, which was against the law.' To this Gardiner answered that Dr. Ridley, who had given them me, was a usurper, and therefore I was the unjust possessor of them. I then asked, 'Was the king then an usurper, who gave Dr. Ridley the bishopric?' To which the chancellor replied—Yes! Then he began to set out the wrongs that king Edward had done to the bishop of London, and to himself also. 'But yet I do mis-use my terms,—he confessed—'to call the king usurper.'

"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 me, and thereupon would set my life. I preached, I confessed, a sermon at the Cross, after the queen came to the Tower; but there was nothing said against the queen. He then charged me with having read lectures after, against the commandment of the council. To this I answered that I never did so, and said, let that be proved, and let me die for it.

"I might and would have added, if I had been suffered to speak, that it had been time enough to take away men's livings, and then to have imprisoned them after that they had offended the laws, for they are good citizens that break not laws, and worthy of praise, and not of punishment. But their purpose was to keep men in prison, until they may catch them in their laws, and so kill them. I might have declared that I most humbly desired to be set at liberty, sending my wife with a supplication, while I was yet in my house.

"I wrote two petitions to him out of Newgate, and sent my wife many times to him. Master Gosnold also, who is now departed in the Lord, laboured for me, and so did divers others 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 wife and ten children.

"This is a short sum of the words which were spoken on the 28th of January, in the afternoon, after that master Hooper had been the first, and master 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. Then the clock being, as I guessed, about four, the lord chancellor said that he and the church must yet use charity with me, and gave me respite till to-morrow, to see whether I would return to the catholic 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 the God's grace, never come. 'Well,' quoth he, 'is our church false and antichristian?' I answered, 'Yea.' 'And what is the doctrine of the sacrament?' 'False,' quoth I; and cast my hands abroad. 'Come again to-morrow,' said the chancellor, 'between nine and ten.' 'I am ready to come again whensoever you call,' quoth I. And thus was I brought up by the sheriffs to the Compter in Southwark, master Hooper going before me, and a great multitude of people being present, so that we had much to do to go in the streets."

On the morrow the third examination went on. Mr. Rogers writes—  
 “The next day, January 29th, we were sent for in the morning about nine o'clock, and by the sheriffs brought from the comptner in Southwark to St. Mary Overy's. When Mr. Hooper was condemned, as I understood afterwards, then sent they for me. My lord chancellor Gardiner said—  
 ‘Rogers, here thou wast yesterday, and we gave thee liberty to remember thyself last night, whether thou wouldst come into 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 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, all the doctrine that ever I had preached, you answered, that it might not, and 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 useless by me, being but a private person. Yet, my lord, 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 afterwards, hath by the word of God proved so clearly 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 I am able to shew two. I can also shew the authority of St. Augustine; that when he disputed with a heretic, he would neither himself, nor yet have the heretic to lean on the determination of two former councils, of which the one was made for him, and the other for the heretic that disputed against him; but he said that he would have the scriptures to be their judge, which were common for them both, and not peculiar to either of them.’

“I could also shew the authority of a learned lawyer, Panormitanus, who 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 speak my mind, and to be heard against a whole parliament, bringing the word of God for me, and the authority of the whole church 400 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; especially 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 if Henry VIII. were alive, and should call a parliament, and begin to determine a thing, then would ye all say *Amen*: yea, and it please 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 yet I would take upon me to be their instructor. To this I said—‘ My lord, I stand and sit not: shall I not be suffered to speak for my life?’ ‘ Shall we suffer thee to tell a tale, and prate?’ said 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 him somewhat, which he thought to hinder by dashing me out of my tale, and so he did: but he had much the like communication with me as he had the day before, 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.

‘ The lord chancellor on this exclaimed, ‘ See what a spirit this fellow hath, finding fault at mine accustomed earnestness, and hearty manner of speaking!’ On which I said—I have a true spirit, agreeing to, 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 just and true cause, and in my master Christ’s matters: but I could not be heard. 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. To be brief, he read my condemnation before me, particularly mentioning therein but two articles: first, that I affirmed the Roman catholic church to be the church of Antichrist: and then 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 then he gave me over into the sheriff’s hands, which were much better than his.”

“ After this sentence was read, bishop Gardiner sent Mr. Hooper and me to the Clink, there to remain till night; when it was dark, they carried us, Mr. Hooper going before with one sheriff, and I coming after with the other, with bills and weapons out of the Clink, and led us through the bishop’s house, and St. Mary Overy’s church yard, and so into Southwark, hence over the bridge in procession to Newgate, through the city. When the bishop had read the condemnation, I petitioned to see and speak to my wife, who was a stranger, and had ten children; but he said she was not my wife. I declared she was, for we had been married eighteen years. He still denied it, said I maintained open whoredom, and that I should not see her!”

While this excellent writer as well as patient sufferer remained in prison, he wrote his sentiments in a bold and manly strain, upon the evils and abuses brought into the country, and held out to its rulers, the vengeance that had fallen, in different ages, upon the enemies of truth. The following is a sample—“ I am an Englishman born, and, God knoweth, do naturally wish well to my country. And I have often proved that the things, which I have much feared should come to pass have indeed followed. I pray God I may fail of my guessing in this behalf. And as touching your rejoicing, as though God had set you aloft to punish us by miracle, 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 are wonderful, and are not to be comprehended and perceived by man’s wisdom,

nor by the wit of the most wise and prudent.—Our enemies sometimes cry out that we liken ourselves to prophets and apostles; but I answer the charge, that 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.

“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 counsel 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 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 sure foundation, shall fall in the dust.—Of what force, I pray you, may a man think these parliaments to be, which scantily can 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 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.”

After that John Rogers had been long and straitly imprisoned, lodged in Newgate amongst thieves, often examined, very uncharitably treated, and at length unjustly and most cruelly condemned by Gardiner, he was, on Feb. 4th, warned suddenly by the keeper’s wife of Newgate to prepare himself for the fire; who being found asleep was with great difficulty awoke. At length being roused, he was led down first to Bonner to be degraded; which done, he craved of him one petition—that he might speak a few words with his wife before his burning. But that was denied him. “Then,” said he, “you declare your charity, what it is.”

Now when the time came that he should be brought out of Newgate to Smithfield, the sheriff came to him, and asked if he would revoke his abominable doctrines. To whom Mr. Rogers said, “That which I have preached I will seal with my blood!” “Then,” said the sheriff, “thou art a heretic.” “That shall be known,” said Rogers, “at the day of judgment.” “Well,” quoth the sheriff, “I will never pray for thee.” “But I will pray for *you*,” replied Rogers; and so was brought the same day, which was Monday the 4th of February, towards Smithfield, saying the psalm “Miserere” by the way, all the people rejoicing at his constancy, with great praises and thanks to God for the same. And there, in the presence of Rochester, comptroller of the queen’s household, sir Richard Southwell, both the sheriffs, and many people, the fire was put unto him; and when it had taken hold both upon his legs and shoulders, he, as one feeling no smart, washed his hands in the flame, as though it had been in cold water. After lifting up his hands unto heaven, not removing the same until such time as the devouring fire had consumed

them, most mildly this happy martyr yielded up his spirit into the hands of his heavenly Father. A little before his burning, his pardon was brought if he would have recanted; but he utterly refused it. He was the first of all the blessed martyrs that suffered in the reign of queen Mary; those which had previously suffered having suffered as traitors. His wife and children met him by the way as he went towards Smithfield. This sorrowful sight of his own flesh and blood could nothing move him; but he constantly and cheerfully took his death with wonderful patience, in defence of the gospel of Christ.

Next to this faithful and holy man followed the Rev. Laurence Saunders, martyred at Coventry the next month. He was a man of good parentage. He was placed early at Eton school, whence, at a proper age, he was chosen to go to the King's college, in Cambridge, where he continued a scholar 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 consented to become a merchant, for that his mother, who was a gentlewoman of good estimation, being left a widow, and having a good portion for him among his other brethren, thought to set him in the way of wealth; and so he, coming up to London, was bound apprentice to Sir William Chester, who afterwards chanced to be sheriff of London the same year that Saunders was burnt at Coventry.

It happened that the master, being a good man, and hearing Saunders in his secret prayers inwardly to mourn by himself, called him unto him, to know the cause of his solitariness and lamentations: when, learning him not to fancy that kind of life, and perceiving also his whole purpose to be bent to the study of books, and spiritual contemplation, like a good and sensible man, wrote to 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, tarried 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 tongue, in which he profited very much in a little time; presently after, he joined the study of the Hebrew. Then he gave himself wholly to the study of the holy scriptures, to furnish himself for the office of a preacher.

In the beginning of king Edward's reign, when true religion was introduced, he began to preach, and was so liked by them who then had authority, that they had appointed him to read a divinity lecture in the college of Fotheringhay, where, by doctrine and life, he edified the pious, drew many ignorant to the true knowledge of God, and stopped the mouths of adversaries. He married about that time, and in the connubial state led a life unblameable before all men. The college of Fotheringhay being dissolved, he was appointed a reader in the minster at Litchfield: where he so behaved himself in teaching and living, that his very adversaries bore testimony as well of his learning as of his piety. After a certain space, he departed from Litchfield to a benefice in Leicestershire, called Churchlangton, where he resided and taught diligently, and kept a liberal house. From thence he was orderly called to take a benefice in the city of London, called Allhallows, in Breadstreet. Then he was inclined to resign his cure in the country; and

after he had taken possession of his benefice in London, he departed into the country, clearly to discharge himself thereof.

On Sunday, October 15th, in the forenoon, he delivered a sermon in his parish, treating on that place which St. Paul writeth to the Corinthians: "I have coupled you to one man, that ye should make yourselves chaste virgins unto Christ. But I fear lest it come to pass, that as the serpent beguiled Eve, even so your wits should be corrupt from the singleness which ye had towards Christ." He recited the sum of that true christian doctrine, through which they were coupled to Christ, to receive of him free justification through faith in his blood. The papistical doctrine he compared to the serpent's deceiving: and lest they should be deceived by it, he made a contrast between the voice of God and the voice of the popish serpent; descending to more particular declaration therefore, as it were to let them plainly see the difference that is between the order of the church service, set forth by king Edward in the English tongue, and comparing it with the popish service then used in the Latin tongue.

The first, he said, was good, because it was according to the word of God, and the order of the primitive church. The other, he said, was evil, and though in that evil be intermingled some good Latin words, yet was it but as a little honey or milk mingled with a great deal of poison to make them drink up all. In the afternoon he was ready in his church to have given another exhortation to his people. But the bishop of London interrupted him, by sending an officer for him. This officer charged him upon pain of contumacy forthwith to come to the bishop. And thus was Saunders brought before Bonner, who laid to his charge treason for breaking the queen's proclamation, and heresy and sedition for his sermon.

After much talk, the bishop willed him to write what he believed of transubstantiation. Saunders did so; and this writing the bishop kept for his purpose, as shall appear hereafter. Bonner sent him to the lord chancellor, who, being unable to resist his arguments, cried, "Carry away this frenzy-fool to prison." Here Saunders continued a whole year and three months; in which space he sent divers letters to divers men: as one to Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer; another to his wife, and also to others. But of his cause and estate thou shalt now see what Laurence Saunders himself did write to the bishop of Winchester, as an answer to certain things wherewith he had before charged him:—

"Touching the cause of my imprisonment, I doubt whether I have broken any law or proclamation. In my doctrine I did not, forasmuch as at that time it was permitted by the proclamation to use, according to our consciences, such service as was then established. My doctrine was then agreeable unto my conscience and the same service then used. The act which I did (meaning his public teaching of God's word in his own parish, called Allhallows in Bread-street, in the city of London) was such as being indifferently weighed, sounded to no breaking of the proclamation, or at least no wilful breaking of it, forasmuch as I caused no bell to be rung, neither occupied I any place in the pulpit, after the order of sermons or lectures. But be it that I did break the proclamation, this long time of continuance in prison may be thought to be more than a sufficient punishment for such a fault.

“Touching the charging of me with my religion, I say with St. Paul: ‘I confess, that after the way which they call heresy, so worship I the God of my forefathers, believing all things which are written in the law and the prophets, and have hope towards God touching the resurrection of the dead. And herein study I to have always a clear conscience towards God and towards men.’ So that God I call to witness, I have a conscience. And this my conscience is not grounded upon vain fantasy, but upon the infallible verity of God’s word, with the witnessing of his chosen church agreeable unto the same.

“It is an easy thing for them which take Christ for their true pastor, and be the very sheep of his pasture, to discern the voice of their true shepherd, from the voice of wolves, hirelings, and strangers: forasmuch as Christ saith, ‘My sheep hear my voice, and I know them, and they follow me.’ Yea, and thereby they shall have the gift to know the right voice of the true shepherd, and so to follow him, and to avoid the contrary, as he also saith, ‘The sheep follow the shepherd, for they know his voice: a stranger they will not follow, but will fly from him, for they know not the voice of a stranger.’ Such inward inspiration doth the Holy Ghost put into the children of God, being indeed taught of God, but otherwise unable to understand the true way of their salvation. And although the wolf, as Christ saith, cometh in sheep’s clothing, yet by their fruits you shall know them. That the Romish religion is ravening and wolfish, is apparent in three principal points. It robbeth God of his due and only honour. It taketh away the true comfort of conscience, in obscuring, or rather burying, of Christ and his office of salvation. It spoileth God of his true worship and service in spirit and truth, appointed in his commandments, and driveth men unto that inconvenience, against which Christ with the prophet Isaiah doth speak sharply:—‘this people honoureth me with their lips, but their hearts are far from me; they worship me in vain, teaching the doctrines and precepts of men.’ And in another place—‘Ye cast aside the commandments of God, to maintain your own traditions.’”

As a prisoner in Christ’s cause, he resigned himself in such sort as to forbade his wife to sue for his delivery; and when others of his friends had by suit almost obtained it, he discouraged them, so that they did not follow their suit, as may appear by the following letter to his wife:—

“Grace, mercy, and peace in Christ our Lord, Entirely beloved wife, even as unto my own soul and body, so do I daily in my hearty prayer wish unto you: for I do daily, twice at least, in this sort remember you. And I do not doubt, dear wife, but that both I and you, as we are written in the book of life, so we shall together enjoy the same everlastingly, through the grace and mercy of God our dear Father, in his Son our Lord Jesus Christ. And for this present life, let us wholly appoint ourselves to the will of our good God to glorify him either by life or by death; and even that same merciful Lord make us worthy to honour him either way as pleaseth him, Amen. I am cheerful, I thank my God and my Christ, in whom and through whom I shall be able to fight a good fight, and finish a good course, and then receive the crown, which is laid up in store for me, and all the true soldiers of Christ. Wherefore, wife, let us, in the name of our God, fight lustily to overcome the flesh,

the devil, and the world. What our harness and weapons be in this kind of fight, look in the sixth chapter unto the Ephesians, and pray, pray, pray. I would that you make no suit for me in any wise. Thank you know whom, for her most sweet and comfortable putting me in remembrance of my journey whither I am passing. God send us all good speed, and a joyful meeting. I have too few such friends to further me in that journey, which is indeed the greatest friendship. The blessing of God be with you all, Amen.

“A prisoner in the Lord, L. SAUNDERS.”

The constancy of this faithful servant of Christ, even unto the end, is sufficiently manifested and declared by his valiant contest with those two powerful enemies, antichrist and death: to neither of these did he give place, and finally triumphed over both. When he was in confinement, an order was sent to the keeper that no person should speak with him; but his wife coming to the prison gate with her young child in her arms, the keeper, though he durst not, on account of his charge, suffer her to come into the prison, yet he took the infant from her, and brought him to his father. Mr. Saunders, seeing the child, said, that he rejoiced more to have such a boy, than he should if two thousand pounds were given him. And to the standers-by, who praised the goodliness of the child, he said, “What man, fearing God, would not lose his life, rather, than by prolonging it, he should adjudge this boy to be a bastard? Yea, if there were no other cause, for which a man of my estate should lose his life, yet who would not give it, to vouch this child to be legitimate, and our marriage to be lawful and holy?”

I do, good reader, recite this saying, not only to let thee see what be thought of priests' marriage; but chiefly to let all married couples learn to bear in their bosom true affections, unfeignedly mortified to do the natural works and offices of married couples, so long as with their doing they may keep Christ with a free confessing faith in a conscience unsoiled.

And now to come to the examination of this good man: after that the bishops had kept him one whole year and a quarter in prison, at length they called him, as they did the rest of his fellows, openly to be examined. Of which first examination the effect and purport thus followeth:

Praised be our gracious God who preserveth his from evil, and doth give them grace to avoid all such offences as might hinder his honour, or hurt his church.—Being convented before the queen's most honourable council, sundry bishops being present, the lord chancellor began thus to speak:

*Lord Chan.* It is not known, that you have been a prisoner for such abominable heresies and false doctrine as have been sown by you; and now it is thought good that mercy be shewed to such as seek for it. Wherefore if now you will shew yourself conformable, and come home again, mercy is ready. We must say that we have fallen in manner all: but now we are risen again, and returned to the catholic church; you must rise with us, and come home unto it. Give us forthwith a direct answer.

*Saun.* My lord, and my lords all, may it please your honours to give me leave to answer with deliberation.

*Chan.* Leave off your painting and pride of speech: for such is the



fashion of you all, to please yourselves in your glorious words. Answer yes, or no.

*Saun.* My lord, it is no time for me now to paint. And as for pride, there is no great cause why it should be in me; my learning I confess to be but small; and as for riches or worldly wealth, I have none at all. Notwithstanding, it standeth me in hand to answer your demand circumspectly, considering that one of these two extreme perils is likely to fall upon me, namely, the losing of a good conscience or the losing of this my body and life. And I tell you truth, I love both life and liberty, if I could enjoy them without the hurt of my conscience.

*Chan.* Conscience! you have none at all, but pride and arrogancy, dividing yourself by singularity from the church.

*Saun.* The Lord is the knower of all men's consciences. And where your lordship layeth to my charge this dividing myself from the church, I do assure you that I live in the faith wherein I have been brought up since I was fourteen years of age; being taught that the power of the bishop of Rome is but usurped, with many other abuses springing thereof. Yes, this I have received even at your hands, as a thing agreed upon by the catholic church and public authority.

*Chan.* But have you received, by consent and authority, all your heresies of the blessed sacrament of the altar?

*Saun.* My lord, it is less offence to cut off an arm, hand, or joint of man, than to cut off the head. For the man may live though he lose an arm, hand, or joint; but he cannot without his head. Now you all had agreed to cut off the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, whom now you will have to be the head of the church again.

Bonner interposed with a single accusation, by which he hoped to render him at once self-confounded. Addressing the chancellor, he obsequiously said—"And if it please your lordship, I have this man's hand-writing against the blessed sacrament." Then turning scornfully to Saunders, he asked—"How are you able to answer that?"

*Saun.* What I have written, that I have written, and further I will not accuse myself. Nothing have you to burden me withal, for breaking of your laws since they were in force.

*Chan.* Well, you are obstinate, and refuse liberty.

*Saun.* My lord, I may not buy liberty at such a price; but I beseech your honours to be means to the queen's majesty for such a pardon for us, that we may live and keep our consciences unclogged, and we shall live as most obedient subjects. Otherwise, I must say for myself, that by God's grace I will abide the utmost extremity that man may do against me, rather than act against my conscience.

*Chan.* Ah, sirrah, you will live as you like. The Donatists did desire to live in singularity; but indeed they were not fit to live on earth: no more are you, and that you shall understand within these seven days: and therefore away with him.

*Saun.* Welcome be it, whatsoever the will of God shall be, either life or death. And I tell you truly, I have learned to die. But I exhort you to beware of shedding innocent blood. Truly it will cry. The Spirit of God rest upon you all. Amen.

This examination being ended, the officers led him out of the place, and stayed until the rest of his fellow-prisoners were likewise examined, that they might have them all together to prison. Mr. Saunders, standing among the officers, seeing there a great multitude of people, spoke freely, warning them all of that which by their falling from Christ to antichrist they deserved; and therefore exhorting them by repentance to rise again, and to embrace Christ with stronger faith, to confess him to the end, in the defiance of antichrist, sin, death, and the devil: so should they retain the Lord's favour and blessing. This faithful procedure did not, of course, produce either a diminution of his adversaries' cruelty or a delay of his mortal suffering. It rather augmented the one and accelerated the other. Almost immediately he was delivered over to the secular power, and was brought by the sheriffs of London to the compter, a prisoner in his own parish of Bread-street; whereat he rejoiced greatly, both because he found there a fellow-prisoner, Mr. Card-maker, with whom he had much christian and comfortable discourse; and because out of prison, as before out of a pulpit, he might have an opportunity of preaching to his parishioners.

On the fourth day of February, Bonner came to the prison to degrade him: which when he had done, Mr. Saunders said to him, "I thank God I am none of your church." The day following in the morning, the sheriff of London delivered him to certain of the queen's guard, which were appointed to carry him to the city of Coventry, there to be burned. On his arrival there, a poor shoemaker, who used to serve him, came to him, and said, "O my good master, God strengthen and comfort you." "Good shoemaker," replied he, "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 same night he was put into the common gaol among other prisoners, where he slept little, but spent the night in prayer, and instructing others.

The next day, being the 8th of February, he was led to the place of execution in the park, without the city, clad in an old gown and shirt, bare-footed, and oftentimes falling on the ground for prayer. 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 marred the queen's realm with false doctrine and heresy, wherefore he deserved death; but yet if he would revoke his heresies, the queen would pardon him; if not, yonder fire was prepared for him. To whom Mr. Saunders answered, "It is not I, nor my fellow-preachers of God's truth, that have hurt the queen's realm; but it is yourself, and such as you are, who have always resisted God's holy word; it is you who mar the queen's realm. I hold no heresies, but the doctrine of God, the blessed gospel of Christ; that hold I, that believe I, that have I taught, and that will I never revoke." With that his tormentor cried, "Away with him." And away from him went Mr. Saunders, with a cheerful courage, towards the fire. He fell to the ground once more and prayed: he rose up again and took the stake to which he should be chained in his arms, and kissed it, saying, "Welcome the cross of Christ, welcome everlasting life:" and being fastened to the stake, and fire put to him, he sweetly slept in

the Lord. In his life he appeared often prophetic. He had often told his friends, that many would suffer, if ever Mary ascended the throne.

Before we take our final leave of him, one remarkable circumstance in reference to an earlier period of his course, merits attention. He was acquainted with one Dr. Pendleton, an earnest preacher in king Edwards reign. Meeting together in the country, they debated upon what they had best do in the dangerous time that Mary's accession had brought upon them. Saunders confessed that his spirit was ready, but he felt the flesh was at present too weak for much suffering. But Pendleton admonished him, and appeared all courage and forwardness to face every peril. They both came under the controul of circumstances to London, and there, when danger arose, Pendleton shrunk from the cross, and Saunders resolutely took it up! "Let him that thinketh to stand, take heed lest he fall."

## SECTION II.

### THE LIFE AND MARTYRDOM OF JOHN HOOPER, BISHOP OF WORCESTER AND GLOUCESTER.

John Hooper, student and graduate in the university of Oxford, having made great advances in the study of the sciences, was stirred with a fervent desire to the love and knowledge of the scriptures. Advancing more and more, by God's grace, in ripeness and spiritual understanding, and shewing withal some sparks of his spirit, being then about the beginning of the six articles, in the time of king Henry VIII. fell quickly into the displeasure and hatred of certain doctors in Oxford, who soon discovered their enmity to him, till at length, by the procurement of Dr. Smith, he was compelled to quit the university. Removing from thence, he was retained in the house of Sir Thomas Arundel, in the capacity of steward, till Sir Thomas, having intelligence of his opinions and religion, which he in no case did favour, and yet exceedingly favouring the person and character of the man, found the means to send him with a message to the bishop of Winchester, writing his letter privily to the bishop, by conference of learning to do some good unto him, but in any case requiring him to send home his servant to him again. The bishop received him courteously; but after long conference with him, perceiving that neither he could do that good which he thought to him, nor that he would take any good at his hand, according to Arundel's request, sent him home again, commending his learning and wit, but yet bearing in his breast a secret enmity against him.

Not long after this, as malice is always working mischief, intelligence was given to Mr. Hooper to provide for himself, for danger was arising against him; whereupon he left Sir Thomas Arundel's house, and borrowing a horse of a friend, whose life he had saved, took his journey to the sea side to go to France, sending back the horse again by one, who indeed did not deliver him to the owner. Mr. Hooper being at Paris, remained there not long, but in a short time returned into England again, and was retained by Mr. Sentlow, till he was

again molested and sought for: when he was compelled under the pretence of being captain of a ship going to Ireland, to take to the seas, and so escaped through France to the higher parts of Germany; where, commencing acquaintance with learned men, he was by them friendly and lovingly entertained, both at Basil and at Zurich: at the latter place in particular by Mr. Bullinger. Here he also married, and applied very studiously to the study of the Hebrew tongue.

At length, when God saw it good to end the bloody persecution which arose from the six articles, and to give king Edward to reign over this realm, with some peace and rest unto the church, amongst many other English exiles who then repaired homeward, was Mr. Hooper, who thought it his duty to forward the cause of God in his native country. Coming to Mr. Bullinger, and other of his acquaintance in Zurich, to give them thanks for their singular kindness towards him, his kind host thus addressed him, "Mr. Hooper, although we are sorry to part with your company for your own cause, yet much greater cause have we to rejoice, both for your sake, and especially for the cause of Christ's true religion, that you shall now return out of long banishment to your native country, where you may not only enjoy your own private liberty, but also the cause and state of Christ's church by you may fare the better, as we doubt not but it will. Another cause, why we rejoice with you and for you, is this; that you shall remove not only out of exile into liberty, but leave here a barren, sour, and unpleasant country, rude and savage, and shall go into a land flowing with milk and honey, replenished with all fertility. But with this our rejoicing, one fear and care we have, lest you being absent, and so far distant from us, or else coming to such abundance of wealth and felicity, in your new welfare and plenty of all things, and in your flourishing honours, where you shall come peradventure to be a bishop, and where you shall find so many new friends, you will forget us your old acquaintance and well-wishers. If however you shall forget and shake us off, yet this persuade yourself, that we will not forget our old friend. And if you will please not to forget us, then I pray you let us hear from you."

Mr. Hooper gave Mr. Bullinger and the rest hearty thanks, for their singular good-will and undeserved affection, appearing not only now, but at all times towards him; declaring, moreover, that as the principal cause of his removing to his country was the matter of religion; so touching the unpleasantness and barrenness of that country of theirs, there was no cause therein why he could not find in his heart to continue his life there, as soon as in any place in the world, and rather than in his own native country, if there were nothing else in his conscience that moved him to change. And as to the forgetting his old friends, although the remembrance of a man's country naturally delights him, and he could not deny but God had blessed his country with many great advantages; yet neither the nature of country, nor pleasure of advantages, nor newness of friends, should ever induce him to the oblivion of such benefactors, to whom he was so entirely bound; and therefore they should be sure from time to time to hear from him. But the last news of all I may 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 to be burned to ashes : and that shall be news which I shall not be able to write unto you, but you shall hear of me from other hands."

Having thus taken his farewell of Mr. Bullinger, and his friends in Zurich, he repaired again into England, in the reign of Edward the Sixth; and coming to London, used continually to preach, most times twice, and at least once every day. In all his discourses, according to his accustomed manner, he corrected sin, and sharply inveighed against the iniquity of the world, and corrupt abuses of the church. Nor was his example less proper : his life was so pure and good, that no kind of slander could fasten any fault upon him. He was of strong body, his health whole and sound, his wit very poignant, his invincible patience able to sustain whatever adversity could inflict. He was constant of judgment, frugal of diet, spare of words, and still more so of time. In house-keeping very liberal, and sometimes more free than his living would extend unto.

After he had practised himself in this popular preaching, he was, at length, and that not without the great profit of many, called to preach before the king, and soon after made bishop of Gloucester by his majesty's commands. In that office he continued two years, and behaved himself so well, that his very enemies could find no fault in him, except in the way in which the foes of Daniel found fault with that holy prophet—"concerning the law of his God." After two years he received, in connection with Gloucester, the bishopric of the neighbouring city of Worcester.

But sinister and unlucky contention concerning the ordering and consecration of bishops, and of their apparel, with other such trifles, began to disturb the good beginning of this bishop. For notwithstanding that godly reformation of religion that arose in the church of England, besides other ceremonies more ambitious than profitable, or tending to edification, they used to wear such garments and apparel as the popish bishops were wont to do ; first a chymere, and under that a white rochet; then a mathematical cap with four angles, indicative of dividing the world into four parts. These trifles tending more to superstition than otherwise, as he could never abide, so in no wise could he be persuaded to wear them. For this cause he made supplication to the king, most humbly desiring his highness, either to discharge him of the bishopric, or else to dispense with him for such ceremonial orders : which petition the king granted immediately, writing to the archbishop in his behalf. The king's letter was as follows—"Right reverend father, and right trusty and well beloved, we greet you well. Whereas we, by advice of our councils have called and chosen our right well beloved Mr. John Hooper, professor of divinity, to be our bishop of Gloucester, as well for his great knowledge, deep judgment, and long study in the scriptures; as also for his good discretion, ready utterance, and honest life; to the intent that all our loving subjects, which are in his said charge and elsewhere, might by his sound and true doctrine learn the better their duty towards God, their obedience towards us, and love towards their neighbour; from consecrating of whom we understand

you to stay, because he would have you omit certain rites and ceremonies offensive to his conscience, whereby ye think ye should fall under the laws—we have thought good, by the advice aforesaid, to dispense and discharge you of all manner of dangers, penalties, and forfeitures, you shall be liable to run into by omitting any of the same. And these our letters shall be your sufficient warrant and discharge.”

The earl of Warwick seconded this request of his majesty by addressing another letter to the archbishop, begging that he would dispense with Mr. Hooper's being burthened by the oath commonly used in the consecration of bishops. But these letters availed not: the bishops still stood earnestly in defence of the ceremonies, saying, it was but a small matter, and that the fault was in the abuse of the things, and not in the things themselves: adding, moreover, that Mr. Hooper ought not to be so stubborn in so light a matter, and that his wilfulness therein was not to be suffered. This being the case, Mr. Hooper at length agreed, that sometimes he should in his sermons shew himself apparelled as the other bishops were. Accordingly being appointed to preach before the king, he appeared in the objectionable habiliments. His upper garment was a long scarlet gown down to the foot, and under that a white linen rochet, that covered all his shoulders. Upon his head he had a geometrical, that is, a four-squared cap. But this private contumely and reproach, in respect of the public profit of the church, he suffered patiently. Then also very soon these differences vanished amidst the rage of persecution; and the trifling shades of opinion were lost in their unanimity of essential truths; so that, while they were in prison, several affectionate letters passed between them.<sup>a</sup>

After this discord, and not a little vexation, about vestures, at length Mr. Hooper entering into his diocese, there employed his time, under king Edward's reign, with such diligence as may be an example to all bishops. So careful was he in his cure, that he left neither pains untaken, nor ways unsought, how to train up the flock of Christ in the true word of salvation, continually labouring in the same. Other men are commonly wont, for lucre or promotion's sake, to aspire to bishoprics, some hunting for them, and some purchasing them, as men use to purchase lordships. To this class of worldly men bishop Hooper was quite contrary. He abhorred nothing more than covetousness, labouring always to save and preserve the souls of his flock. No father in his household, no gardener in his garden, nor husbandman in his vineyard, was more or better occupied, than he in his diocese amongst his flock,

<sup>a</sup> The godly reconciliation of these good men appears by the following extract from bishop Ridley's letter to Mr. Hooper: “My dear brother—Forasmuch as I understand by your works, which I have yet but superficially seen, that we thoroughly agree and wholly consent together in those things which are the grounds and substantial points of our religion, against the which the world so furiously rageth in these our days, howsoever in time past, in certain bye-matters and circumstances of religion, your wisdom and my simplicity (I grant) have a little jarred, each of us following the abundance of his own sense and judgment; now, I say, be you assured that even with my whole heart, God is my witness, in the bowels of Christ I love you in the truth, and for the truth's sake which abideth in us, and as I am persuaded shall by the grace of God abide in us for evermore. And because the world, as I perceive, brother, ceaseth not to play a pageant, and busily conspireth against Christ our Saviour, with all possible force and power ‘exalting high things against the knowledge of God,’ let us join hands together in Christ; and, if we cannot overthrow, yet to our power, and as much as in us lieth, let us shake those high altitudes, not with carnal but with spiritual weapons; and withal, brother, let us prepare for the day of dissolution, by the which, after the short time of this bodily affliction, by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, we shall triumph together with him in eternal glory.”

going about his towns and villages teaching and preaching to the people. The time that he had to spare from preaching, he bestowed either in hearing public causes, or else in private study, prayer, and in visiting schools: with his continual doctrine he adjoined due and discreet correction, not so severe to any as to those who, for abundance of riches and wealthy state, thought they might do what they pleased. And doubtless he spared no kind of people, but was indifferent to all, as well rich as poor, to the great shame of many men in these days; whereof we see so many addicted to the pleasing of the great and rich, that in the mean time they have no regard to the meaner sort whom Christ hath bought as dearly as the other.

In his personal and private character how virtuous and good he was, may be conceived and known evidently by this, that as he was hated by none but the evil, the worst of them could not reprove his life in any particular. At home, in his domestic concerns, he exhibited an example of a worthy prelate's life: bestowing the most part of his care upon the public flock and congregation of Christ, for which also he spent his blood; yet there was nothing wanting in him to bring up his own children in learning and good manners: insomuch that it is difficult to say, whether he deserved more praise for his fatherly usage at home, or his public conduct abroad. Every where he kept religion in one uniform doctrine and integrity: so that if you entered into the bishop's palace, you would suppose yourselves to have entered into some church or temple. In every corner there was the beauty of virtue, good example, honest conversation, and reading of the holy scriptures. There was not to be seen in his house any courtly rioting or idleness; no pomp, no dishonest word, no swearing, could there be heard. As to the revenues of his bishoprics, if any thing surmounted thereof, he saved nothing, but bestowed it in hospitality. Twice I was, as I remember, 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 folk; and I asking his servants what this meant, they told me that every day their lord and master's manner was, to have to dinner a certain number of poor folk of the said city by course, who were served by four at a mess, with hot and wholesome meats; and, when they were served, then he himself sat down to dinner, and not before. After this sort and manner master Hooper executed the office of a most careful and vigilant pastor, by the space of two years and more, so long as the state of religion in king Edward's time safely flourished. And would God that all other bishops would use the like diligence and care in their function!

After this, in the reign of queen Mary, religion being subverted and changed, this good bishop was one of the first who was sent for by a pursuivant to London. Two reasons were assigned for this step. The first, that he might answer to Dr. Heath, then re-appointed bishop of that diocese, who was deprived thereof in king Edward's days, why he continued in an office to which he had no right? And next to render an account to Bonner, bishop of London, because he had in king Edward's time been one of his accusers. Now although he was not ignorant of the evils that should happen towards him, being admonished by certain of his friends to get away, and shift for himself, yet he would not prevent them, but remained, saying,

“Once did I flee, and take me to my feet; but now, because I am called to this place and vocation, I am thoroughly persuaded to remain, and to live and die with my sheep.” On reaching London, before he could see Heath or Bonner, he was intercepted, and commanded to appear before the queen and her council, to answer certain bonds and obligations, wherein he was said to be bound unto her. When he met the council, Gardiner received him very opprobriously, railing at him, and accusing him of his religion. He freely and boldly answered, and cleared himself. But he was, notwithstanding, commanded to ward, and it was declared unto him at his departure, that the cause of his imprisonment was only for certain sums of money, for which he was indebted to the queen, and not for religion. This, how false and untrue it was, shall in its place more plainly appear. Here it is enough to remark that at a second summons, such was the noise, that he could not be permitted to plead his cause, but was deprived of his bishoprics.

Before we detail the examinations of Hooper, it will be proper to let him relate the cruel captivity he endured for eighteen months in the Fleet prison. “The first of September, 1553, I was committed unto the Fleet, from Richmond, to have the liberty of the prison; and within six days after I paid five pounds sterling to the warden for fees for my liberty; who immediately upon payment thereof, complained unto the bishop of Winchester, upon which I was committed to close prison a quarter of a year in the Tower-chamber of the Fleet, and used extremely ill. By the means of a good gentlewoman, I had liberty to come down to dinner and supper, but was not suffered to speak with any of my friends; but as soon as dinner and supper were done, to repair to my chamber again. Notwithstanding, whilst I came down thus to dinner and supper, the warden and his wife picked quarrels with me, and complained untruly of me to their great friend the bishop of Winchester.

“After a quarter of a year, Babington the warden, and his wife, fell out with me respecting the wicked mass: and thereupon the warden resorted to the bishop of Winchester, and obtained to put me into the wards, where I have continued a long time, having nothing appointed to me for my bed, but a little pad of straw and a rotten covering, with a tick and a few feathers therein, the chamber being vile and stinking, until by God’s means good people sent me bedding to lie on. On one side of the prison is the sink and filth of the house, and on the other the town ditch, so that the stench of the house hath infected me with sundry diseases. During this time I have been sick, and the doors, bars, hasps, and chains being all closed upon me, I have mourned, called, and cried for help; but the warden when he hath known me many times ready to die, and when the poor men of the wards have called to help me, hath commanded the doors to be kept fast, and charged that none of his men should come at me, saying, ‘Let him alone, it were a good riddance of him.’ And he did this Oct. 18, 1553, as many can witness.

“I paid always like a baron to the said warden, as well in fees, as for my board, which was twenty shillings a week, besides my man’s table, until I was wrongfully deprived of my bishoprics; and since that time, I have paid him as the best gentleman doth in his house; yet hath he



used me worse, and more vilely, than the veriest slave that ever came to the common side of the prison. He hath also imprisoned my man, William Downton, and stripped him of his clothes to search for letters, and could find none, but a little remembrance of good people's names who had given me their alms to relieve me in prison; and to undo them also, the warden delivered the same bill unto Gardiner, God's enemy and mine.

"I have suffered imprisonment almost eighteen months, my goods, livings, friends, and comfort taken from me; the queen owing me, by just account, fourscore pounds or more. She hath put me in prison, and giveth nothing to keep me, neither is there suffered any one to come at me, whereby I might have relief. I am by a wicked man and woman cruelly treated, so that I see no remedy, saving God's help, but I shall be cast away in prison before I come to judgment. But I commit my just cause to God, whose will be done, whether it be by life or death."

The first examination of bishop Hooper was before five bishops as commissioners—of London, Durham, Winchester, Chichester, and Landaff. On his entering their presence, Gardiner, bishop of Winchester and lord chancellor asked whether he was married. To this the good man smilingly answered, "Yes, my lord, and will not be unmarried till death unmarry me. And this is not enough to deprive me, except you do it against the law." The subject of marriage was no more talked of then for some time: but all began to make great outcries, and laughed, and used such gestures as were unseemly for the place, and for such a matter. Day, bishop of Chichester, called Hooper a hypocrite, with vehement voice, and scornful countenance. Tostal, bishop of Durham, called him beast; so did Smith, one of the clerks of the council, and several others that stood by. At length the bishop of Winchester said, that all men might live chaste who would, and brought in this text.—"There are those that have become eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven."

To this Hooper said, the text proved not that all men could live chaste, but such to whom it was given; and read the verse before it. But again there was a clamour and cry, mocking and scorning, calling him beast, and exclaiming that the text could not be examined. Then Hooper said, that it appeared by the old canons, that marriage was not forbidden unto priests, and then named the decrees. But the bishop of Winchester sent for another part, namely, the Clementines, or the Extravagants, and perversely, against all reason, determined that he should have no other, until he was judged by these. Then began such a noise, tumult, and speaking together of a great many who favoured not the cause, that nothing was done or spoken orderly or charitably. Afterwards, judge Morgan began to rail at Hooper a long time, with many opprobrious and foul words relative to his proceedings at Gloucester, in punishing of men, and said there was never such a tyrant as he was. After that the bishop of Chichester said, that the council of Ancyra, which was before the council of Nice, was against the marriage of priests.

To this Hooper said, my lord of Chichester knoweth, that the great council of Nice, by the means of one Paphnutius, decreed, That no

minister should be separated from his wife. Again such clamours and cries were used, that the council of Nice was not attended to. After alternate clamour and silence, and much illiberal speech, Tonstal, bishop of Durham, asked him whether he believed the corporeal presence of the sacrament. He said plainly, that there was none such, neither did he believe any such thing. The offended bishop would then have read out of a book; but there was such a noise and confused talk on every side, that he did not proceed. Then the bishop of Winchester asked, What authority had moved him to deny the corporeal presence? He said, the authority of God's word, and alleged this text, "Whom heaven must hold until the latter day." But the bishop of Winchester would have made that text to serve nothing for his purpose, and said, he might be in heaven, and in the sacrament also. Then Hooper would have opened the text, but all who stood about the bishop prevented his speaking with clamours and cries, so that he was not permitted to say any more against Gardiner. Whereupon they bade the notaries write, that he was married, and said that he would not go from his wife; and that he believed not the corporeal presence in the sacrament, for which he was worthy to be deprived of his bishopric.

The next examination of Hooper took place at Winchester house, rather more privately than the former, no doubt to prevent much of the noise made on that occasion. On the 22nd of January, 1555, Babington, the warden of the Fleet, was commanded to bring him before Gardiner and some other bishops to Winchester house, in St. Mary Overy's: where the latter moved Hooper earnestly to forsake the evil and corrupt doctrine preached in the days of king Edward, to return to the unity of the catholic church, and to acknowledge the pope's holiness to be head of the same church, according to the determination of the whole parliament: promising, likewise, that as they with other their brethren, had received the pope's blessing, and the queen's mercy, even so mercy was ready to be shewed to him and others, if he would arise with them, and condescend to the pope's holiness.

Master Hooper answered, that forasmuch as the pope taught doctrine altogether contrary to the doctrine of Christ, he was not worthy to be accounted as a member of Christ's church, much less to be head thereof; wherefore he would in no wise condescend to any such usurped jurisdiction. Neither esteemed he the church, whereof they call him head, to be the catholic church of Christ; for the church only heareth the voice of her spouse Christ, and fieth the strangers. "Howbeit," saith he, "if in any point to me unknown I have offended the queen's majesty, I shall most humbly submit myself to her mercy, if mercy may be had with safety of conscience, and without the displeasure of God." Answer was made, that the queen would show no mercy to the pope's enemies. Whereupon Babington was commanded to carry him to the Fleet again. He did so, and shifted him from his former chamber into another, near unto the warden's own chamber, where he remained six days; and, in the mean time, his former chamber was searched by Dr. Martin and others, for writings and books which master Hooper was thought to have made, but none were found.

One more examination, or rather effort to make Hooper recant, occurred at the same place, and before the same crafty and cruel inquisitors. Jan. 28th, the bishop of Winchester, and other commissioners, again sat in judgment at St. Mary Overy's, where Hooper appeared before them in the afternoon, and after much reasoning and disputation, was commanded aside, till Mr. Rogers, who was then come, had been examined. Examinations ended, the sheriffs were commanded, about four o'clock, to carry them to the compter in Southwark, there to remain till the following day at nine o'clock, to see whether they would relent and come home again to the catholic church. Hooper went before with one of the sheriffs, and Mr. Rogers came after with the other; and being out of the church door, Hooper looked back and stayed a little till Mr. Rogers drew near, unto whom he said, "Come, brother Rogers, must we two take this matter first in hand, and begin to fry these fagots?" "Yes, sir," said Mr. Rogers, "by God's grace." "Doubt not," said Hooper, "but God will give strength." So going forwards, there was such a press of people in the streets, who rejoiced at their constancy, that they had much ado to pass.

By the way the sheriff said to master Hooper, "I wonder that ye were so hasty and quick with my lord chancellor, and did use no more patience." He answered, "Master sheriff, I was nothing at all impatient, although I was earnest in my Master's cause, and it standeth me so in hand, for it goeth upon life and death; not the life and death of this world only, but also of the world to come." Then they were committed to the keeper of the compter, and appointed to different chambers, with command that they should not be suffered to speak one with another, neither was any other permitted to come to them that night.

Upon the day following, January 29th, at the hour appointed, they were brought up again by the sheriffs before Gardiner and the commissioners in the church, where they were the day before. And after long and earnest talk, when they perceived that Hooper would by no means condescend unto them, they condemned him to be degraded, and read unto him his condemnation. That done, Mr. Rogers was brought before them, and treated in like manner; and both were delivered to the secular power, the two sheriffs of London, who were ordered to carry them to the Clink, a prison not far from the bishop of Winchester's house, and there to remain till night. When it became dark, Hooper was led by one of the sheriffs, with many bills and weapons, through the bishop of Winchester's house, and over London-bridge through the city to Newgate, and by the way some of the serjeants were sent before, to put out the coster-mongers' candles, who used to sit with lights in the streets; either fearing, that the people would have made some attempt to have taken him away from them by force, if they had seen him go to that prison; or else, being burdened with an evil conscience, they thought darkness to be a most fit season for such a business. But notwithstanding this device, the people having some fore-knowledge of his coming, many of them came forth to their doors with lights, and saluted him, praising God for his constancy in the true doctrine which he had taught them, and desiring God to strengthen him in the same to the end. The

bishop required the people to make their earnest prayers to God for him; and so went through Cheapside to the place appointed, and was delivered as close prisoner to the keeper of Newgate, where he remained six days, nobody being permitted to come to him, saving his keepers, and such as should be appointed thereto.

During this time, Bonner, bishop of London, and others at his appointment, as Fecknam, Chedsey, and Harpsfield, resorted several times unto him, to try if by any means they could persuade him to relent, and become a member of their church. All the ways they could devise, they attempted. For, besides the disputations and allegation of testimonies of the scriptures, and of ancient writers wrested to a wrong sense, according to their accustomed manner, they used also all outward gentleness and significations of friendship, with many great promises of worldly wealth; not omitting, at the same time, most grievous threatenings, if with gentleness they could not prevail; but they found him always the same man, steadfast and immoveable. When they perceived that they could by no means reclaim him to their purpose, with such persuasions and offers as they used for his conversion, then went they by false rumours and reports of recantations to bring him, and the doctrine of Christ which he professed, in discredit with the people. This being spread abroad, and believed by some of the weaker sort, Hooper was greatly grieved thereat, that the people should give credit to such false rumours, having so simple a ground. Hence he was constrained to address the following letter to his fellow protestants.

“The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with all them who unfeignedly look for the coming of our Saviour Christ. Dear brethren and sisters in the Lord, and my fellow-prisoners for the cause of God’s gospel, I do much rejoice and give thanks unto God for your constancy and perseverance in affliction, unto whom I wish continuance unto the end. And as I do rejoice in your faith and constancy in afflictions that be in prison; even so do I mourn and lament to hear of our dear brethren that yet have not felt such dangers for God’s truth, as we have and do feel, and are daily like to suffer more, yea, the very extreme and vile death of the fire: yet such is the report abroad, as I am credibly informed, that I, John Hooper, a condemned man for the cause of Christ, should now after sentence of death, a prisoner in Newgate, and looking daily for execution, recant and abjure that which heretofore I have preached. And that talk ariseth from this, that the bishop of London, and his chaplains resort unto me. Doubtless, if our brethren were as godly as I could wish them, they would think, that in case I did refuse to talk with him, they might have just occasion to say, that I was unlearned, and durst not speak with learned men, or else proud, and disdained to speak with them. Therefore to avoid just suspicion of both, I have, and do daily speak with them when they come, not doubting but they report that I am neither proud nor unlearned. And I would wish all men to do as I do in this point. For I fear not their arguments, neither is death terrible unto me, praying you to make true report of

the same, as occasion shall serve; and that I am more confirmed in the truth which I have heretofore preached, by their coming.

“Therefore, you that may send to the weak brethren, pray them that they trouble me not with such reports of recantations as they do. For I have hitherto left all things of the world, and suffered great pains and imprisonment, and I thank God I am as ready to suffer death as a mortal man can be. It were better for them to pray for us, than to credit or report such rumours that are untrue. We have enemies enough of such as know not God truly; but yet the false report of weak brethren is a double cross. I wish you eternal salvation in Jesus Christ, and also require your continual prayers, that he which hath begun in us may continue it to the end. I have taught the truth with my tongue, and with my pen heretofore; and hereafter shortly shall confirm the same, by God's grace, with my blood. Forth of Newgate, Feb. 2, 1555. Your brother in Christ,

JOHN HOOPER.”

Upon Monday following, Bonner, bishop of London, came to Newgate, and there degraded bishop Hooper. The same Monday at night, his keeper gave Hooper a hint that he should be sent unto Gloucester to suffer death, whereat 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: not doubting but the Lord would give him strength to perform the same to his glory: and immediately he sent to his servant's house for his boots, spurs, and cloak, that he might be in readiness to ride when he should be called.

The day following, about four o'clock in the morning, the keeper with others came and searched him, and the bed whereon he lay, to see if he had written any thing; after which, he was led by the sheriffs of London, and their officers, from Newgate to a place appointed, not far from St. Dunstan's church in Fleet-street, where six of the queen's guard were appointed to receive him to conduct him to Gloucester, there to be delivered unto the sheriff, who with the lord Chandos, Mr. Wicks, and other commissioners, were appointed to see execution done: which guard brought him to the Angel, where he brake his fast with them, eating his meat at that time more liberally than he had a good while before. About break of day he leaped cheerfully on horseback, having a hood upon his head, under his hat, that he should not be known, and so took his journey joyfully towards Gloucester; and by the way the guard inquired of him, where he was accustomed to bait or lodge, but always carried him to another inn than the one he named.

On the Thursday following he came to Cirencester, fifteen miles from Gloucester, and there dined at a woman's house who had always hated the truth, and spoken all the evil she could of him. This woman, perceiving the cause of his coming, shewed him all the friendship she could, and lamented his case with tears, confessing that she before had often reported, that if he were put to the trial, he would not stand to his doctrine. After dinner he resumed his journey, and came to Gloucester about five o'clock. At a mile without the town much people

assembled, who cried and lamented his state; insomuch, that one of the guard rode post into the town, to require aid of the mayor and sheriffs, fearing lest he should have been taken from them. Accordingly, the officers and their retinue repaired to the gate with weapons, and commanded the people to keep their houses; but there was none that gave any signification of violence. He was lodged at one Ingram's house in Gloucester; and that night, as he had done all the way, he eat his meat quietly, and slept soundly, as it was reported by the guard and others. 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 permitted to speak to him, he spent in prayer.

Sir Anthony Kingston, formerly 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. Hooper did not know him at first; the knight therefore addressing him, said, "Why, my lord, do not you know me—an old friend of yours, Anthony Kingston?" "Yes," answered Hooper, "Sir Anthony Kingston; I do know you well, and am glad to see you in health, and praise God for the same." "But I am sorry to see you, my lord, in this case," replied Kingston, "for as I understand you are come hither to die. But alas! consider that life is sweet, and death is bitter. Therefore seeing life may be had, desire to live; for life hereafter may do good." "Indeed, it is true, Sir Anthony, I am come hither to end this life, and to suffer death here, because I will not gainsay the truth that I have heretofore taught amongst you in this diocese, and elsewhere; and I thank you for your friendly counsel, although it be not as I could wish. True it is that death is bitter, and life is sweet; but the death to come is more bitter, and the life to come is more sweet."

After these, and many other words, they took leave of each other, Kingston with bitter tears, Hooper with tears also trickling down his cheeks. At his departure the bishop told him, that all the trouble he had sustained in prison, had not caused him to utter so much sorrow. Then the bishop was committed by the guard into the custody of the sheriffs of Gloucester. These men, named Jenkins and Bond, with the mayor and aldermen, repaired to his lodging, and at the first meeting saluted him, and took him by the hand. He was not insensible to their apparent kindness, nor unaware of their resolution, notwithstanding, to execute the law as it now stood. His remarkable and exemplary address to them merits particular attention.

"I give most hearty thanks to you, and to the rest of your brethren, that you have vouchsafed to take me a prisoner and a condemned man, by the hand; whereby, to my rejoicing, it is very apparent that your old love and friendship towards me is not altogether extinguished: and I trust also that all the things I have taught you in times past, are not utterly forgotten, when I was your bishop and pastor. For which most true and sincere doctrine, because I will not now account it falsehood and heresy, as many other men do, I am sent hither, you know, by the queen's commands, to die, and am come where I taught it, to confirm it with my blood. And now, master sheriffs, I understand by these good men, and my good friends, at whose hands I have found as much favour and gentleness on the road hither, as a prisoner could reasonably require,

for which I most heartily thank them, that I am committed to your custody, as unto those that must see me brought to-morrow to the place of execution. My request to you shall be only, that there may be a quick fire, shortly to make an end; and in the mean time I will be as obedient to you as yourselves could wish. If you think I do amiss in any thing, hold up your finger and I have done. For I am not come hither as one forced or compelled to die; for it is well known, I might have had my life with worldly gain; but as one willing to offer and give my life for the truth, rather than consent to the wicked religion of the bishop of Rome, received and set forth by the magistrates in England to God's high displeasure and dishonour; and I trust, by God's grace, to-morrow to die a faithful subject to God, and a true obedient subject to the queen."

These words bishop Hooper used to the mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen, whereat many mourned and lamented. Notwithstanding, the two sheriffs went aside to consult, and were determined to have lodged him in the common gaol of the town, called Northgate, if the guard had not made earnest intercession for him; who declared at large how quietly, mildly, and patiently, he had behaved on the way; adding thereto, that any child might keep him well enough, and that they themselves would rather take pains to watch with him, than that he should be sent to the common prison. It was therefore determined that he should still remain in Robert Ingram's house; and the sheriffs, the sergeants, and other officers agreed to watch with him that night themselves. His desire was, that he might go to bed betime, saying, that he had many things to remember: accordingly he went at five o'clock, and slept one sleep soundly, then 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 came Sir John Bridges, lord Chandos, with a great band of men, Sir Anthony Kingston, Sir Edmund Bridges, and other commissioners appointed to see the execution. At nine, Hooper prepared himself to be in readiness, the time being now at hand. Immediately he was brought down from his chamber, by the sheriffs, who were accompanied with bills and other weapons. When he saw the multitude of weapons, he said to the sheriffs, "I am no traitor, neither needed you to have made such a business to bring me to the place where I must suffer; for if you had suffered me, I would have gone alone to the stake, and troubled none of you." Afterwards looking upon the multitude of people who were assembled, being by estimation about 7000, he spake unto those who were about him, saying, "Alas! why are these people assembled and come together? Peradventure they think to hear something of me now, as they have in times past: but alas! speech is prohibited me. Notwithstanding the cause of my death is well known unto them. When I was appointed here to be their pastor, I preached unto them true and sincere doctrine, and that out of the word of God; and because I will not now account the same to be heresy and untruth, this kind of death is prepared for me." Having said this, he went forward, led between the two sheriffs, in a gown of his host's, his hat upon his head, and a staff in his hand to rest himself upon; for

the pain of the sciatica, which he had taken in prison, caused him somewhat to halt. All the way, being strictly charged not to speak, he could not be perceived once to open his mouth; but 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 amongst them, to look with so happy and ruddy a countenance as he did then.

When he came to the place where he should die, he smilingly beheld the stake, which was near to the great elm-tree over against the college of priests, where he had been wont to preach. The place round about the houses, and the boughs of the trees, were filled with spectators: and in the chamber over the gate stood the priests of the college. Then he kneeled down (forasmuch as he could not be suffered to speak unto the people) to prayer, and beckoned six or seven times unto one whom he well knew, that he might hear his prayer, and report faithfully the same. When this person came to the bishop he poured tears upon his shoulders and in his bosom, and continued his prayer for half an hour: which prayer was drawn from the whole creed. While at his prayer a box was brought and laid before him upon a stool, with his pardon from the queen if he would recant. At the sight of this he cried, "If you love my soul, away with it." The box being taken away, the lord Chandos said, "Seeing there is no remedy, dispatch him quickly." Hooper replied, "Good, my lord; I trust your lordship will give me leave to make an end of my prayers."

When he had risen from his last devotions in this world, he prepared himself for the stake, and put off his host's gown, and delivered it to the sheriffs, requiring them to see it restored unto the owner, and put off the rest of his apparel, unto his doublet and hose, wherein he would have burned. But the sheriffs would not permit that, unto whose pleasure he very obediently submitted himself; and his doublet, hose, and waistcoat were taken off. Thus 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. So desiring the people to say the Lord's Prayer with him, and to pray for him, 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. But he refusing them, said, "You have no need thus to trouble yourselves. I doubt not God will give me strength sufficient to abide the extremity of the fire without bands: notwithstanding, suspecting the frailty and weakness of the flesh, but having assured confidence in God's strength, I am content you do as you shall think good."

Then the hoop of iron prepared for his middle was brought, which being somewhat too short, he shrank and pressed in his body with his hand, until it fastened: but when they offered to have bound his neck and legs with the other hoops, he refused them, saying, "I am well assured I shall not trouble you." Being now ready he looked around on all the people, of whom he might be well seen, for he was both tall, and stood also upon a high stool, and beheld that in every corner there was nothing to be seen but weeping and sorrowful people. Then lifting up



his eyes and hands to heaven he prayed in silence. By and by, he that was appointed to make the fire came to him and asked him forgiveness.

He asked why he should forgive him, saying that he never knew any offence he had committed against him. "O, sir," said the man, "I am appointed to make the fire." "Therein," said Mr. Hooper, "thou dost nothing to offend me: God forgive thee thy sins, and do thine office, I pray thee." Then the reeds were cast up, and he receiving two bundles of them in his own hands embraced them, and putting one of them under each arm, showed with his hand how the rest 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 fewer green fagots than two horses could carry, it did not kindle speedily, but was some time before it took the reeds upon the fagots. At length it burned about him; but the wind having full strength in that place, and it 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. Endeavours were then made to increase the flame, and then the bladders of gunpowder exploded; but did him little good, being so placed, and the wind having such power. In this fire he prayed with a loud voice, "Lord Jesus, have mercy upon me! Lord Jesus, have mercy upon me! Lord Jesus, receive my spirit!" And these were the last words he was heard to utter. Yet he struck his breast with his hands, until by the renewing of the fire his strength was gone, and his hand stuck fast in striking the iron upon his breast. So immediately, bowing forwards, he yielded up his spirit. Thus lingering were his last sufferings. He was nearly three quarters of an hour or more in the fire, as a lamb, patiently bearing the extremity thereof, neither moving forwards, backwards, nor to any side; but he died as quietly as a child in his bed; and he now reigneth as a blessed martyr in the joys of heaven, prepared for the faithful in Christ before the foundation of the world; for whose constancy all christians are bound to praise God.

A POEM, BY CONRADE GESNER, ON THE MARTYRDOM OF DR. JOHN HOOPER, BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER AND WORCESTER.

Hooper, unvanquish'd by Rome's cruelties,  
 Confessing Christ in his last moments, dies:  
 Whilst flames his body rack, his soul doth fly,  
 Inflam'd with faith, to immortality!  
 His constancy on earth has rais'd his name,  
 And gave him entrance at the gates of fame,  
 Which neither storms, nor the cold north-wind's blast,  
 Nor all-devouring time shall ever waste:  
 For he whom God protects shall sure attain  
 That happiness, which worldlings seek in vain.  
 Example take by him, you who profess  
 Christ's holy doctrines; ne'er the world caress  
 In hopes of riches; or if fortune frown  
 With inauspicious looks, be not cast down;  
 For man ne'er saw, nor can his heart conceive,  
 What God bestows on them that righteous live.

This good bishop and servant of God whose life and martyrdom is now declared, being in prison, wrote divers books and treatises, to the number of twenty-four. Also divers letters most fruitful and worthy to be read, especially in these dangerous times, of those who seek to serve and follow the Lord through all the storms of this evil world, as by the perusal of the following to his godly wife Anne Hooper, you shall better understand.

“DEARLY BELOVED AND GODLY WIFE,

“Our Saviour Jesus Christ in St. Matthew’s gospel said to his disciples, that it was necessary scandals should come; and that they could not be avoided, he perceived as well by the condition of those that should perish and be lost for ever, as also by their affliction they should be saved. For he saw the greatest part of the people would contemn and neglect whatsoever true doctrine should be shewn unto them, or else receive and use it as they thought good to serve their pleasures, without any profit to their souls, not caring whether they lived as they were commanded by God’s word or not; but would think it sufficient to be counted to have the name of a christian, with such works and fruits of its profession as their fathers and elders, after their custom and manner, esteem and take to be good fruits and faithful works, without trying them by the word of God. These men by the just judgment of God, be delivered unto the craft and subtlety of the devil, that they may be kept by one scandalous stumbling-block or other never to come unto Christ, who came to save those that were lost; as you may see how God delivereth wicked men up unto their own lusts, to do one mischief after another, careless of coming into a reprobate mind, that forgetteth itself, and cannot know what is expedient to be done, or to be left undone, because they close their eyes, and will not see the light of God’s word offered unto them: and being thus blinded, they prefer their own vanities before the truth of God’s word. Where such corrupt minds, be, there are also corrupt notions of God’s honour: so that the mind taketh falsehood for truth, superstitions for true religion, death for life, damnation for salvation, hell for heaven, and persecution of Christ’s members for God’s service and honour. And as such persons voluntarily reject the word of God; so God most justly delivereth them up to blindness of mind and hardness of heart, that they cannot understand, nor yet consent to any thing that God would have preached, and set forth to his glory, after his own will and word; but they hate it mortally, and of all things most detest God’s holy word. As the devil hath entered into their hearts, that they cannot or will not come to Christ, to be instructed by his holy word: even so can they not abide any other person to be a christian, and to lead his life after the word of God; but hate him, persecute him, rob him, imprison him, yea and kill him, if God suffer it. And so much are these wicked men blinded, that they regard no law, whether it be the law of God or man, but persecute such as never offended, yea, do evil to those that have prayed daily for them, and wish them God’s grace.

“In their blind fury they have no respect to nature. For brother persecuteth brother, and father the son: most dear friends in devilish slander

and offence become most mortal enemies. And no marvel; for when they have chosen sundry masters, the one the devil, the other God, the one shall agree with the former and the other with the latter. For this cause Christ said, it is expedient and necessary that scandals should come, and many may be advised to keep the babes of Christ from the heavenly Father. But Christ saith, Woe be unto him by whom the offence cometh. Yet is there no remedy, man being of such corruption and hatred towards God, but that the evil shall be deceived, and persecute the good; and the good shall understand the truth, and suffer persecution for it unto the world's end. For 'as he that was born after the flesh, persecuted in times past him that was born after the spirit, even so it is now.' Therefore as we live in this life amongst so many perils and dangers, we must be well assured by God's word how to bear them, and how patiently to take them as they be sent to us from God. We must also assure ourselves, that there is no other remedy for christians in the time of trouble, than Christ himself hath appointed us. In St. Luke he giveth us this commandment, 'Ye shall possess your lives in peace.' In which words he giveth us both commandment what to do, and also great comfort and consolation in all troubles.

"That the spirit of man may feel these consolations, the Giver of them, the heavenly Father, must be prayed unto for the merits of Christ's passion: for it is not the nature of man that can be contented, until it be regenerated and possessed with God's Spirit, to bear patiently the troubles of the mind or of the body. When the mind and heart of a man seeth on every side sorrow and heaviness, and the worldly eye beholdeth nothing but such things as be troubles and wholly bent to rob the poor of what he hath, and also to take from him his life; except we weigh these brittle and uncertain treasures with the riches of the life to come; and this life of the body, with the life in Christ's blood; and so for the love and certainty of the heavenly joys condemn all things present, doubtless we shall never be able to bear the loss of goods, life, or any other thing of this world.

"Therefore St. Paul giveth a godly and necessary lesson to all in this short and transitory life, and therein sheweth how a man may best bear the iniquities and troubles of this world. 'If ye be risen again with Christ, seek the things which are above, where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God the Father.' Wherefore, the christian's faith must be always upon the resurrection of Christ when he is in trouble; and in that glorious resurrection he shall not only see continual and perpetual joy and consolation; but also victory and triumph over all persecution, trouble, sin, death, hell, the devil, and other tyrants and persecutors of Christ, and of Christ's people, the tears and weeping of the faithful dried up, their wounds healed, their bodies made immortal in joy, their souls for ever praising the Lord, in conjunction and society everlasting with the blessed company of God's elect in perpetual felicity. But the words of St. Paul in that place, if they be not marked, shall do little profit to the reader or hearer, and give him no peace at all in this impatient and cruel world.

"When a man hath, by seeking the word of God, found out what the things above be, then must he, saith Paul, 'set his affections' on them. And

this commandment is more hard than the other. For men's knowledge many time seeth the best, and knoweth that there is a life to come, better than this life present, yet they set not their affections upon it: they more affect and love indeed a trifle of nothing in this that pleaseth their hearts, than the treasure of treasures in heaven, which their own judgment saith is better than all worldly things. Wherefore we must "set our affections on the things that be above;" that is to say, when any thing worse than heaven upon the earth offereth itself to be ours, if we will give our good wills to it, and love it in our hearts, then ought we to see by the judgment of God's word, whether we may have the world without offence of God, and such things as be for this worldly life without his displeasure. If we cannot, St. Paul's commandment must take place—"Set your affections on things that are above." If the riches of this world may not be gotten nor kept by God's law, neither our lives be continued without the denial of his honour, we must set our affections upon the riches and life that are above, and not upon things that are on the earth. Therefore this second commandment of St. Paul requireth, that our minds judge heavenly things to be better than things upon the earth, and the life to come better than the life present: so we should choose them before the other, and prefer them, and have such affection to the best, that in no case we set the worst before it, as the most part of the world doth and hath done, for they acknowledge the best and prove it, and yet follow the worst.

"But these things, my godly wife, require rather thought, meditation, and prayer, than words or talk. They are easy to be spoken of, but not so easy to be used and practised. Wherefore seeing they be God's gifts, and yet they may become our privileges, we must seek them at our heavenly Father's hand, who seeth, and is privy how poor and wretched we be, and how naked, how spoiled, and destitute of all his blessed gifts we be by reason of sin. He did command, therefore, his disciples, when he shewed them that they should take patiently the state of this present life full of troubles and persecution, to pray that they might well escape those troubles that were to come, and be able to stand before the Son of man. When you find yourself too much oppressed—as every one shall be sometimes with the fear of God's judgment—use the 77th psalm that beginneth, "I will cry unto God with my voice, and he shall hearken unto me." In which psalm is both godly doctrine and great consolation unto the man or woman that is in anguish of mind.

"Use also in such trouble the 88th psalm, wherein is contained the prayer of one that was brought to extreme anguish and misery, and being vexed with adversaries and persecutions, saw nothing but death and hell. Yet although he felt in himself, that he had not only man, but also God angry towards him: yet he by prayer humbly resorted unto God. Remember also that none of us must murmur against God, but always say his judgments are right and just, and rejoice that it pleaseth him by troubles to use us as he used heretofore such as he most loved in this world. "Be glad, and rejoice, for your reward is great in heaven." His promises shall by his grace, work both consolation and patience in afflicted christians. And when our Saviour Christ hath willed men in trouble to be content and patient, because God in the end

of trouble, in Christ hath ordained eternal consolation ; he useth also to take from us all shame and rebuke, and make it an honour to suffer for Christ, because the wicked world doth curse and abhor such poor troubled christians. Wherefore Christ placeth all his honourably, and saith, ' Even so persecuted they the prophets that were before you.' We must therefore patiently suffer, and willingly attend upon God's doings, although they seem clean contrary, after our judgment, to our wealth and salvation : as Abraham did, when bid to offer his son Isaac, in whom God promised the blessing and multiplying of his seed.

" And judge things indifferently, my good wife, the troubles be not yet generally, as they were in our good fathers' time, soon after the death and resurrection of our Saviour Jesus Christ, whereof he spake in St. Matthew. From which place you and I have taken many times great consolation, and especially of the latter part of the chapter, wherein is contained the last day and end of all troubles both for you and me, and for all such as love the coming of our Saviour Christ to judgment. Remember, therefore, that place, and mark it again, and you shall in this time see this great consolation, and also learn much patience. Were there ever such troubles as Christ threatened upon Jerusalem ? Was there since the beginning of the world such affliction ? Who were then best at ease ? The apostles that suffered in body persecution, and gathered of it ease and quietness in the promises of God. And no marvel, for Christ saith, " Lift up your heads, for your redemption is at hand ; " that is, your eternal rest approacheth and draweth near. The world is stark blind, and more foolish than foolishness itself, and so are the people of this world : for when God saith, trouble shall come, they will have ease. And when God saith, be merry and rejoice in trouble, we lament and mourn, as though we were to be cast-away. But this our flesh (which is never merry with virtue, nor sorry with vice : never laugheth with grace, nor ever weepeth with sin) holdeth fast with the world, and letteth God slip. But, my dearly beloved wife, you know how to perceive and to beware of the vanity, and crafts of the devil well enough in Christ. And that you may the better have patience in the Spirit of God, read again the 24th of St. Matthew, and mark what difference is between the destruction of Jerusalem, and the destruction of the whole world, and you shall see, that then there were alive many offenders to repent : but at the latter day there shall be absolute judgment and sentence, never to be revoked, of eternal life and eternal death upon all men : and yet towards the end of the world we have not so much extremity as they had then, but even as we are able to bear. So doth the merciful Father lay upon us now imprisonment, and I suppose for my part shortly death ; now spoil of goods, loss of friends, and the greatest loss of all, the knowledge of God's word. His holy will be done. I wish in Christ Jesus our only Mediator and Saviour, your constancy and consolation, that you may live for ever and ever, whereof in Christ I doubt not ; to whom, for his most blessed and painful passion, I commit you, Amen. "

While in prison, Hooper received a letter from his learned and pious friend Henry Bullinger, of Zurich. It was well worthy of its author and of the spirit of a saint. He exhorted him to bear with firmness that awful task to which the Lord had appointed to him, and to look beyond his troubles to the crown that awaited him.<sup>a</sup> One more incident amongst other memorable things worthy to be remembered in the history of Hooper, is not to be forgotten: it happened a little after the beginning of his imprisonment.

A friar came from France to England with great vaunt, asking who was the greatest heretic in England, thinking no doubt to do some great act upon him. To whom answer was made, that Dr. Hooper had then the greatest name to be the chiefest ringleader, who was then in the Fleet. The friar coming to him, asked why he was committed to prison? He said for debt. "Nay," said he, "it was for heresy;" which when Hooper had denied, "What sayest thou," quoth he, "*to hoc est corpus meum?*" Hooper, being partly moved at the sudden question, desired that he might ask of him another, which was this, "what remains after the consecration in the sacrament, any bread or no?" "No bread at all," said the friar. "And when you break it, what do you break—whether bread or the body?" said Hooper. "No bread," said the friar; "but the body only." "If ye do so," said Hooper, "you do great injury, not only to the body of Christ, but also to the scriptures, which say, Ye shall not break of him one bone." With that the friar having nothing to answer, recoiled back, and with circles and crosses began to use exorcism as though Hooper had bewitched him!

### SECTION III.

THE LIFE AND MARTYRDOM OF DR. ROWLAND TAYLOR, WHO SUFFERED FOR THE TRUTH OF GOD'S WORD, UNDER THE TYRANNY OF THE ROMAN BISHOPS, THE 9TH DAY OF FEBRUARY, 1555.

THE town of Hadley was one of the first that received the word of God in all England, at the preaching of Thomas Bilney; by whose industry the gospel of Christ had such gracious success, and took such root there, that a great number became exceedingly learned in the holy Scriptures, as well women as men. Of this parish Dr. Rowland Taylor was vicar, being doctor both in the civil and canon laws, and a right perfect divine. In addition to eminent learning, his known attachment to the pure prin-

<sup>a</sup> "Go forwards," he wrote, "constantly to confess Christ, and to defy Antichrist, being mindful of this most holy and most true saying of our Lord Jesus Christ: 'He that overcometh shall possess all things; and I will be his God, and he shall be my son.' The first death is soon overcome, although a man must burn for the Lord's sake: for they say well that do affirm this our fire to be scarcely a shadow of that which is prepared for unbelievers, and them that fall from the truth. Moreover, the Lord granteth unto us, that we may easily overcome by his power the first death, the which he himself did taste and overcome; promising withal such joys as never shall have end, unspeakable, and passing all understanding, the which we shall possess so soon as ever we do depart hence.—Therefore, seeing you have such a large promise, be strong in the Lord, fight a good fight, be faithful to the Lord unto the end. I and all my household, with my sons-in-law and kinsmen, are in good health in the Lord. They do all salute you, and pray for your constancy; being sorrowful for you and the rest of the prisoners. If there be any thing wherein I may do any pleasure to your wife and children, they shall have me wholly at commandment. The Lord Jesus preserve and deliver you from all evil, with all them that call upon his name. Farewell, and farewell eternally. You know the hand, II. B."

ciples of christianity recommended him to the favour and friendship of Cranmer, with whom he lived, till through his interest he obtained the vicarage of Hadley. This charge he attended with the utmost diligence, recommending and enforcing the doctrines of the gospel, not only by his judicious discourses from the pulpit, but also by the whole tenor of his life and conversation.

Dr. Taylor continued promoting the interest of the great Redeemer, and the souls of mankind, both by his preaching and example during the reign of king Edward; but on his demise, and on the succession of Mary to the throne, he could not escape the cloud that burst on the protestant community. 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 at Hadley, on the Monday before Easter. They had even caused an altar to be built in the chancel for that purpose, which being pulled down by the protestant inhabitants, they erected another, and prevailed with the minister of an adjacent parish to celebrate mass in the passion-week. Taylor being employed in his study, was alarmed by the ringing of bells at an unusual time, and went to the church to inquire the cause. He found the great doors fast, but lifting up the latch of the chancel door, he entered, and was surprised to see a priest in his habit prepared to celebrate mass, and guarded by a party of men under arms, to prevent interruption.

Being vicar of the parish, he demanded of the priest the cause of such proceeding without his knowledge or consent; and how he dared profane the temple of God with abominable idolatries. Foster, the lawyer, insolently replied—"Thou traitor, how darest thou to intercept the execution of the queen's orders?" but the doctor undauntedly denied the charge of traitor, and asserted his mission as a minister of Christ, and delegation to that part of his flock, commanding the priest as a wolf in sheep's clothing to depart, nor infect the pure church of God with popish idolatry. A violent altercation then ensued, between Foster and Dr. Taylor, the former asserting the queen's prerogative, and the other the authority of the canon-law, which commanded that no mass be said, but at a consecrated altar. Meanwhile the priest, intimidated by the intrepid behaviour of the protestant minister, would have departed without saying mass, but Clark said to him, "Fear not, you have a *super altare*;" which is a consecrated stone, commonly about a foot square, which the popish priests carry instead of an altar, when they say mass in gentlemen's houses. Clark then ordered him to proceed in his present duty. They then forced the doctor out of the church, celebrated mass, and immediately informed the bishop of Winchester of his behaviour, who summoned him to appear and answer the complaints alleged against him.

Dr. Taylor upon receipt of the summons cheerfully prepared to obey the same: and on some of his friends advising him to fly beyond sea, in order to avoid the cruelty of his inveterate enemies, he told them that he was determined to go to the bishop; and he accordingly repaired to London and waited on him. As soon as Gardiner saw him, according to his common custom he reviled him, calling him knave, traitor,

heretic, with many other villanous reproaches, which Taylor, having patiently heard for some time, at last answered thus without fear or impropriety—"My lord, I am neither traitor nor heretic, but a true subject, and a faithful christian, and am come according to your commandment, to know the cause of your lordship's sending for me."

"Art thou come, thou villain?" said the violent Gardiner; "how darest thou look me in the face for shame? Knowest thou not who I am?" "Yes," said Dr. Taylor, "I know who 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 you not God, the Lord of us all? How dare you for shame look any christian in the face, seeing you have forsaken the truth, denied our Saviour Christ and his word, and done contrary to your own oath and writing? With what countenance will you appear before the judgment seat of Christ, and answer to your oath made first unto king Henry, and afterwards unto Edward, his son?"

The bishop answered, "That was Herod's oath, unlawful; and therefore worthy to be broken: I have done well in breaking it; and I thank God I am come home again to our mother, the catholic church of Rome, and so I would thou shouldest do. Our holy father the pope hath discharged me of it." Then said Dr. Taylor, "But you shall not be so discharged before Christ, who doubtless will require it at your hands, as a lawful oath made to our liege and sovereign lord the king, from whose obedience no man can quit you, neither the pope nor any of his." "I see," quoth the bishop, "thou art an arrogant knave and a very fool." "My lord," said Dr. Taylor, "I am a Christian man; and you know that 'he that saith to his brother, Raca, is in danger of a council: and he that saith, Thou fool, is in danger of hell fire.'" The bishop answered, "Ye are false and liars, all the sort of you." "Nay," quoth Dr. Taylor, "we are true men, and know that it is written, 'The mouth that lieth, slayeth the soul.' And therefore we abide by God's word, which ye deny and forsake."

"Thou hast resisted the queen's proceedings," said Gardiner, "and would not suffer the parson of Aldham, (a very virtuous and devout priest,) to say mass in Hadley." Dr. Taylor answered, "My lord, I am parson of Hadley; and it is against all right, conscience, and laws, that any man should come into my charge, and presume to infect the flock committed unto me with the venom of the popish idolatrous mass." With that the bishop waxed very angry, and said, "Thou art a blasphemous heretic indeed, that blasphemest the blessed sacrament, (and put off his cap,) and speakest against the holy mass, which is made a sacrifice for the quick and the dead." Dr. Taylor answered, "Nay, I blaspheme not the blessed sacrament which Christ instituted, but I reverence it as a Christian man ought to do; and confess that Christ ordained the holy communion in the remembrance of his death and passion.—Christ gave himself to die for our redemption upon the cross, whose body there offered was the propitiatory sacrifice, full, perfect, and sufficient unto salvation for all them that believe in him. And this sacrifice did our Saviour Christ offer in his own person himself once for all, neither can any priest any more offer him, nor we need any more sacrifice."

Then the bishop called his men, and said, "Have this fellow to the King's Bench, and charge that he be straitly kept." Then Taylor knelt, and held



up both his hands and said, "Good Lord, I thank thee! and from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and all his detestable errors, idolatries, and abominations, good Lord deliver us! and God be praised for good king Edward." They carried him to prison to the King's Bench, where he was confined almost two years. Of course Gardiner's command for strict confinement was obeyed. These several particulars are mentioned in a letter that Dr. Taylor wrote to a friend of his, thanking God for his grace, at the same time that he had confessed his truth, and was found worthy for truth to suffer prison and bonds, beseeching his friends to pray for him, that he might persevere constant unto the end.

In January, 1555, Dr. Taylor, Mr. Bradford, and Mr. Saunders, were again called to appear before the bishops of Winchester, Norwich, London, Salisbury, and Durham, and being again charged with heresy and schism, a determinate answer was required, whether they would submit themselves to the Roman bishop, and abjure their errors, or hear their condemnation. Dr. Taylor and his fellows answered stoutly and boldly, that they would not depart from the truth which they had preached in king Edward's days, neither would they submit to the Romish Antichrist; but they thanked God for so great mercy, that he would call them to be worthy to suffer for his word. When the bishops saw them so boldly, constantly, and unmovably fixed in the truth, they read the sentence of death upon them, which when they heard they most joyfully gave God thanks, and stoutly said unto the bishops, "We doubt not, but God the righteous judge will require our blood at your hands; and the proudest of you all shall repent this receiving again of Antichrist, and your tyranny that ye now show against the flock of Christ."

When Dr. Taylor had lain in the Compter in the Poultry about a week, on Feb. 4, 1555, bishop Bonner, with others, came to degrade him, bringing with them such ornaments as do appertain to their massing-mummary. He called for Taylor to be brought unto him; the bishop being then in the chamber where the keeper of the Compter and his wife lay. Dr. Taylor was accordingly brought down from the chamber to Bonner. "I wish you would remember yourself, and turn to your holy mother church, so may you do well enough, and I will sue for your pardon," said Bonner. Dr. Taylor answered—"I wish that you and your fellows would turn to Christ. As for me, I will not turn to antichrist." Said the bishop, "I am come to degrade you: wherefore put on these vestures." Dr. Taylor said resolutely, "I will not." "Wilt thou not? I shall make thee, ere I go," replied Bonner. "You shall not, by the grace of God," said Taylor. Again Bonner charged him upon his obedience to do it, but he would not. Upon this he ordered another to put them upon his back; and being thoroughly furnished therewith, he set his hands to his side, walking up and down, and said—"How say you, my lord, am not I a goodly fool? How say you, my masters, if I were in Cheapside, should I not have boys to laugh at these apish toys and trumpery?" At this Bonner was so enraged, that he would have given Dr. Taylor a stroke on the breast with his crosier-staff, when his chaplain said—"My lord, strike him not, for he will certainly strike again." The bishop

then laid his curse upon him, but struck him not. Dr. Taylor said, "Though you curse me, yet God doth bless me."

The night after his degradation, his wife, his son, and his servant, came to him, and were, by the keepers, permitted to sup with him: at their coming, they kneeled down and prayed. 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 he said—"My dear son, Almighty God bless thee, and give thee his Holy Spirit, to be a true servant of Christ, to learn his word, and constantly to stand by his truth all thy life long: and see that thou fear God always. Flee from all sin and wicked living: be virtuous, serve God with daily prayer, and apply to the holy book. In any wise see that thou be obedient to thy mother, love her and serve her; be ruled by her now in thy youth, and follow her good counsel in all things. Beware of the lewd company of young men that fear not God, but who follow their lusts and vain appetites. Fly from whoredom, and hate all filthy living, remembering that I, thy father, die in the defence of holy marriage. Another day, when God shall bless thee, love and cherish the poor people, and count that thy chief riches is to be rich in alms; and when thy mother is waxed old, forsake her not; but provide for her to thy power, and see that she lack nothing: for so will God bless thee, and give thee long life upon earth and prosperity, which I pray God to grant thee." And then turning to his wife, he said—"My dear wife, continue stedfast in the fear and love of God: keep yourself undefiled from popish idolatries and superstition. I have been unto you a faithful yoke-fellow, and so have you to me, for which I pray God to reward you, and doubt not but he will reward it. 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 the counsel which I think most expedient for you. You are yet a child-bearing woman, and therefore it will be most convenient for you to marry."

On the following morning the sheriff of London with his officers, came by two o'clock, and brought him forth, and without any light led him to the Woolpack, an inn without Aldgate. Mrs. Taylor, suspecting that her husband would that night be carried away, watched all night in St. Botolph's church porch, without Aldgate, having with her two children, the one named Elizabeth, an orphan, whom the doctor had adopted at three years old; the other named Mary, his own daughter. When the sheriff and his company came against St. Botolph's church, the grateful little Elizabeth cried—"O my dear father! mother, mother, here is my father led away!" "Rowland," said his wife, "where art thou?" for it was so dark a morning, that the one could not see the other. "Dear wife, I am here," said the doctor, and stopped. The sheriff's men would have forced him on; but the sheriff said—"Stay a little, I pray you, and let him speak to his wife."

She then came to him, when he took his daughter Mary in his arms, while he, his wife, and Elizabeth, kneeled down and said the Lord's prayer. At which sight the sheriff wept much, as did several others of the company. The prayer finished, Taylor rose up and kissed his wife,

and pressing her hand, he said—"Farewell, my dear wife; be of good comfort, for I am quiet in my conscience. God shall stir up a father for my children." And then he kissed his daughter Mary, and said, "God bless thee, and make thee his servant:" and kissing Elizabeth, he said, "God bless thee. I pray you all, stand strong and stedfast unto Christ and his word, and beware of idolatry." Then said his wife unto him, "God be with thee, my dear Rowland: I will, with God's grace, meet thee at Hadley."

He was then led on, while his wife followed him. As soon as he came to the Woolpack, he was put into a chamber, wherein he was kept with four yeomen of the guard, and the sheriff's men. As soon as he entered the chamber, he fell on his knees, and gave himself wholly to prayer. The sheriff then seeing Mrs. Taylor there, would in no case grant her to speak any more with her husband, but gently desired her to go to his house, and use it as her own, promising her, that she should lack nothing, and sending two officers to conduct her thither. Notwithstanding this, she desired to go to her mother's, whither the officers led her, and charged her mother to keep her there till they came again. Meanwhile the journey to Hadley was delayed. Dr. Taylor was confined at the Woolpack by the sheriff and his company, till eleven o'clock, by which time the sheriff of Essex was ready to receive him; when they sat him on horseback within the inn, the gates being shut.

On coming out of the gates his servant John Hull stood at the rails with young Taylor. When the doctor saw them, he called them saying—"Come hither, my son Thomas." John Hull lifted the child up, and set him on the horse before his father; who then put off his hat, and said to the people—"Good people, this is mine own son, begotten in lawful matrimony: and God be blessed for lawful matrimony." Then he lifted up his eyes towards heaven and prayed for his child, placing his hat upon his head. After blessing him, he delivered him to his faithful servant, whom he took by the hand and said—"Farewell, John Hull, the most faithful servant ever man had." After this they rode forth, the sheriff of Essex, and four yeomen of the guard, and the sheriff's men leading them.

When they were come almost to Brentwood, one Arthur Faysie, a man of Hadley, who formerly had been Dr. Taylor's servant, met with them, and he, supposing him to have been at liberty, said—"Master, I am glad to see you again at liberty," and took him by the hand. "Sir," returned the sheriff, "he is a prisoner; what hast thou to do with him?" "I cry your mercy," said Arthur, "I knew not so much, and I thought it no offence to talk to a true man." The sheriff was very angry with this, and threatened to carry Arthur with him to prison; notwithstanding he bid him get quickly away. And so they rode forth to Brentwood, where they caused to be made for Dr. Taylor a close hood. This they did, that no man should know him, nor he to speak to any man; which practice they used also with others.

All the way, Dr. Taylor was joyful and merry, as one that accounted himself going to a most pleasant banquet or bridal. He spake many notable things to the sheriff and yeomen of the guard that conducted him, and often moved them to weep through his much earnest calling upon

them to repent, and turn to the true religion. Of these yeomen of the guard three used him very tenderly, but the fourth, named Holmes, treated him most unkindly. The party supped and slept at Chelmsford. At supper the sheriff earnestly besought him to return to the popish religion, thinking with fair words to persuade him, and said—"Good Doctor, we are sorry for you, considering the loss of such a man as you. You would do much better to revoke your opinions, and return to the catholic church of Rome, acknowledge the pope's holiness to be the supreme head of the church, and reconcile yourselves to him. You may do well yet if you will: doubt not but you shall find favour at the queen's hands. I and all these your friends will be suitors for your pardon; this council I give you, Doctor, of a good heart and will towards you: and therefore I drink to you." In this joined all the rest.

When the cup was handed to him, he staid a little, as one studying what answer he might give. At last he said—"Mr. Sheriff, and my masters all, I heartily thank you for your good will; I have attended to your words, and marked well your counsels. And to be plain with you, I find that I have been deceived myself, and am like to deceive a great many of Hadley of their expectation." With that word they all rejoiced. "Yes, Doctor," said the sheriff, "God's blessing on your heart; hold you there still. It is the most comfortable word we have heard you speak yet." The cheerful man then explained himself, "I will tell you how I have been deceived, and, as I think, I shall deceive a great many. I am, as you see, a man of a very large body, which I thought should have been buried in Hadley church-yard, had I died as I hoped I should have done; but herein I was deceived; and there are a great number of worms in Hadley church-yard, which would have had merry feeding upon me; but now I know we shall be deceived, both I and they; for this carcass must be burned to ashes, and they shall lose their feast." When the sheriff and his company heard him say so, they were amazed, and looking one on another, marvelled at his constant mind, that thus without fear he could speak of the torment and death now prepared for him.

At Chelmsford he was delivered to the sheriff of Suffolk, and by him conducted to Hadley. On their arrival at Lavenham, the sheriff staid there two days; and thither came to him a great number of gentlemen and justices, who were appointed to aid him. These endeavoured very much to reduce the Doctor to the Romish religion, promising him his pardon, which they said they had for him. They also promised him great promotions, even a bishopric if he would take it: but all their labour and flattery were in vain.

When they came to Hadley, and were passing the bridge, there waited a poor man with five children; who when they saw Dr. Taylor, fell down upon their knees, and holding up their hands, cried with a loud voice—"O dear father and good shepherd! God help and succour thee as thou hast many a time succoured us!" Such witness had the servant of God of his virtuous and charitable life. The streets of Hadley were crowded with men and women of the town and country, who waited to see him; and in beholding him led to death, with weeping eyes and lamenting voices they cried one to another—"Ah, good Lord! there

goeth our good shepherd from us, who so faithfully hath taught us, so fatherly hath cared for us, and so godly hath governed us! Good Lord, strengthen and comfort him." Arriving over against the alms-houses, which he well knew, he cast money to the poor people, that remained out of what had been given him in the time of his imprisonment. His living of Hadley they took from him at his first going to prison, so that he was sustained by the charitable alms of good people that visited him.

At the last, coming to Aldham-common, and seeing a great multitude, he asked, "What place is this, and what meaneth it that so much people are gathered hither?" It was answered, "It is Aldham-common, the place where you must suffer; and the people are come to behold you." Then said he, "Thanked be God, I am even at home;" and so alighted from his horse, and with both his hands rent the hood from his head. When the people saw him, they cried, "God save thee, good Dr. Taylor! Jesus Christ strengthen thee and help thee; the Holy Ghost comfort thee:" with such other like godly wishes. Then desired Dr. Taylor license of the sheriff to speak; but he denied it him. Perceiving that he could not be suffered to speak, he sat down, and 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."

On hearing his voice, the yeoman of the guard who had used him cruelly all the way, gave him a great stroke upon the head and said—"Is that keeping thy promise, thou heretic?" Then seeing they would not permit him to speak, he kneeled down and prayed, and a poor woman who was among the people stepped in and prayed with him: they endeavoured to thrust her away, and threatened to tread her down with their horses: notwithstanding this she would not remove, but abode and prayed with him. When he had finished his devotions, he went to the stake and kissed it, and set himself into a pitch barrel, which they had brought for him to stand in, and thus stood with his back upright against the stake, with his hands folded together, and his eyes towards heaven, and continually prayed. Then they bound a chain around him, and the sheriff called Richard Donningham, a butcher, and commanded him to set up the fagots; but the man refused, and said—"I am lame, sir, and not able to lift a fagot." The sheriff on this threatened to send him to prison; still he would not do it. The sheriff then compelled several worthless fellows of the multitude to set up the fagots and make the fire, which they most diligently did: and one of them cruelly cast a fagot at the martyr, which struck him on the face, and the blood ran down. He meekly said—"O friend, I have suffering enough, what needed that?"

Sir John Shelton standing by, as Dr. Taylor was speaking, and saying the psalm *Miserere* in English, struck him on the lips—"You knave," he said, "speak Latin, or I will make thee." At last they kindled the fire; when the martyr, holding up his hands, called upon God, and

said, "Merciful Father of heaven, for Jesus Christ my Saviour's sake, receive my soul into thy hands." He then remained still without either crying or moving, with his hands folded together, till Soyce with an halberd struck him on the head so violently, that his brains fell out, and the dead corpse fell down into the fire. Thus rendered he his soul into the hands of his merciful Father, and to his most dear and certain Saviour Jesus Christ, whom he most entirely loved, faithfully and earnestly preached, obediently followed in living, and constantly glorified in death.

These severities were very hateful to the nation. It was observed that in king Edward's time, those that opposed the laws were only turned out of their benefices, and some few of them were imprisoned; but now men were put in prison on trifling pretences, and kept there till laws were made, by which they were condemned merely for their opinions, when they had acted nothing contrary to law. One piece of cruelty was remarkable—when the council sent away those who were to be burnt in the country, they threatened to cut out their tongues if they would not promise to make no speeches to the people; to which they, to avoid that butchery, consented. Those who loved the reformation were now possessed with great aversion to the popish party, and the body of the nation now detested this cruelty, and began to hate king Philip for it. Gardiner and the other counsellors had openly said, that the queen set them on to it, so that the blame of it was laid on the king, the sourness of whose temper, together with his bigotry in matters of religion, made it seem reasonable. He finding that this was likely to raise such prejudices against him as might probably spoil his design of making himself master of England, took care to vindicate himself. Accordingly his confessor, Alphonsus, a Franciscan, preached a sermon at court against taking people's lives for opinions in religion; and inveighed against the bishops for doing it; thus the blame of it was turned back on them, and this made them stop for some weeks; but at last they resolved rather to bear it avowedly, than not advance in their favourite career of blood!

At this time a petition was printed beyond sea, by which the reformers addressed themselves to the queen: they set before her the danger of being carried by a blind zeal to destroy the members of Christ, as St. Paul had done before his conversion: they reminded her of Cranmer's interposing to preserve her life in her father's time: they cited many passages out of the books of Gardiner, Bonner, and Tonstal, by which she might see that they were not actuated by true principles of conscience, but were turned as their fears or interests led them. They shewed her how contrary persecution was to the spirit of the gospel; that Christians tolerated Jews; and that Turks, notwithstanding the barbarity of their tempers, and the cruelty of their religion, yet tolerated Christians. They reminded her, that the first law for burning in England was made by Henry the IV. as a reward to the bishops who had helped him to depose Richard the II. and so to mount the throne. They represented to her, that God had trusted her with the sword, which she ought to employ for the protection of her people, and not to abandon them to the cruelty of wolves. The petition also appealed to the nobility and the rest of the nation, on the dangers of a Spanish yoke, and a bloody

inquisition set before them. Upon this the popish authors wrote several books in justification of those proceedings. They observed that the Jews were commanded to put blasphemers to death; and said, the heretics blasphemed the body of Christ, and called it only a piece of bread. Various other pleas were set up, and the nation had bitter experience in the coming years of the vigilance and industry with which they were acted upon.

#### SECTION IV.

AN ACCOUNT OF SEVERAL PROTESTANTS, WHO WERE PERSECUTED, TORMENTED, AND MOST OF THEM BURNED, UNDER THE TYRANNY OF BONNER, BISHOP OF LONDON.

Stephen Gardiner, having condemned and burned several great and learned men, presumed that these examples would deter all in future from opposing the popish religion: but in this he found himself deceived, for within eight or nine days after sentence had passed against bishop Hooper and others, six other christians were brought to be examined for the same cause. Gardiner seeing this, became discouraged, and from that day meddled no more in such kind of condemnations; but referred the whole of this cruel business to the more sanguinary Bonner, bishop of London; who called before him in his consistory at St. Paul's (the lord mayor and several aldermen sitting with him) the six persons, upon the 8th of February, and on the next day read the sentence of condemnation upon them. But as their death did not take place till the next month, we will defer the account till we come to the time of their suffering, and proceed with other incidents of this bloody reign. What occasioned their execution to be delayed even a month, cannot with certainty be declared; conjecture, however, reasonably ascribes it to the lenient sermon of Alphonsus, the king's confessor: for, added to the discourse already mentioned, he preached other sermons of the same kind, in which he pleaded the cause of reasoning to convert heretics, rather than burning to destroy them.

Dr. Robert Farrar, bishop of St. David's, was about this time apprehended, and sent to his diocese, where, as we shall soon perceive, he suffered the usual cruel death. Some trifling disturbances in London were made a pretext for arresting and imprisoning other protestants.

The lord chancellor caused the image of Thomas à Becket to be set up over the Mercers' chapel door, in Cheapside, in the form and shape of a bishop, with mitre and cross, but within two days after its erection, its head was taken off; whereupon arose great trouble, and many were suspected: among whom one Mr. John Barnes, mercer, dwelling over against the chapel, was vehemently by the lord chancellor charged as the offender, and the rather as he was a professor of the truth. Wherefore he and three of his servants were committed to prison: and at his delivery, although nothing could be proved against him, he was bound in a great sum of money, as well to build it up again so often as it should be broke down, as also to watch and keep the same. Therefore

the image was again set up; but in a few days the head was again broken off; which offence was so heinously taken, that the next day, there was a proclamation that whoever would discover the perpetrator, should not only have his pardon, but also one hundred crowns of gold, with hearty thanks. But it was never known who did it.

Queen Mary at length, after long delay, made full answer to the king of Denmark, who had written two letters to her in the behalf of Mr. Coverdale, for his deliverance, who at that time went under sureties, and was in great danger, had he not been rescued by the suit and letters of the Danish monarch. An intimation was set forth in February 1555, in the name of bishop Bonner, wherein was contained a general monition, and strict charge given to every man and woman within his diocese, to prepare themselves against the approaching Lent, to receive the glad tidings of peace and reconciliation sent from pope Julius III. by Pole his cardinal and legate.

Judge Hales, of Kent, was now brought before the lord chancellor, and examined respecting his having resisted the ceremony of the mass, or rather for having acted according to his duty as a justice, and as the law then stood, when several Romish priests had been indicted and brought before him. Not giving satisfactory answers to the chancellor, he was committed to prison. While there he was waited upon by Dr. Day and judge Portman, who by some means so worked upon his mind that he was filled with despair; and after in vain attempting to destroy himself by a penknife, he found means of drowning himself in a shallow river. This unhappy gentleman had, at the death of king Edward, stood firmly in defence of Mary's claim and title to the crown. But this service was found insufficient to protect him from the persecuting rage of the Roman catholic bishops and priests.

Mention was made before of six prisoners brought before Bonner the 8th of February, whose names were Tomkins, Pygot, Knight, Haukes, Lawrence, and Hunter. Thomas Tomkins, a weaver by occupation, and an honest Christian, dwelling in Shoreditch, was kept in prison six months, and treated with the utmost cruelty. Bonner's rage was so great against him that he beat him about the face, and plucked off a piece of his beard with his own hands: yet was Tomkins so endued with God's mighty Spirit, and so constantly planted in the perfect knowledge of God's truth, that by no means could he be removed therefrom. Whereupon the bishop, being greatly vexed, devised another practice not so strange as cruel, further to try his constancy. So being at his palace at Fulham, and having with him Dr. Chedsey, masters Harpsfield, Pembleton, Willerton, and others standing by, he called for Tomkins; who coming before the bishop, and standing as he was wont in defence of his faith, Bonner fell from beating to burning. For, having a taper or wax candle of three or four wicks standing upon the table, he took Tomkins by the fingers, and held his hand directly over the flame, supposing that by the smart and pain of the fire being terrified, he would leave off the defence of his doctrine which he had received. Tomkins, thinking that he was there presently to die, began to commend himself unto the Lord, saying, "O Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit," etc. His hand being in burning, Tomkins afterwards reported to one James Hinse, that his spirit was so rapt that he felt no



pain. In the burning he never shrunk, till the veins shrunk, and the sinews burst, and the water spurted in Mr. Harpsfield's face: insomuch that he, moved with pity, desired the bishop to stay, saying, that he had tried him enough.

When he had been half a year in prison, he was brought with several others before bishop Bonner in his consistory, to be examined. Against him first was brought forth a certain bill or schedule subscribed with his own hand, the fifth day of the same month, containing these words following—"Thomas Tomkins of Shoreditch, and of the diocese of London, hath believed and doth believe, that in the sacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine, there is not the very body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ in substance, but only a token and remembrance thereof, the very body and blood of Christ being only in heaven and no where else. By me, Thomas Tomkins."

On this being read he was asked, whether he did acknowledge the same subscription to be of his own hand. He granted it so to be. The bishop then went about to persuade him with fair words, rather than with good reasons, to relinquish his opinions, and to return to the unity of the catholic church, promising if he would do so to remit all that was past. But he constantly refused. When the bishop saw he could not convince him, he brought forth and read to him another writing, containing articles and interrogatories, whereunto he should come the next day and answer: in the mean time he should deliberate with himself what to do: and then either to revoke and reclaim himself, or else in the afternoon of the same day to come again and have justice administered unto him. The copy of the articles is as follows.

"Thou dost believe, that in the sacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine, there is not by the omnipotent power of Almighty God, and his holy word, really, truly, and in very deed, the very true and natural body of our Saviour Jesus Christ, as touching the substance thereof, which was conceived in the womb of the Virgin Mary, and hanged upon the cross, suffering death there for the life of the world.

"Thou dost believe, that after the consecration of the bread and wine prepared for the use of the sacrament of the altar, there doth remain the substance of material bread and material wine, not changed nor altered in substance by the power of Almighty God, but remaining as it did before.

"Thou dost believe, that it is an untrue doctrine, and a false belief, to think or say, that in the sacrament of the altar there is, after consecration of the bread and wine, the substance of Christ's natural body and blood, by the omnipotent power of Almighty God, and his holy word.

"Thou dost believe that thy parents, kinsfolks, friends, and acquaintance, and also thy godfathers and godmothers, and all people did err, and were deceived, if they did believe, that in the sacrament of the altar there was, after consecration, the body and blood of Christ, and that there did not remain the substance of material bread and wine."

To these several articles Tomkins declared his free and full consent;

acknowledging after each, that what he was charged with believing he did believe.

The next day, Tomkins was again brought before the bishop and his assistants, where the articles were again propounded unto him: whereunto he answered in substance as he had done before, avowing at the same time his belief in the scriptures, and his persuasion that popery was opposed to them. After this answer he also subscribed his name to what he had declared. Whereupon, the bishop drawing out of his bosom another confession subscribed with Tomkins' hand, and also the article that was the first day objected against him, caused the same to be openly read, and then willed him to revoke and deny his opinions, which he utterly refused to do: therefore he was commanded to appear before the bishops again in the same place at two in the afternoon. Agreeably with 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. Having therefore declared him an obstinate and damnable heretic, they delivered him up to the secular power, and he was burned in Smithfield, March 6th, 1555, triumphing 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.

The second of this noble band of intrepid saints was an apprentice of only nineteen years of age. His name was William Hunter. He had been trained to the doctrine of the reformation from his earliest youth, being descended from religious parents, who carefully instructed him in the principles of true religion.

When queen Mary succeeded to the crown, orders were issued to the priests of every parish, to summon all their parishioners to receive the communion at mass, the Easter after her accession; and Hunter, refusing to obey the summons, 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 the English bible, which lay upon the desk, but was severely reprimanded by an officer of the bishop's court, who said to him—"William, why meddlest thou with the bible? Understandest thou what thou readest? Canst thou expound scripture?" He replied—"I presume not to expound scripture; but finding the bible here, I read for my comfort and edification."

The officer then informed a neighbouring priest of the liberty the young man had taken in reading the bible; the priest therefore severely chid him, saying—"Sirrah, who gave thee leave to read the bible and expound it?" To this fierce rebuke he answered as he had done to the officer; and on the priest's telling him, that it became him not to meddle with the scriptures, he frankly declared his resolution to read them as long as he lived, as well as reproved the vicar for discouraging persons from that practice, which the scripture so strongly enjoined. On this the priest upbraided him as a heretic: he denied the charge, and being

asked his opinion concerning the corporeal presence in the sacrament of the altar, he replied, that he esteemed the bread and wine but as figures, and looked upon the sacrament as an institution in remembrance of the death and sufferings of our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. He was then openly declared a heretic, for not believing in the sacrament of the altar, and the vicar threatened to complain of him to the bishop.

A neighbouring justice, named Brown, having heard that he maintained heretical principles, sent for his father and enquired of him concerning his son; the old man assured him that he had left him, that he knew not whither he was gone: and on the justice threatening to imprison him, he said with tears in his eyes—"Would you have me seek out my son to be burned?" The old man, however, was obliged to seek him; and by accident meeting him, with tears said, that it was by command of the justice who threatened to imprison him. The son, to prevent his father incurring danger, said that he was ready to accompany him home; on which they returned together. The following day, he was taken and kept in the stocks four and twenty hours; and then brought before the justice, who called for a bible, and turning to the sixth chapter of St. John, desired his opinion of the meaning of it, as it related to the sacrament of the altar. He fearlessly gave the same explanation as he had done to the priest, persisting in his denial of the corporeal presence: the justice upbraided him with damnable heresy, and wrote to the bishop of London, to whom this valiant young martyr was soon conducted.

After Bonner had read the letter, he caused William to be brought into a chamber, where he began to reason with him in this manner—"I understand, William Hunter, by Mr. Brown's letter, that you have had communication with the vicar of Welde, about the blessed sacrament of the altar, and that you could not agree; whereupon Mr. Brown sent for you to bring you to the catholic faith, from which, he saith, you have departed. Howbeit, if you will be ruled by me, you shall have no harm for any thing said or done in this matter." To this William answered—"I am not fallen from the catholic faith of Christ, I am sure; but do believe it, and confess it with all my heart."

Said the bishop—"How sayest thou to the blessed sacrament of the altar? Wilt thou not recant thy saying before Mr. Brown, that Christ's body is not in the sacrament of the altar, the same that was born of the Virgin Mary?" No way daunted, William said—"My lord, I understand that Mr. Brown hath certified you of the talk which he and I had together, and thereby you know what I said to him, which I will not recant by God's help." Then said the bishop, "I think thou art ashamed to bear a fagot, and recant openly; but if thou wilt recant privately, I will promise that thou shalt not be put to open shame: even speak the word here now between me and thee, and I will promise it shall go no further, and thou shalt go home again without any hurt." To this cunning, William replied—"My lord, if you let me alone, and leave me to my conscience, I will go to my father and dwell with him, or else with my master again, and if nobody disquiet nor trouble my conscience, I will keep my conscience to myself."

Then said the bishop, "I am content, so that thou wilt go to the church, and receive, and be shaven; and so continue a good catholic Christian." "No," quoth William, "I will not do so for all the good in the world." "Then," quoth the bishop, "if you will not do so, I will make you sure enough, I warrant you." "Well," replied William, "you can do no more than God will permit you." "Wilt thou not recant by any means?" said the bishop. "No," quoth William, "never while I live, God willing!"

Then the bishop commanded his men to put William in the stocks in his gatehouse, where he sat two days and two nights, only with a crust of bread and a cup of water. At the two days' end the bishop came, and finding the crust and the water still by him, said to his men, "Take him out of the stocks, and let him break his fast with you." After breakfast, Bonner sent for William, and demanded whether he would recant or no. But he made answer, how that he would never recant as concerning his faith in Christ. Then the bishop said that he was no Christian; but he denied the faith in which he was baptized. But William answered, "I was baptized in the faith of the Holy Trinity, which I will not go from, God assisting me with his grace." Then the bishop sent him to the convict prison, and commanded the keeper to lay irons upon him, as many as he could bear; and moreover asked him how old he was. William said that he was nineteen years old. "Well," said the bishop, "you will be burned ere you be twenty years old, if you will not yield yourself better than you have done yet." William answered, "God strengthen me in his truth." And then he parted, the bishop allowing him a halfpenny a day to live on, in bread or drink. Thus he continued in prison three quarters of a year: in the which time he was before the bishop five times, besides when he was condemned in the consistory in St. Paul's, the 9th day of February; at the which his brother, Robert Hunter, (who continued with his brother William till his death, and sent the true report unto us,) was present, and heard the bishop condemn him and the five others.

At one time the bishop, calling for Hunter, asked him if he would recant, saying, "If thou wilt yet recant, I will make thee a freeman in the city, and give thee forty pounds in good money to set up thine occupation withal; 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, if you cannot persuade my conscience with Scriptures, I cannot find in my heart to turn from God for the love of the world; for I count all things worldly, but loss and dung, in respect of the love of Christ." Then said the bishop, "If thou diest in this mind, thou art condemned for ever." William answered, "God judgeth righteously, and justifieth them whom man condemneth unjustly."

Then the bishop departed, and William and the other prisoners returned to Newgate. About a month after, Hunter was sent to Brentwood, on the Saturday before the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary that followed on the Monday after; he therefore remained till the 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 as he had begun: and his mother said to him, that she was glad that ever she bare such a child, who could find in

his heart to lose his life for Christ's sake. To this he replied—"For the little pain I shall suffer, which will soon be at an end, Christ hath promised me, mother, a crown of joy; should not you be glad of that?" With that his mother kneeled down, saying—"I pray God strengthen thee, my son, to the end: yea, I think thee as well bestowed as any child I ever bore." His father, suppressing his tears, then said—"I was afraid of nothing but that my son would have been killed in the prison by hunger and cold;" a result, however, which the good parent had prevented as well as apprehended, for he was at the expence of the very best food and clothing he could send him, which the son gratefully acknowledged.

He continued at the Swan inn, Brentwood, whither resorted many people to see him: and many of William's acquaintance came to him, and reasoned with him, and he with them, exhorting them to come away from the abomination of popish superstition and idolatry. The short time before his martyrdom was thus usefully passed. On Monday night, William dreamed that he was at the place where the stake was pitched, at which he should be burned: he also thought that he met with his father, and that there was a priest at the stake who wanted him to recant; to whom he said—"Away, false prophet!" and exhorted the people to beware of him, and such as he was: all which came to pass. In the morning he was commanded by the sheriff to prepare for his fate. At the same time, the sheriff's son came to him, and embraced him, saying—"William, be not afraid of these men with bows and weapons prepared to bring you to the place where you shall be burned." "I thank God I am not afraid," replied the undaunted youth, "for I have reckoned what it will cost me already." Then the sheriff's son could speak no more to him for weeping.

Hunter then took up his gown, and went forward cheerfully, the sheriff's servant taking him by one arm, and his brother by the other; and going along he met with his father according to his dream, who said to him weeping—"God be with thee, son William." "God be with you, good father," said he, "and be of good comfort; for I hope we shall meet again, when we shall be joyful." He then went to the place where the stake stood, even according to his dream; where all things not being ready, he kneeled 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." As one was attempting to dispute the translation of the words, the sheriff brought a letter from the queen, and said—"If thou wilt recant, thou shalt live; if not, thou shalt be burned." "I will not recant, God willing," answered the noble youth: on which he rose up and went to the stake, and stood upright against it. Addressing the justice, he said—"Mr. Brown, now you have that which you sought, and I pray God it be not laid to your charge in the last day; howbeit I forgive you. If God forgive you, I shall not require my blood at your hands."

He then prayed—"Son of God, shine upon me!" and immediately the sun in the element shone out of a dark cloud so full in his face, that he was constrained to look another way; whereat the people wondered, because it was much obscured before. He then took up a fagot of

broom, and embraced it. The priest which he had dreamed of now came to his brother Robert, with a popish book to carry to William, that he might recant; which book his brother would not meddle with. Then William, seeing the priest, and perceiving how he would have showed him the book, said, "Away, thou false prophet! Beware of them, good people, and come away from their abominations, lest ye be partakers of their plagues." "Then," quoth the priest, "look how thou burnest here, so shalt thou burn in hell." William answered, "Thou liest, thou false prophet! Away, thou false prophet, away!" Then was there a gentleman who said, "I pray God have mercy upon his soul." The people said, "Amen, Amen!" Immediately after, the fire was made. Then William cast his psalter to his brother, who said, "William! think on the holy passion of Christ, and be not afraid of death." And William answered, "I am not afraid." Then lift he 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.

Mention has already been made of six persons who were examined and condemned by bishop Bonner, of the which two were burned as ye have heard, viz., Tomkins on the 16th of March, and Hunter on the 26th of the same month. Three others, to wit, William Pygot and Stephen Knight suffered upon the 28th of March, and John Laurence on the following day. At their examinations it was first demanded of them what their opinion was of the sacrament of the altar. Whereunto they severally answered and also subscribed, that in the sacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine, there is not the very substance of the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, but a special partaking of the body and blood of Christ; the very body and blood of Christ being only in heaven, and nowhere else. This reply thus made, the bishop caused certain articles to be read unto them, tending to the same effect as did the articles before of Tomkins, and their answers were very similar. The present examination ended, they were commanded to appear again the next day, being the 9th of February, at eight o'clock in the morning, and in the meanwhile to be-think themselves what they would do.

The next day, before their open appearance, Bonner sent for Pygot and Knight into his great chamber in his palace, where he persuaded with them to recant, and deny their former profession. They answered that they could not in their consciences abjure their opinions, whereunto they had subscribed. The bishop also had certain talk with John Laurence only, who answered that he was a priest, and was consecrated and made a priest about eighteen years past; that he was some time a black friar professed; as also that he was assured unto a maid, whom he intended to have married. And being again demanded his opinion upon the sacrament, he said that it was a remembrance of Christ's body, and that many have been deceived in believing the true body of Christ to be in the sacrament of the altar; and that all such as do not believe as he doth, do err. Being all three brought openly into the consistory, the same articles were propounded unto them as unto Thomas Tomkins, and thereto they also subscribed these words, "I do so believe." After many fair words and threatenings, they were all of them commanded to appear again in the afternoon.

At that hour they returned thither, and there after the accustomed manner were exhorted to recant and revoke their doctrine, and receive the faith. To the which they constantly answered that they would not, but would stick to that faith that they had declared and subscribed unto; for that they did believe that it was no error which they believed, but that the contrary thereof was very heresy. When the bishop saw that neither his flatterings nor his threatenings would prevail, he gave them severally their judgments. And because John Laurence had been one of their anointed priests, he was by the bishop there solemnly degraded. Their sentence of condemnation and this degradation ended, they were committed unto the custody of the sheriffs of London, who sent them unto Newgate, where they remained with joy together, until they were carried into Essex: and there, on the 28th day of March, the said William Pygot was burned at Braintree; and Stephen Knight at Maldon, who at the stake, kneeling upon the ground, said this prayer which here followeth, the spirit of which the reader should mark, and compare with the prayer of the papists at the sacrifice of the mass:—

“O Lord Jesus Christ, for whose love I leave willingly this life, and desire rather the bitter death of thy cross, with the loss of all earthly things, than to abide the blasphemy of thy most holy name, or to obey men in breaking thy holy commandment: thou seest, O Lord, that where I might live in worldly wealth to worship a false God, and honour thine enemy, I choose rather the torment of the body, and the loss of this life, and have counted all things but vile dust and dung, that I might win thee; which death is dearer unto me than thousands of gold and silver. Such love, O Lord, hast thou laid up in my breast, that I hunger for thee, as the wounded deer desireth the pasture. Send thy holy comforter, O Lord, to aid, comfort, and strengthen this weak piece of earth, which is empty of all strength in itself. Thou rememberest, O Lord, that I am but dust, and able to do nothing that is good; therefore, O Lord, as of thine accustomed goodness and love thou hast invited me to this banquet, and accounted me worthy to drink of thine own cup amongst thine elect; even so give me strength, O Lord, against this raging element, which as to my sight is most irksome and terrible, so to my mind it may at thy commandment be sweet and pleasant; that by the strength of thy Holy Spirit, I may pass through the rage of this fire into thy bosom, according to thy promise, for this mortal receive an immortal life, and for this corruptible put on incorruption. Accept this burnt offering, O Lord, not for the sacrifice, but for thy dear Son's sake my Saviour, for whose testimony I offer it with all my heart and with all my soul. O heavenly Father, forgive me my sins, as I forgive all the world. O sweet Son of God my Saviour, spread thy wings over me. O blessed and Holy Ghost, through whose merciful inspiration I am come hither, conduct me into everlasting life. Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit. Amen.”

The next day Mr. Laurence was taken to Colchester. The irons he had worn in prison had so injured his limbs, and his body was so reduced by want of food, that he was taken to the fire in a chair, and so sitting, was in his constant faith consumed. An incident worthy of remark occurred at his martyrdom: several young children came about

the fire, and cried, as well as they could speak, "Lord, strengthen thy servant, and keep thy promise: strengthen thy servant, according to thy promise." God answered their prayer, for Mr. Laurence died as firmly and calmly as any one could wish to breathe his last.

Thomas Causton, of Thundersby in Essex, and Thomas Higbed, of Horndon on the Hill, were zealous and religious in the true service of God. As they could not dissemble with the Lord, nor flatter with the world, so in this age of darkness and idolatry, they could not long lie hid from such a number of adversaries; but at length were perceived, and discovered to Bonner, by whose command they were committed to the officers of Colchester, to be safely kept, together with a servant of Causton, who was not inferior to his master in true piety.

Bonner perceiving these gentlemen to be of good estate, and of great estimation in their county, lest any tumult should thereby arise, went himself, accompanied by Mr. Fecknam and several others, thinking to reclaim them; so that great labour and diligence was taken therein, as well by terrors and threatenings, as by great promises and all fair means, to reduce them again to the unity of the mother church. Finding, however, after all that nothing could prevail, and that they remained steady in their doctrine, setting out also their confession in writing, the bishop departed thence, and carried them both with him to London, and with them certain other prisoners, who about the same time were apprehended in those parts. They were brought to open examination at the consistory in St. Paul's, February 17th, 1555, where they were demanded as well by Bonner, as also by the bishop of Bath and others, whether they would recant their errors and perverse doctrine, and come to the unity of the popish church. On their refusing, the bishop ordered them to appear again next day; when he read several articles, and gave them respite until the following day to answer to the same, till which time they were again committed.

The articles being given them in writing, a week was assigned them to give up and exhibit their answers to them. Accordingly on the 1st of March, being brought before the bishop in the consistory, they there exhibited their answers to the articles, in which they declared the true faith. Then the bishop, reading their former articles and answers to the same, asked them if they would recant; which when they denied, they were again dismissed, and commanded to appear in another week. On the 8th of March, therefore, Mr. Causton was first called to be re-examined before the bishop and others in his palace, and there had read unto him his aforesaid articles with his answers. The bishop again exhorted and persuaded him to recant, but he answered—"No, I will not abjure. You said that the bishops who were lately burned were heretics, but I pray God make me such a heretic as they were."

The bishop then leaving Mr. Causton, called for Mr. Higbed, using with him the like persuasions that he did with the other; but he answered, "I will not abjure; for I have been of this mind and opinion that I am now these sixteen years: and do what ye can, ye shall do no more than God will permit you to do; and with what measure you measure us, look for the same again at God's hands." Then Fecknam asked his opinion in the sacrament of the altar. To whom he answered, "I do not



believe that Christ is in the sacrament as ye will have him, which is of man's making." Both their answers thus severally made, they were again commanded to depart for that time, and to appear the next day in the consistory at St. Paul's, between one and three in the afternoon.

At which day and hour, being the 9th of March, they were both brought thither. The bishop caused Causton's articles and answers first to be read openly, and after persuaded with him to recant and abjure his heretical opinions, and to come home now, at the last, to their mother the catholic church, and save himself. But Causton answered again, "No, I will not abjure; for I came not hither for that purpose:" and therewithal he did exhibit in writing unto the bishop (as well in his own name, as also in Thomas Higbed's name) a confession of their faith, to the which they would stand. He required leave to read the same, which after great suit was obtained; and he read it openly in the hearing of the people. When he had thus delivered their confession, the bishop, still persisting sometimes in fair promises, sometimes threatening to pronounce judgment, asked them if they would stand to this their confession and other answers. To whom Causton said, "We will stand to our answers written with our own hands, and to our belief therein contained. After which answer the bishop began to pronounce sentence against him. Then Causton said that it was much rashness, and without all love and mercy, to give judgment without answering to their confession by the truth of God's word, to which they submitted themselves most willingly. "And therefore," he said, "because I cannot have justice at your hand, but that ye will thus rashly condemn me, I do appeal from you to my lord cardinal."

Then Dr. Smith said that he would answer their confession. But the bishop (not suffering him to speak) willed Harpsfield to say his mind, for the stay of the people; who, taking their confession in his hand, neither touched nor answered one sentence thereof. After this, Bonner pronounced sentence, first against the said Thomas Causton, and then calling Thomas Higbed, caused his articles and answers likewise to be read. Then the bishop asked him again, Whether he would turn from his error, and come to the unity of their church? To whom he said, "No; I would ye should recant—for I am in the truth, and you in error." Whereupon Bonner gave judgment on him as he had done upon Causton.

When all this was thus ended, they were both delivered to the sheriffs, and so by them sent to Newgate, where they remained fourteen days, praised be God, not so much in afflictions as in consolations. These fourteen days expired, they were on the 23rd of March fetched from Newgate at four o'clock in the morning, and so led through the city to Aldgate, where they were delivered unto the sheriff of Essex. Being bound fast in a cart, they were brought to their appointed places of burning; that is to say, Thomas Higbed to Horndon on the Hill, and Thomas Causton to Raleigh, (both in the county of Essex,) where they did most constantly, on the 26th day of March, seal their faith with the shedding of their blood by most cruel fire, to the glory of God, and great rejoicing of the godly. At the burning of Higbed, justice Brown and divers gentlemen in the shire were also present, for fear belike lest he should be taken from them. And thus much concerning the apprehension, examination, and burning of these two godly martyrs of God.

Of those who sealed the truth of Christ with their blood at this period no one merits distinct mention more than Dr. Farrar, the venerable bishop of St. David's. This excellent and learned prelate had been promoted to his bishopric by the lord protector, in the reign of Edward; but after the fall of his patron, he also had fallen into disgrace, through the malice of several enemies, among whom was George Constantine, his own servant. Articles, to the number of fifty-six, were preferred against him, in which he was charged with many negligences and contumacies of church government. These he answered and denied. But so many and so bitter were his enemies, that they prevailed, and he was in consequence detained in prison till the death of king Edward, and the coming in of queen Mary and popish religion, whereby a new trouble rose upon him, being now accused and examined not for any matter of præmunire, but for his faith and doctrine. Whereupon he was called before the bishop of Winchester, with master Hooper, master Rogers, master Bradford, master Saunders, and others, on the 4th day of February. On the which day he should also with them have been condemned; but because leisure or list did not so well then serve the bishop, his condemnation was deferred, and he sent to prison again, where he continued till the 14th day of the said month of February. What his examinations and answers were, before the said bishop of Winchester, so much as remained and came to our hands I have here annexed in manner as followeth.

At his first coming and kneeling before the lord chancellor Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, the bishop of Durham, and the bishop of Worcester, who sat at the table; and master Rochester, master Southwell, master Bourne, and others, standing at the table's end, the lord chancellor first addressed him in such questions as these: "Now, sir, have you heard how the world goeth here? What say you? do you not know things abroad, notwithstanding you are a prisoner? Have you not heard of the coming in of the lord cardinal?"

*Farrar.* I know not my lord cardinal; but I heard that a cardinal was come in: but I did not believe it, and I believe it not yet.

*Winchester.* The queen's majesty and the parliament have restored religion into the same state it was in at the beginning of the reign of king Henry VIII. Ye are in the queen's debt; and her majesty will be good unto you, if you will return to the catholic church.

*Farrar.* In what state I am concerning my debts to her majesty, in the court of exchequer, my lord treasurer knoweth: and the last time that I was before your honour, and the first time also, I showed you that I had made an oath never to consent nor agree that the bishop of Rome should have any power or jurisdiction within this realm: and further I need not rehearse to your lordship; you know it well enough.

*Bourne.* You were once abjured for heresy in Oxford.

*Farrar.* That was I not: it is not true.

*Bourne.* You went from St. David's to Scotland.

*Farrar.* That did I never: but I went from York into Scotland.

*Bourne.* You carried books out of Oxford to the archbishop of York.

*Farrar.* That I did not; but I carried old books from St. Oswald's.

*Bourne.* You supplanted your master.

*Farrar.* That did I never in my life; but did shield and save my master

from danger ; and that I obtained of king Henry VIII., for my true service, I thank God there-for.

“ My lord,” said master Bourne to my lord chancellor, “ he hath an ill name in Wales as ever had any.”

*Farrar.* That is not so : whosoever saith so, they shall never be able to prove it.

*Bourne.* He hath deceived the queen in divers sums of money.

*Farrar.* That is utterly untrue : I never deceived king or queen of one penny in my life ; and you shall never be able to prove that you say.

*Winchester.* Thou art a false knave.

Then Farrar stood up unbidden, (for all that while he kneeled,) and said, “ No, my lord, I am a true man ; I thank God for it ! I was born under king Henry VII. ; I served king Henry VIII. and king Edward VI. truly ; and have served the queen’s majesty that now is, truly, with my poor heart and word : more I could not do ; and I was never false, nor shall be, by the grace of God.

*Winchester.* How sayest thou ? wilt thou be reformable ?

*Farrar.* My lord, if it like your honour, I have made an oath to God, and to king Henry VIII., and also to king Edward, and in that to the queen’s majesty, the which I can never break while I live, to die for it.

*Winchester.* You made a profession to live without a wife ?

*Farrar.* No, my lord, if it like your honour ; that did I never. I made a profession to live chaste—not without a wife.

*Winchester.* Well, you are a froward knave : we will have no more to do with you, seeing that you will not come ; we will be short with you, and that you shall know within this seven-night.

*Farrar.* I am as it pleaseth your honour to call me ; but I cannot break my oath, which your lordship yourself made before me, and gave in example, the which confirmed my conscience. Then I can never break that oath whilst I live, to die for it.

*Durham.* Well ! he standeth upon his oath : call another.

My lord chancellor then did ring a little bell ; and master Farrar said, “ I pray God to save the king and queen’s majesties long to continue in honour to God’s glory and their comforts, and the comfort of the whole realm ; and I pray God save all your honours :” and so he departed.

After this examination bishop Farrar remained in prison uncondemned, till the 14th day of February, and then was sent down into Wales, there to receive sentence of condemnation. Upon the 26th of February, in the church of Carmarthen, being brought by Griffith Leyson, esq. sheriff of the county of Carmarthen, he was there personally presented before the new bishop of St. David’s and Constantine the public notary : who did there and then discharge the said sheriff, and receive him into their own custody, further committing him to the keeping of Owen Jones ; and thereupon declared unto Dr. Farrar the great mercy and clemency that the king and queen’s highness’ pleasure was to be offered unto him, which they there did offer ; that if he would submit himself to the laws of the realm, and conform himself to the unity of the catholic church, he should be received and pardoned. Seeing that Dr. Farrar give no answer to the premises, the bishop ministered unto him these articles following—

Whether he believed the marriage of priests lawful by the laws of God, and his holy church, or not? and whether he believed that in the blessed sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration duly pronounced by the priest, the very body and blood of Christ is really and substantially contained, without the substance of bread and wine? Upon the bishop requiring Dr. Farrar to answer upon his allegiance, the latter, doubting the bishop's authority said, he would answer when he saw a lawful commission, and would make no further answer at that time. Whereupon the bishop, taking no advantage upon the answer, committed him to prison until a new monition; in the mean time to deliberate with himself for his further answer to the premises.

It has been intimated that a new bishop was placed at St. David's: this was one Henry Morgan, a furious papist, who now became the chief judge of his persecuted predecessor. This Morgan, sitting as judge, ministered unto bishop Farrar certain articles and interrogatories in writing; which being openly read unto him a second time, Farrar still refused to answer, till he might see his lawful commission and authority. Whereupon Morgan pronounced him as *contumax*, and for the punishment of this his contumacy to be counted *pro confesso*, and so did pronounce him in writing. This done, he committed him to the custody of Owen Jones, until the 4th of March, then to be brought again into the same place, between one and two.

The day and place appointed, the bishop appeared again before his haughty successor, submitted himself as ready to answer to the articles and positions above mentioned, gently required a copy of the articles, and a competent term to be assigned unto him, to answer for himself. This being granted, and the Thursday next being assigned to him between one and three to answer precisely and fully, he was committed again to custody. On the appointed day he again appeared and exhibited a bill in writing, containing in it his answer to the articles objected and ministered unto him before. Then Morgan offered him again the articles in this brief form: That he willed him being a priest to renounce matrimony—to grant the natural presence of Christ in the sacrament, under the forms of bread and wine—to confess and allow that the mass is a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead—that general councils lawfully congregated never did, and never can err—that men are not justified before God by faith only, but that hope and charity are also necessarily required to justification—and that the catholic church only hath authority to expound scriptures and to define controversies of religion, and to ordain things appertaining to public discipline.

To these articles he still refused to subscribe, affirming that they were invented by man, and pertain nothing to the catholic faith. After this Morgan delivered unto him the copy of the articles, assigning him Monday following, to answer and subscribe to them either affirmatively or negatively. The day came, and he exhibited in a written paper his mind and answer to the articles, adding these words, *tenens se de æquitate et justitia esse episcopum Menevensem*. The bishop assigned the next Wednesday, in the forenoon, to hear his final and definitive sentence. On that day, Morgan demanded of him whether he would

renounce and recant his heresies, schisms, and errors, which hitherto he had maintained, and if he would subscribe to the catholic articles otherwise than he had done before.

Upon this Farrar did exhibit a certain schedule written in English, and remaining in the acts, appealing from the bishop, as from an incompetent judge, to cardinal Pole and other the highest authorities. This, however, did not avail him. Morgan proceeding in his rage, pronounced the definitive sentence against him: by which sentence he pronounced him as a heretic excommunicate, and to be given up forthwith to the secular power, namely to the sheriff of the town of Carmarthen, Mr. Leyson. After which his degradation followed of course.

Thus was this godly bishop condemned and degraded, and committed to the secular power, and not long after was brought to execution in the town of Carmarthen, where in the market-place on the south side of the cross, on the 30th of March, being Saturday before Passion-Sunday, he most constantly sustained the torments of the fire. Among the incidents of this martyrdom worthy of mention is the following; one Richard Jones, a young gentleman, and son of a knight, coming to Dr. Farrar a little before his death, seemed to lament the painfulness of what he had to suffer: unto whom the bishop answered, that if he saw him once to stir in the pains of his burning, he should then give no credit to his doctrine. And as he said, so he performed; for so patiently he stood, that he never moved, till one Richard Gravell, with a staff, struck him down, that he fell amidst the flames, and expired, or rather rose to heaven to live for ever.

Among more private persons who suffered at this period was Rawlins White, by occupation a fisherman, in the town of Cardiff. With respect to his religion at first, it cannot otherwise be known, than that he was a great partaker of the superstition and idolatry which prevailed in the reign of Henry VIII. But after God of his mercy had raised up the light of his gospel, through the government of king Edward VI. White began partly to dislike that which before he had embraced, and to have some good opinion of that which before by the iniquity of the times had been concealed from him; and happily impressed with the importance of truth, he began to be a diligent hearer, and a great searcher of the word of God.

Because the good man was unlearned, and withal very simple, he knew no ready way how he might satisfy his great desire. At length he took the following remedy to supply his necessity: he had a little boy, his own son, whom he sent to school to learn to read English. Now after the child could read indifferently well, his father every night after supper would have him read part of the holy scripture, and now and then of some other good book. In this kind of virtuous exercise the good man had such delight, that as it seemed, he rather practised himself in the study of the scripture, than in the trade or science which before-time he had used: so that within a few years in the time of king Edward, through the help of his little son, and through much conference besides, he so profited and went so forward, that he was able not only to resolve himself touching his own former blindness and ignorance, but

also to admonish and instruct others; and therefore when occasion served, he would go from one place to another teaching the truth.

He had thus continued in his new profession about five years, when king Edward died, upon whose decease queen Mary succeeded, and with her came persecution; the extremity and force whereof at last so pursued this good man, that he looked every hour to go to prison; whereupon many who had received comfort by his instructions, began to persuade him to shift for himself, and dispose of his goods by some reasonable order to the use of his wife and children. Fearless, however, White continued in his good purposes, till at last he was taken by the officers of his town, as a man suspected of heresy, upon which apprehension he was convened before the bishop of Landaff, then at his house near Chepstow: by whom, after divers combats and conflicts with him and his chaplains, he was committed to Chepstow prison. Thence he was removed to the castle of Cardiff, where he continued a whole year; during which time Mr. Dane, who furnished this account, resorted to him very often, with money and other relief from Mrs. Dane, his mother, who was a great favourer of those that were in affliction in those days, and others of his friends, which he received with great praises to God.

At the expiration of a year, the bishop of Landaff caused him to be brought from the castle of Cardiff unto his own house near Chepstow; and while he continued there, the bishop endeavoured by various means to reduce him to conformity. When he found his threatenings and promises ineffectual, the bishop desired him to advise and determine with himself; for he must either recant his opinions, or else suffer the rigour of the law; and thereupon gave him a day of determination. This day being come, the bishop with his chaplains went into his chapel, with a great number of the neighbours who had the curiosity to see their proceedings. Being placed in order, White was brought before them. The bishop began by making a long discourse, declaring that the cause of his being sent for was that he was well known to hold heretical opinions, and that by his instructions many were led into blind error. In the end, he exhorted him to consider his own state wherein he stood, at the same time offering favour if he recanted. At the close of the bishop's address, Rawlins boldly said—"My lord, I thank God I am a christian man, and I hold no opinions contrary to the word of God; and if I do, I desire to be reformed out of the word of God, as a christian ought to be." The bishop then told him plainly, that he must proceed against him by the law, and condemn him as a heretic.—"Proceed by your law, in God's name"—said the fearless Rawlins; "but for a heretic you shall never condemn me while the world stands!" This intrepid answer somewhat startled and confounded the bishop, who, after a moment's silence turned to some about him and said—"Before we proceed any further with him, let us pray to God that he would send some spark of grace upon him, and it may so chance, that God through our prayers will here turn his heart." Accordingly having prayed, the bishop asked—"Now, Rawlins, wilt thou revoke thy opinions or not?" The man of truth replied—"Surely, my lord, Rawlins you left me, Rawlins you find me, and by God's grace

Rawlins I will continue." When the bishop perceived that his artifice took no effect, he with sharp words reprov'd him, and forthwith was ready to read the sentence; but upon some advice given to him by his chaplains, he thought it best first to have a mass, thinking that by so doing some wonderful change would be wrought in his prisoner's mind. During the mass Rawlins betook himself to prayer in a secret place, until the priest came to the sacring, as they term it, which is a principal part of the idolatry. When Rawlins heard the sacring-bell ring, he rose out of his place, came to the choir door, and there standing awhile, turned himself to the people, speaking these words—"Good people, if there be any brethren amongst you, or at least if there be but one brother amongst you, the same one bear witness at the day of judgment, that I bow not to this idol"—meaning the host that the priest held over his head.

Mass being ended, Rawlins was called again, when the bishop repeated his persuasions; but the blessed man continued so stedfast in his profession, that the prelate found his discourse altogether in vain. Whereupon he caused the definitive sentence to be read. This being ended, Rawlins was dismissed, and from thence he was carried again to Cardiff, there to be put into the prison of the town, a very dark, loathsome, and vile dungeon. Having continued a prisoner there some time, about three weeks before the day on which he suffered, the officers of the town who had the charge of his execution, wished to burn him to be the sooner rid of him, although they had not a writ of execution awarded as by the law they should have: but by the advice of the recorder of the town, they sent to London for the writ, upon the receipt whereof they hastened the execution. On the night before his death Rawlins was engaged in preparing himself by devotion; and on finding his end so near, he sent to his wife, and desired her by the messenger, that in any wise she should make ready and send unto him his wedding garment, meaning the vest in which he was to be martyred. This request, or rather commandment, his wife with grief of heart performed, and early in the morning sent it to him.

The hour of his execution being come, the martyr was brought out of prison, having on his wedding garment, and an old russet-coat which he was wont to wear. Thus being equipped, he was accompanied or rather guarded with a great number of bills and weapons. When he beheld this, he said, "Alas! what meaneth it? By God's grace I will not run away: with all my heart and mind I give God most hearty thanks that he hath made me worthy to abide all this for his holy name's sake." Arriving at a place where his poor wife and children stood weeping and making great lamentation, the sudden sight of them so pierced his heart, that the tears trickled down his face. But soon after, as though he were ashamed of this infirmity of his flesh, he began to be as it were altogether angry with himself: insomuch, that striking his breast with his hand, he said, "Ah, flesh, hinderest thou me so? Well, I tell thee, do what thou canst, thou shalt not, by God's grace, have the victory."

By this time he approached the stake ready set up, with some wood as prepared for the fire; which when he beheld, he set forward very

boldly: but in going towards the stake, he fell upon his knees and kissed the ground; and in rising again, a little earth sticking on his face, he said, "Earth unto earth, and dust unto dust; thou art my mother, and unto thee I shall return." Then he went on, and cheerfully set his back close to the stake. A smith came with a great chain of iron, whom when he saw, he cast up his hand, and with a loud voice gave God great thanks. When the smith had fastened him to the stake, the officers began to lay on more wood, with a little straw and reeds: wherein the good man was no less occupied than the best; for as far as he could reach his hands, he would pluck the straw and reeds, and lay it about him in places most convenient for his speedy death.

When all things were ready, directly over against the stake, in the face of the martyr, there was a standing erected, to which ascended a priest, addressing himself to the people, which were many in number, because it was market-day. Rawlins perceived him, and considered the cause of his coming; but paid little attention to him. Then went the priest forward in his sermon, wherein he spake of many things touching the authority of the church of Rome. At last, he came to the sacrament of the altar, when he began to inveigh against Rawlins's opinions: in which harangue he cited the common place of scripture. When Rawlins heard that he strove not only to preach and teach false doctrine, but also to confirm it by scripture, he suddenly started up, and beckoned his hands to the people, saying twice, "Come hither, good people, and hear not a false prophet preaching." And then said unto the preacher, "Ah! thou wicked hypocrite, dost thou presume to prove thy false doctrine by Scripture?<sup>a</sup> Look in the text what followeth: did not Christ say, 'Do this in remembrance of me!'"

Then some that stood by cried out, "Put fire, set to fire!" which being set to, the straw and reed cast up both a great and sudden flame: in the which flame this good and blessed man bathed his hands until the sinews shrunk, and the fat dropped away; saving that once he did, as it were, wipe his face with one of them. All this while he cried with a loud voice, "O Lord, receive my soul! O Lord, receive my spirit!" until he could not open his mouth. At the last, the extremity of the fire was so vehement against his legs, that they were consumed almost before the rest of his body was burned, which made the whole body fall over the chain into the fire sooner that it would have done. Thus died this godly and old man (for he was upwards of sixty years of age) for the testimony of God's truth, being now rewarded, no doubt, with the crown of everlasting life.

<sup>a</sup> Upon the Shrove-Sunday in this year, 1555, a certain priest named Nightingale, parson of Crundal near Canterbury, preached a sermon on the words of St. John, "He that saith he hath no sin is a liar, and the truth is not in him." And so upon the same he declared all such articles as were set forth by the pope's authority, and by commandment of the bishops; saying moreover, "Now, masters and neighbours, rejoice and be merry, for the prodigal son is come home. For I know that the most part of you be as I am, for I know your hearts well enough. And I shall tell you what hath happened in this week past: I was before my lord cardinal Pole's grace, and he hath made me as free from sin as I was at the font-stone: and on Thursday last being before him, he hath appointed me to notify the same unto you, and I will tell you what it is."—And after reading the pope's bull of pardon that was sent into England, he added that he believed that by the virtue of that bull he was as clean from sin as the night he was born. Immediately upon the same he fell suddenly down out of the pulpit, and never more stirred hand nor foot. This was testified by Robert Austen of Cartham, who both heard and saw the same, and was witnessed also by the whole country round about.



## SECTION V.

THE ABBEY LANDS RESTORED—DEATH OF POPE JULIUS—EXAMINATIONS AND BURNING OF GEORGE MARSH AT CHESTER.

ON the 19th of February, the bishop of Ely and the lord Montacute, with seven score horse, were sent as ambassadors from the king and queen unto Rome; and on the 28th day of March the queen summoned four of her privy council, touching the restoring again of abbey lands; declaring that they were taken away from the church by unlawful means, and that her conscience would not suffer her to detain them. "Therefore," she said, "I here expressly refuse either to claim or to retain the said lands for mine; but with all my heart, freely and willingly, without all paction or condition, here, and before God, I do surrender and relinquish the said lands and possessions, or inheritances whatsoever, and do renounce the same with this mind and purpose, that order and disposition thereof may be taken, as shall seem best liking to our most holy lord the pope, or else his legate the lord cardinal, to the honour of God, and wealth of this our realm." This intimation coming to the cardinal's hand, he despatched a copy thereof to the pope, who not long after set forth a bull of excommunication against all who kept any of the church or abbey lands; by virtue of which bull he also excommunicated all such princes, bishops, noblemen, justices, and others, who refused to put the same in execution. Albeit neither Winchester nor any of the pope's clergy would greatly stir in this matter, perceiving the nobility to be too strong for them, and therefore were contented to stay while time might better serve their purpose.

About the latter end of March pope Julius died; and upon commandment from the king and queen, on Wednesday in Easter week there were hearses set up, and dirges sung for the said Julius in divers places, although this pope had led a very unholy life. At which time it chanced a woman to come into St. Magnus' church, in London, and there seeing a hearse and other preparations, asked what it meant. Another, who stood by, said that it was for the pope, and that she must pray for him. "Nay," quoth she, "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 to pray for him." She was heard speak these words of certain that stood by, who after awhile carried her unto the cage at London bridge, and bade her cool herself there.

George Marsh was born in the parish of Deane, in the county of Lancaster, and having received a good education, his parents brought him up in the habits of trade and industry. About the 25th year of his age, he married a young woman of the country; with whom he continued living upon a farm, having several children. His wife dying, he having formed a proper establishment for his children, went into the university of Cambridge, where he studied, and much increased in learning, and was a minister of God's holy word and sacraments, and was for awhile curate to the Rev. Laurence Saunders. In this situation he continued for a time, earnestly setting forth the true religion, to the weakening of false doctrine, by his godly readings and sermons, as well there and in the parish of Deane, as elsewhere in Lancashire.

But such a zealous protestant could hardly be safe. At length he was apprehended, and kept close prisoner in Chester, by the bishop of that see, about the space of four months, not being permitted to have the relief and comfort of his friends; but charge being given unto the porter, to mark who they were that asked for him, and to signify their names to the bishop, as the particular description of his story, testified and recorded with his own pen, more evidently will shew.

“On the Monday before Palm Sunday, which was the 12th of March, it was told me at my mother’s house, that Roger Wrinstone, with other of Mr. Barton’s servants, made diligent search for me in Bolton; and when they perceived that I was not there, they gave strict charge to Robert Ward and Robert Marsh to find and bring me to Mr. Barton the day following, with orders that I should be brought before the earl of Derby to be examined in matters of religion. On knowing this, my mother and other friends advised me to fly, and avoid the peril, as I intended at first to have done. To their counsel my weak flesh would gladly have consented, but my spirit did not fully agree; thinking and saying to myself, that if I fled away, it would be said, that I did not only fly the country, and my nearest and dearest friends, but much rather from Christ’s holy word, according as these years past I had with my heart, or at least with my outward living, professed, and with my word and mouth taught, according to the small talent given me of the Lord. Being thus with their counsel and advice, and the thoughts and counsels of my own mind, drawn as it were divers ways, I went from my mother’s house, saying, I would come again in the evening.

“In the mean time I ceased not by earnest prayer to seek counsel of God, the giver of all good gifts, and of my friends, whose pious judgments and knowledge I much trusted to. After this I met with one of my friends on Deane-moor, about sun-set, and after we had consulted together, not without hearty prayer, we departed. Not fully determining what to do, but taking my leave of my friend, I said I doubted not but God would give me such wisdom and counsel, as should be most to his honour and glory, the profit of my neighbours and brethren in the world, and to the obtaining my eternal salvation by Christ in heaven. I then returned without fear to my mother’s house, where several of Mr. Barton’s servants had been seeking me; and when they could not find me they strictly charged my brother and William Marsh to seek me that night, and bring me to Smetehills the next day. They being so charged, were gone to seek me in Adderton, or elsewhere. Thus intending before to have been all night with my mother, but now considering that my tarrying there would disquiet her, I departed, and went beyond Deane church, and stayed all night with an old friend.

“At my first awaking, a person came to me from a friend, with letters, who said that their advice was that I should in no wise fly, but abide and boldly confess the faith of Jesus Christ. At these words I was so confirmed and established in my conscience, that from henceforth I consulted no more whether it were better to fly or to remain; but was determined that I would not fly, but go to Mr. Barton, and there present myself, and patiently bear such cross as it should please God to lay upon my shoulders. Rising therefore early the next morning, after I had said the English litany with other prayers, kneeling by my

friend's bed-side, I prepared myself to go toward Smethehills; and on my way I went into the houses of several relations and friends, desiring them to pray for me, and have me commended to all my friends, and to comfort my mother, and be good to my little children; for I supposed they would see my face no more. I then took leave of them, not without tears shed on both sides, and came to Smethehills about nine o'clock, when I presented myself to Mr. Barton; who shewed me a letter from the earl of Derby, wherein he was commanded to send me with others to Latham; where he told me I was to be brought the next day by ten o'clock, before the earl or his council.

"We accordingly went to my mother's, where praying, I took my leave of her, the wife of Richard Marsh, and both their households, they and I both weeping. I then went towards Latham, lay all night within a mile and a half of it, and the next day we came to it betimes, and remained there till four o'clock in the afternoon. Then was I called before my lord and his council. After a little while my lord turned towards me and asked what was my name. I answered, Marsh. He then asked me whether I was one of those who sowed dissention amongst the people: which I denied, desiring to know my accusers, and what could be laid against me. This, however, I could not learn.

"He next asked me whether I was a priest? I said, no. What had been my living? I answered, I was a minister, served a cure, and kept a school. Then said he to his council, 'This is a wonderful thing: before he said he was no priest, and now he confesseth himself to be one.' I answered, 'By the laws now used in this realm I am none.' They then demanded who had given me orders, or whether I had taken any. I answered, I received orders of the bishops of London and Lincoln. Then said they, 'Those are of the new heretics:' and asked me what acquaintance I had with them. I answered, I never saw them but when I received orders.

"They desired to know how long I had been curate, and whether I had ministered with a good conscience. I answered I had been curate but one year, and had ministered with a good conscience, I thanked God; and if the laws of the realm would have suffered me, I would have ministered still; and if they at any time hereafter would suffer me to minister after that sort, I would minister again. Then they asked me what my belief was.

"I answered, I believed in God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, according as the scriptures of the Old and New Testaments teach, and according to the four symbols or creeds, namely, the creed commonly called the Apostle's, the creed of the council of Nice, of Athanasius, and of Austin and Ambrose. I said I believed that whoever, according to Christ's institution, received the holy sacrament of Christ's body and blood, did eat and drink Christ's body, and with all the benefits of his death and resurrection, to their eternal salvation; for Christ is ever present with his sacrament. When they asked me whether the bread and wine, by virtue of the words pronounced by the priest, were changed into the flesh and blood of Christ, and that the sacrament was the very body of Christ? I made answer, I knew no farther than I had said.

"After many other questions, which I avoided as well as I could, re-

membering the saying of St. Paul, 'Foolish and unlearned questions avoid, knowing they gender strife;' my lord commanded me to come to the board, when he gave me pen and ink, and commanded me to write my answers to the questions of the sacrament. Accordingly I wrote as I had answered before. Being much offended, he commanded me to write a more direct answer. I then took the pen and wrote that further I knew not. On this he said, I should be put to death like a traitor, with other like words; but sometimes giving me fair words, if I would turn and be conformable as others were. In the end, after much ado, he commanded me to ward, in a cold, windy, stone-house, where was little room: there I lay without any bed, saving a few canvass tent clothes, and so continued till Palm-Sunday, occupying myself as well as I could in meditation, prayer, and study; for no man was suffered to come to me but my keeper twice a-day, when he brought me meat and drink.

"On Palm-Sunday after dinner, I was again sent for to my lord and his council, amongst whom were Sir John Biron, and the vicar of Prescot. After I had communed apart with the vicar of Prescot a good while concerning the sacrament, he returned with me to my lord and his council, telling them that the answer which I had made before, and still made, was sufficient for a beginner, and as one who did not profess a perfect knowledge in the matter, until such times as I had learned further. Wherewith the earl was very well pleased, saying, he doubted not but by the means and help of the vicar of Prescot I should be conformable in other things; and after many fair words he commanded I should have a bed, with fire, and liberty to go amongst his servants, on condition I would do no harm with my communication with them. Thus, after so much conference, I departed, much more troubled in my mind than before, because I had not with more boldness confessed Christ, but in such sort as mine adversaries thought they should prevail against me; whereto I was much grieved: for hitherto I went about as much as in me lay, to rid myself out of their hands, if by any means, without open denying of Christ and his word, that could be done. This considered, I cried more earnestly unto God by prayer, desiring him to strengthen me with his Holy Spirit, with boldness to confess him.

"A day or two after I was sent for to the vicar of Prescot and the parson of Grappenhall; where our most communication was concerning the mass: and he asked what offended me in it. I answered, the whole did offend me, because it was in a strange language, whereby the people were not edified, contrary to St. Paul's doctrine, 1 Cor. xiv.; and because of the manifold and intolerable abuses contained therein, contrary to Christ's priesthood and sacrifice. Then they asked me in what place thereof: and I named certain places; which places they went about with gentle and far-sought interpretations to mitigate, saying, those places were understood far otherwise than the words did purport, or than I did take them. Then they caused a mass-book to be sent for, and showed me where, in some places of the mass, was written, "*sacrificium laudis.*" Whereto I answered, that it followed not therefore that in all places it signified a sacrifice or oblation of praise or thanksgiving; and although it did, yet was it not a sacrifice of praise or thanksgiving to be offered for the sins of the people; for that did Christ, by his own passion, once offer on the cross."

After this, Mr. Marsh was sent to Lancaster castle; and being brought with other prisoners to the sessions, he was made to hold up his hand with the malefactors; when the earl of Derby had the following conversation with him, which, like the preceding statements, are given to us partly in his own expressive and unaffected language.

“I told his lordship, that I had not dwelt in the country these three or four years past, and came home but lately to visit my mother, children, and other friends, and that I meant to have departed out of the country before Easter, and to have gone out of the realm. Wherefore I trusted, seeing nothing could be laid against me, wherein I had offended against the laws, that his lordship would not with captious questions examine me, to bring my body into danger of death, to the great discomfort of my mother. On the earl asking me into what land I would have gone? I answered, I would have gone either into Germany, or else into Denmark. He said to his council, that in Denmark they used such heresy as they have done in England: but as for Germany the emperor had destroyed it.

“I then said that I trusted, as his lordship had been of the honourable council of the late king Edward, consenting and agreeing to acts concerning faith towards God and religion, under great pain, would not so soon after consent to put poor men to shameful deaths for believing what he had then professed. To this he answered that he, with the lord Windsor, lord Dacres, and others, did not consent to those acts, and that their refusal would be seen as long as the parliament-house stood. He then rehearsed the misfortune of the dukes of Northumberland and Suffolk, with others, because they favoured not the true religion; and again the prosperity of the queen’s highness, because she favoured the true religion; thereby gathering the one to be good, and of God, and the other to be wicked, and of the devil; and said that the duke of Northumberland confessed so plainly.”

And thus you have heard the whole trouble which George Marsh sustained both at Latham and also at Lancaster. While at Latham it was falsely reported that he had consented, and agreed in all things with the earl and his council; and while at Lancaster many came to talk with him, giving him such counsel as Peter gave Christ: but he answered that he could not follow their counsel, but that by God’s grace he would live and die with a pure conscience, and as hitherto he had believed and professed.

Within a few days after, the said Marsh was removed from Lancaster; and coming to Chester, was sent for by Dr. Cotes, then bishop, to appear before him in his hall, nobody being present but they twain. Then he asked him certain questions concerning the sacrament, and Marsh made such answers as seemed to content the bishop, saving that he utterly denied transubstantiation, and allowed not the abuse of the mass, nor that the lay people should receive under one kind only, contrary to Christ’s institution; in which points the bishop went about to persuade him, howbeit, (God be thanked,) all in vain. Much other talk he had with him, to move him to submit himself to the universal church of Rome; and when he could not prevail he sent him to prison again. And after, being there, came to him divers times one Massie, a fatherly old man, one Wrench the schoolmaster, one Hensham the bishop’s chaplain, and the archdeacon, with many more; who, with much philosophy, worldly wisdom, and deceitful vanity, after the

tradition of men, but not after Christ, endeavoured to persuade him to submit himself to the church of Rome, to acknowledge the pope as its head, and to interpret the scripture no otherwise than that church did.

To these Mr. Marsh answered, that he did acknowledge and believe one only catholic and apostolic church, without which there is no salvation; and that this church is but one, because it ever hath confessed and shall confess and believe one only God, and one only Messiah, and in him only trust for salvation: which church also is ruled and led by one Spirit, one word, and one faith; and that this church is universal and catholic, because it ever hath been since the world's beginning, is, and shall endure to the world's end, and comprehending within it all nations, kindreds, and languages, degrees, states, and conditions of men: and that this church is built only upon the foundations of the prophets and apostles, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone, and not upon the Romish laws and decrees, whose head the bishop of Rome was. And where they said the church did stand in ordinary succession of bishops, being ruled by general councils, holy fathers, and the laws of the holy church, and so had continued for the space of fifteen hundred years and more; he replied, that the holy church, which is the body of Christ, and therefore most worthy to be called holy, was before any succession of bishops, general councils or Romish decrees: neither was it bound to any time or place, ordinary succession, or traditions of fathers; nor had it any supremacy over empires and kingdoms; but it was a poor simple flock, dispersed abroad, as sheep without a shepherd in the midst of wolves; or as a family of orphans and fatherless children: and that this church was led and ruled by the word of Christ, he being the supreme head of this church, and assisting succouring, and defending it from all assaults, errors and persecutions, wherewith it is ever encompassed about. He also shewed by plain evidence, by the flood of Noah, the destruction of Sodom, the Israelites departing out of Egypt, the parable of the sower, of the king's son's marriage, of the great supper, and other plain sentences of scripture, that this church was of no estimation, and little in comparison with the church of hypocrites, and wicked worldlings.

After the bishop of Chester had taken pleasure in punishing his prisoner, and often reviling him, giving taunts and odious names of heretic, etc., he caused him to be brought forth into a chapel in the cathedral church, called Our Lady Chapel, before him the said bishop, at two o'clock in the afternoon; when were also present the mayor of the city, Dr. Wall and other priests assisting him, George Wensloe, chancellor, and one John Chetham, registrar. Then they caused George Marsh to take an oath to answer truly unto such articles as should be objected against him. Upon which oath taken, the chancellor laid unto his charge, that he had preached and openly published most heretically and blasphemously, within the parishes of Dean, Eccles, Bolton, Bury, and many other parishes within the bishop's diocese, in the months of January and February last preceding, directly against the pope's authority, and catholic church of Rome, the blessed mass, the sacrament of the altar, and many other articles. Unto all which in sum he answered, that he neither heretically nor blasphemously preached or spake against any of the said articles; but simply and truly, as occa-

sion served, and as it were thereunto forced in conscience, maintained the truth respecting the same articles, as he said all now present did likewise acknowledge in the time of king Edward VI.

Then they examined him severally of every article, and bade him answer yes, or no, without equivocation; for they were come to examine, and not to dispute at that present. He accordingly answered them every article very modestly, agreeably to the doctrine by public authority received, and taught in this realm at the death of king Edward; which answers were every one written by the registrar, to the uttermost that could make against him. This ended, he was returned to his prison again.

Within three weeks after this, in the said chapel, and in like sort as before, the bishop and others before named, there being assembled, the said George Marsh was brought before them. Then the chancellor, by way of an oration, declared unto the people present, that the bishop had done what he could in showing his charitable disposition towards the said Marsh, but that all that he could do would not help; so that he was now determined, if the said Marsh would not relent and abjure, to pronounce sentence definitive against him. Wherefore he bade the said George Marsh to be now well advised what he would do, for it stood upon his life; and if he would not at that present forsake his heretical opinions, it would (after the sentence given) be too late, though he might never so gladly desire it.

Then the chancellor read all his answers that he made at his former examination; and at every one he asked, whether he would stick to the same, or no? To the which he answered again, "Yea, yea." Here also others took occasion to ask him (for that he denied the bishop of Rome's authority in England) whether Linus, Anacletus, and Clement, that were bishops of Rome, were not good men, and he answered, "Yes, and divers others. But," said he "they claimed no more authority in England than the bishop of Canterbury doth at Rome; and I strive not with the place, neither speak I against the person of the bishop, but against his doctrine; which in most points is repugnant to the doctrine of Christ." "Thou art an arrogant fellow indeed then," said the bishop. "In what article is the doctrine of the church of Rome repugnant to the doctrine of Christ?"

To whom George Marsh said, "O my lord, I pray you judge not so of me, I stand now upon the point of life and death: and a man in my case hath no cause to be arrogant, neither am I, God is my record. And as concerning the disagreement of the doctrine, among many other things, the church of Rome erreth in the sacrament. For Christ in the institution thereof did as well deliver the cup as the bread, saying, "Drink ye all of this," and St. Mark reporteth that they *did* drink of it. In like manner St. Paul delivered it unto the Corinthians. In the same sort also it was used in the primitive church for the space of many hundred years. Now the church of Rome doth take away one part of the sacrament from the laity. Wherefore if I could be persuaded in my conscience by God's word that it were well done, I could gladly yield in this point." Then said the bishop, "There is no disputing with a heretic." Therefore, when all his answers were ready, he asked him whether he would stand to the same, or else forsake them, and come unto the catholic church? to which Mr. Marsh answered, that he held no heretical opinion, but utterly abhorred all kind of heresy, although

they did so slander him. And he desired all to bear him witness, that in all articles of religion he held no other opinion than was by law established, and publicly taught in England at the death of Edward VI; and in the same pure religion and doctrine he would, by God's grace, stand, live, and die.

The bishop of Chester then took a writing out of his bosom, and began to read the sentence of condemnation; but when he had proceeded half through it, the chancellor called him, and said, "Good my lord, stay, stay! for if you read any further it will be too late to call it again." The bishop accordingly stopped, when several priests, and many of the ignorant people, called upon Mr. Marsh, with many earnest words, to recant. They bade him kneel down and pray, and they would pray for him: so they kneeled down, and he desired them to pray for him, and he would pray for them. When this was over the bishop again asked him, whether he would not have the queen's mercy in time? he answered, he gladly desired the same, and loved her grace as faithfully as any of them; but yet he durst not deny his Saviour Christ, lest he lose his mercy everlasting, and so win everlasting death.

The bishop then proceeded with the sentence for about five or six lines, when again the chancellor with flattering words and smiling countenance stopped him and said, "Yet, good my lord, once again stay, for if that word be spoken, all is past, no relenting will then serve." Then turning to Mr. Marsh, he asked, "How sayest thou? wilt thou recant?" Many of the priests and people again exhorted him to recant and save his life. To whom he answered, "I would as fain live as you, if in so doing I should not deny my master Christ; but then he would deny me before his Father in heaven.

The bishop then read his sentence unto the end, and afterwards said unto him, "Now I will no more pray for thee, than I will for a dog." Mr. Marsh answered, that notwithstanding, he would pray for his lordship. He was then delivered to the sheriffs of the city; when his late keeper finding he should lose him, said with tears, "Farewell, good George;" which caused the officers to carry him to a prison at the north gate, where he was very strictly kept until he went to his death, during which time he had little comfort or relief of any creature. For being in the dungeon or dark prison, none that would do him good could speak with him, or at least durst attempt it, for fear of accusation; and some of the citizens who loved him for the gospel's sake, although they were never acquainted with him, would sometimes in the evening call to him and ask him how he did. He would answer them most cheerfully, that he did well, and thanked God highly that he would vouchsafe of his mercy to appoint him to be a witness of his truth, and to suffer for the same, wherein he did most rejoice; beseeching that he would give him grace not to faint under the cross, but patiently bear the same to his glory, and to the comfort of his church.

The day of his martyrdom being come, the sheriffs of the city, with their officers, went to the Northgate, and thence brought him forth, with a lock upon his feet. As he came on the way towards the place of execution, some proffered him money, and looked that he should



have gone with a little purse in his hand, in order to gather money to give unto a priest to say masses for him after his death: but Mr. Marsh said, he would not be troubled to receive money, but desired some good man to take it if the people were disposed to give any, and give it to the prisoners or the poor. He went all the way reading intently, and many said, "This man goeth not unto his death as a thief, or as one that deserveth to die." On coming to the place of execution without the city, a deputy chamberlain of Chester shewed Mr. Marsh a writing under a great seal, saying, that it was a pardon for him if he would recant. He answered, Forasmuch as it tended to pluck him from God, he would not receive it upon that condition.

He now began to address the people, shewing the cause of his death, and would have exhorted them to be faithful unto Christ: but one of the sheriffs told him there must be no sermoning now. He then kneeling down prayed earnestly, and was then chained to the post, having a number of fagots under him, and a barrel with pitch and tar in it, over his head. The fire being unskilfully made, and the wind driving it to and fro, he suffered great extremity in his death, which notwithstanding he bore very patiently. When the spectators supposed 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 marvellously patient; which caused the bishop shortly after to make a sermon in the cathedral church, and therein to affirm, that the said Marsh was a heretic, burnt as such, and was then a fire-brand in hell.

Besides his examinations, this good man, George Marsh, wrote divers and sundry letters out of prison, addressed to the faithful in Christ Jesus. That concerning his examinations here followeth, as also an extract from one sent to certain friends in Manchester.

"Here you have, dearly beloved friends in Christ, the chief articles of christian doctrine briefly touched, which heretofore I have believed, professed, and taught, and as yet do believe, profess, and teach, and am surely purposed, by God's grace, to continue in the same until the last day. I want both time and opportunity to write out at large the probations, causes, parts, effects, and errors of these articles, which whoso desireth to know, let them read over the common places of those pious and learned men, Philip Melancthon and Erasmus Sarcerus, whose judgment in these matters of religion I do chiefly follow. The Lord give us understanding in all things, and deliver us out of the mouth of the lion, and from all evil doing, and keep us unto his everlasting and heavenly kingdom.

"Though Satan be suffered as wheat to sift us for a time, yet our faith faileth not through Christ's aid, but that we are at all times able to confirm the faith of our weak brethren, and always ready to give an answer to every man that asketh us a reason of the hope that is in us, with meekness and fear; having a good conscience, that whereas they back-bite us as evil doers, they may be ashamed, when they falsely accuse our good conversation in Christ. I thought myself of late years well settled with my loving and faithful wife and children, and also well quieted in the peaceable possession of that pleasant Euphrates; but

the Lord, who worketh all things for the best to them that love him, would not there leave me, but did take my dear and beloved wife from me; whose death was a painful cross to flesh and blood.

“Also I thought myself of late well placed under my most loving and gentle Mr. Laurence Saunders, in the cure of Langdon. But the Lord of his great mercy would not suffer me long there to continue, though for the time I was in his vineyard I was not an idle workman. But he hath provided me to taste of a far other cup; for by violence hath he driven me out of that pleasing Babylon, that I should not taste too much of her wanton pleasures, but with his most dearly beloved disciples to have my inward rejoicing in the cross of his Son Jesus Christ; the glory of whose church, I see it well, standeth not in the harmonious sound of bells and organs, nor yet in the glittering of mitres and copes, neither in the shining of gilt images and lights, but in continual labour and daily affliction for his name’s sake.

“Take heed and beware of the leaven of the scribes and of the sadducees; I mean the erroneous doctrine of the papists which with their glosses deprave the scriptures. The apostle Peter doth teach us, ‘There shall be false teachers amongst us, which privily shall bring in damnable heresies and many shall follow their pernicious ways, by whom the way of truth shall be evil spoken of; and through covetousness they shall with feigned words make merchandise of us.’ Christ also earnestly warneth us, to ‘Beware of false prophets, which come to us in sheep’s clothing, but inwardly they are ravenous wolves. By their fruits you shall know them.’ The fruits of the prophets are their doctrine; and here we are taught, that we should try the preachers that come under colour to set forth true religion unto us, according to the saying of St. Paul, ‘Prove all things, hold fast that which is good.’”

Of the letter to his Manchester friends we can give only an extract; one, however, of great force as well as truth and beauty. “Beloved in Christ, let us not faint because of affliction, wherewith God trieth all that are sealed to life everlasting; for the only way into the kingdom of God is through much tribulation. For the kingdom of heaven is like unto a city built and set upon a broad field, and full of all good things; but the entrance thereof is narrow, like as it were a burning flame on one hand and deep water on the other; and as it were one straight path between them, so narrow that one person only can pass at a time. If this city were now given to an heir, and he never went through the perilous way, how could he receive his inheritance? Wherefore, seeing we are in this narrow way, which leadeth to the most joyful city of everlasting life, let us not halt or turn back afraid of the danger; but follow Christ and be fearful of nothing, no not even of death itself, for this must lead to our journey’s end, and open to us the gate of everlasting life.”

## SECTION VI.

EXAMINATION AND MARTYRDOM OF WILLIAM FLOWER, JOHN CARMAKER,  
JOHN WARNE, JOHN SIMSON, AND JOHN ARDELEY.

WILLIAM FLOWER, (otherwise named Branch,) was born at Snailwell, in Cambridgeshire, at which place he went to school some years, and thence to the abbey of Ely; where, after he had remained a while, he became a professed monk, according to the order and rule of the house, wearing the usual habit, and observing the regulations until the age of twenty-one years; before which he had been a priest and celebrated mass. By reason of a visitation, and certain injunctions by the authority of Henry the VIII. he forsook the house, and casting from him the monk's habit and religion, took upon him the habit of a secular priest, returned to Snailwell, and there celebrated mass, and taught children for about half a year.

He then went into Suffolk, where he served as a secular priest about a quarter of a year; from thence he went to Stoniland, where he acted in the same capacity until the coming out of the six articles: when he departed and went into Gloucestershire, where after he had abode awhile, according to God's holy ordinance, he took a wife, with whom he ever after faithfully and honestly continued; and after his marriage, he tarried in Tewkesbury about two years, and from thence he went to Bursley, where he remained three quarters of a year, and practised physic and chirurgery. From thence he removed into Northamptonshire, where he assisted a gentleman in teaching children to read and write. At length he came to London; after that, being desirous to see his country, he returned to Snailwell, thence to Braintree, then to Coggleshall, where he also taught children. Coming to Lambeth, near London, he hired a house, where he and his wife dwelt together. Being at home upon Easter-Sunday, about ten or eleven o'clock in the forenoon of the same day, he came over the water to St. Margaret's church at Westminster; when seeing a priest, named John Cheltam, administering the sacrament of the altar to the people, he was so provoked and inflamed, that he struck and wounded him upon the head, and also upon the arm and hand, the priest having at the same time in his hand a chalice, with certain consecrated hosts therein. For this he was immediately examined before bishop Bonner, and confessed he had done wrong, submitting himself willingly to punishment, whenever it should come. Howbeit touching his belief in the sacrament, and the popish ministration, he neither would nor did submit himself.

Being apprehended and laid in the Gatehouse at Westminster, having as many irons as he could bear, he was summoned again before bishop Bonner, April 19th, 1555, when the bishop, after he had sworn him upon a book, ministered articles and interrogatories to him. Previous to this the following conversation took place between Mr. Flower and Mr. Robert Smith, a fellow prisoner.

*Smith.* Friend, as I understand that you profess the gospel, and that

you have done so a long season, I am bold to come unto you, and in the way of communication to demand and learn a truth at your own mouth, of certain things by you committed, to the astonishment not only of me, but of others that also profess the truth.

*Flower.* I praise God for his great goodness in shewing me the light of his holy word; and I give you hearty thanks for your visitation, intending by God's grace to declare all the truth that you shall demand lawfully of me, in all things.

*Smith.* Then I desire you to shew me the truth of your deed, committed on John Cheltam, priest, in the church, as near as you can, that I may hear from your own mouth how it was.

*Flower.* I came from my house at Lambeth over the water, and entering into St. Margaret's church, and there seeing the people falling down before a most detestable idol, being moved with extreme zeal for God, whom I saw before my face dishonoured, I drew forth my hanger, and struck the priest which ministered the same unto them; whereupon I was immediately apprehended.

*Smith.* Did you not know the person that you struck, or were you not zealous upon him for any evil will or hatred between you at any time?

*Flower.* No, verily, I never to my knowledge saw the person before, neither had evil will or malice; for if he had not had it, another should, if I had at any time come where the like occasion had been ministered, if God had permitted me to do it.

*Smith.* Do you think that thing to be well done, and after the rule of the gospel?

*Flower.* I confess all flesh to be subject to the power of Almighty God, whom he maketh his ministers to do his will and pleasure; as for example, Moses, Aaron, Phineas, Joshua, Zimri, Jehu, Judith, Mattathias, with many others, not only changing decrees, but also planting examples of zeal to his honour, against all order and respect of flesh and blood. For, as St. Paul saith, "His works are past finding out." By his Spirit I have also given my flesh at this present unto such order, as it shall please the good will of God to appoint in death, which before the act committed I looked for.

*Smith.* Think you it is convenient for me, or any other, to do the like by your example?

*Flower.* No verily, neither do I know whether I could do it again: for I was up very early at St. Paul's church upon Christ's day in the morning, to have done it in my jealousy: but when I came there, I was no more able to do it, than now to undo that which is done; and yet now being compelled by the Spirit, not only to come over the water, and to enter the church, but being also in mind fully content to die for the Lord, I gave over my flesh willingly, without all fear, I praise God. Wherefore I cannot learn you to do the like; first, because I know not what is in you; secondly, because the rules of the gospel command us to suffer with patience all wrongs and injuries. Yet nevertheless, if he make you worthy that hath made me zealous, you shall not be letted, judged, nor condemned; for he doth in his people his unspeakable works in all ages, which no man can comprehend. I humbly beseech you to judge the best of the Spirit, and condemn not

God's doings: for I cannot express with my mouth the great mercies that God hath shewed me in this thing, which I repent not.

*Smith.* Are you not assured to have death ministered unto you for the act, and even with extremity?

*Flower.* I did, before the deed committed, adjudge my body to die for the same: whereupon I carried about me, in writing, my opinion of the holy scriptures; that if it had pleased God to have given them leave to have killed my body in the church, they might in the said writing have seen my hope, which I praise God, is laid up safe within my breast notwithstanding any death that may be ministered upon my body in this world; being ascertained of everlasting life through Jesus Christ our Lord, and being most heartily sorry for all my offences committed in this flesh, and trusting shortly, through his mercy, to cease from the same.

*Smith.* I need not examine or commune with you of the hope that you have any further: for I perceive, God be praised, you are in good state, and therefore I beseech God, for his mercies, to spread his wings over you, that as for his love you have been zealous, even to the loss of this life, so he may give you his Holy Spirit to conduct you out of this world into a better life, which I think will be shortly.

*Flower.* I hunger for the same, dear friend, being fully ascertained that they can kill but the body, which I am assured shall receive life again everlasting, and see no more death; entirely desiring you and all that fear the Lord, to pray with me to Almighty God, to perform the same in me shortly.

On the next examination before Bonner, Mr. Flower had the following articles exhibited against him.

“That thou being of lawful age and discretion, at the least seventeen years old, wast a professed monk in the late abbey of Ely, wherein after thy profession thou remainedst until the age of twenty-one years, using all the mean-time the habit and religion of the same house, and wast reputed and taken notoriously for such a person.

“That thou wast ordained and made priest, according to the laudable custom of the catholic church, and afterwards thou didst execute and minister as a priest, and wast commonly reputed, named, and taken for a priest.

“That after the premises, thou, forgetting God, thy conscience, honesty, and the laudable order of the catholic church, didst, contrary to thy profession and vow, take as thy wife, one woman, commonly called Alice Pulton, in the parish of Tewksbury, with whom thou hadst mutual cohabitation, as man and wife, and had by her two children.

“That thou being a religious man and a priest, didst, contrary to the order of the ecclesiastical laws, take upon thee to practise in divers places within the diocese of London, physick and chirurgery, when thou wast not admitted, expert, nor learned.

“That upon Easter day last, within the church of St. Margaret's, at Westminster, thou didst maliciously, outrageously, and violently pull out thy wood knife or hanger. And whereas the priest and minister there, called John Cheltam, was executing his cure and charge, especially in doing his service, and administering the sacrament of the altar to

communicants, then didst thou wickedly and abominably smite with thy said weapon the said priest, first upon the head, and afterwards upon his hands and other parts of his body, drawing blood abundantly from him, he then holding the said sacrament in his hand, and giving no occasion why thou shouldst so hurt him, the people being grievously offended therewith, and the said church polluted thereby, so that the inhabitants were compelled to repair to another church to communicate, and receive the said sacrament.

“That by reason of the premises, thou wast and art by the ecclesiastical laws of the church, amongst other penalties, excommunicated and accursed in very deed, and not to be accompanied withal, neither in the church nor elsewhere, but in special cases.

“That thou, concerning the truth of Christ’s natural body and blood in the sacrament of the altar, hast been for the space of one or more years, and yet art at this present of this opinion, that in the sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration, there is not really, truly, and in very deed contained under the form of bread the very true and natural body of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

“That thou for the hatred and disdain that thou hadst and didst bear against the said sacrament, and against the said priest administering the same, didst smite, and hurt him in manner before declared.

“That thou art also, by order of the ecclesiastical laws of the church, to be reputed, taken, and adjudged a very heretic, and to be punished by and with the pains due for heresy, by reason of the said heresy and damnable opinion.

“That all the premises be true, manifest, notorious, and famous, and that upon the same, and every part thereof, there was and is within the said parish of St. Margaret’s, and other places thereabouts, a public voice and fame.”

It is unnecessary minutely to detail the answers of Mr. Flower to these charges. To the greater part of them, as an honest man he pleaded guilty, and as a faithful christian he gloried in the plea, and was ready to say—“If this be to be vile I will be more vile still.” He denied, however, having at any time been a monk in his heart, declaring that wearing the habit had offended his conscience. On the main point—his violently assailing the priest at the altar—he answered with caution, or rather with silence, declining to explain his conduct or its motives; evidently under the conviction, on the one hand that he had acted from a divine impulse, and on the other that such an assertion before a papal court would only have been turned into an occasion of profane scoffing.

After the deposition of certain witnesses were taken, the bishop asked him, if he knew any cause why sentence should not be read, and he be pronounced a heretic. Mr. Flower answered, “I have nothing at all to say, for I have already said unto you all that I have to say; and what I have said, I will not go from: therefore do what you will.” The bishop then proceeded to the sentence, condemning and excommunicating him for a heretic; and after, pronounced him to be degraded, and then committed him to the secular power. Upon the 24th day of April he was brought to the place of martyrdom, which was in St. Margaret’s

churchyard at Westminster, where the fact was committed. There one Mr. Cholmley came to him, desiring him to recant his heresy, whereby he might do good to the people; or else he would be damned. Flower answered, "Sir, I beseech you, for God's sake, be contented; for what I have said, I have said: and I have been of this faith from the beginning; and I trust to the living God he will give me his Holy Spirit so to continue to the end." Then he desired all the world to forgive him whom he had offended, as he forgave all the world. This done, his right hand being held up against the stake was struck off; and then fire was set unto him. While burning therein, he cried with a loud voice, "O the Son of God, have mercy upon me! O the Son of God, receive my soul!" three times; when his speech was taken from him. Thus endured this constant witness for God the extremity of the fire, being therein cruelly handled by reason of there not being fagots sufficient to burn him, so that they were fain to strike him down into the fire; where he lying along upon the ground, his nether part was consumed in the fire, while his upper part was clean without the fire, his tongue in all men's sight still moving in his mouth.

May 3rd, 1555, a letter was sent to George Colt and Thomas Daniel, to search for and apprehend John Bernard and John Walsh, who used to repair to Sudbury, and carrying about with them the bones of Pygot who was burned, shewed them to the people, and persuaded them to be constant in his religion; and upon examination to commit them to further ordering, according to the laws. The same day Stephen Appes was committed to the Little Ease in the Tower, there to remain two or three days till further examination.

On the 30th of May suffered together, in Smithfield, John Cardmaker, alias sir John Taylor, prebendary of the church of Wells; and John Warne, upholsterer, of St. John's, Walbrook. Cardmaker was an observant friar before the dissolution of the abbeys. He afterwards married, and in Edward's time was appointed a reader in St. Paul's, where the papists were so enraged against him for his doctrine's sake, that while he was reading they cut and mangled his gown with their knives. Mr. Cardmaker being apprehended in the beginning of queen Mary's reign, with Mr. Barlow, bishop of Bath, was brought to London and put in the Fleet prison, king Edward's laws being yet in force. But after the sitting of that parliament, the pope was again admitted as supreme head of the English church, and the bishops had also gotten power and authority, officially to exercise their tyranny: Barlow and Cardmaker were therefore brought before the bishop of Winchester, and others appointed by commission, to examine the faith of such as were then prisoners: and as he had done unto others before, so now he did to them—offered the queen's mercy, if they would agree to be conformable to the papal church. Such were their answers to this, that the chancellor with his fellow commissioners mistook them for papists. Barlow was led again to the Fleet, from whence he was afterwards delivered, and did by exile constantly bear witness to the truth of Christ's gospel. Cardmaker was conveyed to the Compter in Bread street, the bishop of London publishing that he should shortly be delivered, after that he had subscribed to transubstantiation and certain other articles.

Some of the articles objected by Bonner against Cardmaker were, that in times past he did profess the rule of St. Francis, and vowed to keep

poverty, chastity, and obedience, according to that rule; that he did receive all the orders of the church then used; that after the said profession and orders, he took to wife a widow, and with her lived in wedlock, breaking thereby his vow and order, and also the ordinance of the church; that Christ, at his last supper, taking bread into his hands, blessing it, breaking it, giving it to his apostles, and saying, "Take, eat: this is my body," did institute a sacrament there, willing that his body really and truly should be contained in the said sacrament—no substance of bread and wine there remaining, but only the accidents thereof.

To these articles Cardmaker replied, that while under age he did profess the said order and religion, but that he was absolved therefrom by king Henry VIII.; that he had received all the orders of the church; that by marriage he brake no vow, being set at liberty by the laws of the realm, and also by the laws and ordinances of the English church. To the last article he answered, that he doth believe that it is true; that is to say, that Christ, taking bread at his last supper into his hands, blessing it, breaking it, giving it to his disciples, and saying, "Take, eat: this is my body," did institute a sacrament there. And to the other part of this article, viz. that his body really and truly should be contained in the said sacrament, no substance of bread and wine there remaining, but only the accidents thereof—he answereth, that he doth not believe the same to be true.

Cardmaker, calling to mind the cavillings of the papists, and thinking he had not fully answered the last article, did the next day add the following: "Whereas in my answers to your articles I deny the presence of Christ in the sacrament, I mean not his sacramental presence, for that I confess; but my denial is of his carnal presence in the same. But yet further, because this word is oftentimes taken by the holy fathers, not only for bread and wine, but also for the whole administration and receiving of the same according to Christ's institution; so I say, that Christ is present spiritually too, and in all them who worthily receive the sacrament; so that my denial is still of the real, carnal, and corporeal presence in the sacrament, and not of the sacramental nor spiritual presence. This I have thought good to add to my former answer, because no man should misunderstand it."

Mr. John Warne, a respectable tradesman of London, was the next selected for trial before this iniquitous court. Some little variety distinguished the articles alleged against this individual, as the following sample will shew.

"Thou hast said, that about a twelvemonth ago and more, a rough spaniel of thine was shorn on the head, and had a crown like a priest made on the same, thou didst laugh at it, and like it, though thou didst it not thyself, nor knewest who did it.

"Thou neither this Lent last past, nor at any time since the queen's majesty's reign, hast come into the church, or heard mass, or been confessed, or received the sacrament of the altar; and hast said that thou art not sorry that thou hast so done, but that thou art glad, because thou hast not therewith defiled thy conscience.

"Thou wast in time past here in the city of London, accused of heresy against the sacrament of the altar, according to the order of the laws of this realm of England in the time of king Henry VIII. and when



alderman Barnes was then sheriff, and the Thursday after Anne Askew was burnt in Smithfield; and thereupon thou wast sent a prisoner to Newgate, to whom Edmund, bishop of London, did repair with his chaplains, to instruct thee in the true faith of Christ, touching the said sacrament of the altar, and to bring thee from thy error, which was, that in the sacrament of the altar there is not the body of Christ, nor any corporeal presence of Christ's body and blood, under the forms of bread and wine; but that in the said sacrament there is only material bread and wine, without any substance of Christ's body and blood at all: and because thou wouldst not leave and forsake thy said heresy therein, but would persist obstinately therein, thou wert, according to the said laws, condemned to be burnt; and thereupon suit being made for thee to the king and others in the court, thou hadst a pardon of king Henry VIII. and thereby didst save thy life. Nevertheless in thy heart and conscience thou didst both then, and also afore believe no otherwise than at this present thou dost believe; that in the sacrament of the altar there is neither the very true body or blood of Christ, nor any other substance but the substance of material bread and wine; and to receive the said material bread and wine, and to break it, and to distribute it among the people, only is the true receiving of Christ's body, and no otherwise. In which thine opinion thou hast ever hitherto since continued, and so dost continue at this present, thou confessing all this to be true, and in witness thereof subscribing thy name thereunto."

Mr. Warne being examined upon the above articles on the 23rd of May, answered for the same, confessing the articles and contents thereof to be true, according as they were objected in every part, subscribing also the same with his hand. Such strength and fortitude God's Holy Spirit wrought in him, to stand firmly and confidently to the defence of the sincere doctrine of his Son.

The bishop, however, exhorted him with many persuasions to leave his heresies, and return to the bosom of his mother the holy church, and commanded him to appear again the next day. On being brought up, he answered as before, and was again earnestly exhorted by the bishop to recant. He answered, that he would not depart from his received profession, unless he were thoroughly persuaded by the holy scriptures. Upon which he was ordered to come again the following day, at one in the afternoon; when the bishop examined him again upon all his former articles objected, to which he still constantly adhered, with this further answer—"I am persuaded that I am in the right opinion, and I see no cause to recant; for all the filthiness and idolatry is in the church of Rome."

The bishop seeing that notwithstanding all his fair promises and terrible threatenings he could not prevail, pronounced the definitive sentence of condemnation against him, and charged the sheriffs of London with him, under whose custody he remained in Newgate until the 30th of May. Which day being appointed for execution, he, with John Cardmaker, were brought by the sheriffs to the place where they should suffer; and being come to the stake, first the sheriffs called Mr. Cardmaker aside, and talked with him secretly, during which time Mr. Warne having prayed, was chained to the stake, and had wood and reeds set

about him. The people had before heard a rumour that Mr. Cardmaker would recant, and were greatly afflicted, thinking indeed that he would now recant at the burning of Mr. Warne. At length Mr. Cardmaker left the sheriffs, came towards the stake, and kneeled down and made a long prayer in silence to himself. His prayer ended, he rose, and advanced with a bold courage to the stake, and kissed it: then taking Mr. Warne by the hand, he heartily comforted him, and cheerfully gave himself to be bound. The people seeing this so suddenly done, contrary to their fearful expectation, as men delivered out of a great doubt, cried out for joy, saying—"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 passed through the flame to the blessed rest and peace among God's holy saints and martyrs, to enjoy the crown of triumph and victory prepared for the soldiers of Christ Jesus in his kingdom.

John Simson and John Ardeley were brought before the same court, and condemned for the same cause and on the same day with Cardmaker and Warne, namely the 25th of May. It would appear strange that so strict a search and so severe a proceeding were taken in reference to four individuals of no distinction in society. The surprise, however, may be dismissed on finding that on the preceding day Bonner had received a letter from their majesties at Hampton-court relative to the further persecution of the protestants, which acted as a stimulus upon the cruelty and craft of this sanguinary man, and was, doubtless, a means of hastening the condemnation, as well as multiplying the number of the martyrs. The letter is remarkable as a proof of the cruel disposition of Philip and Mary, and of the sophistry with which they could proceed to gratify them.

"Right reverend father in God, right trusty and well beloved, we greet you well. And whereas of late we addressed our letters to the justice of peace within every of the counties of this our realm, whereby amongst other instructions given them for the good order and quiet government of the country round about them, they are willed to have a special regard unto such disordered persons as do lean to any erroneous and heretical opinions, refusing to shew themselves conformable to the catholic religion of Christ's church; wherein if they cannot by good admonitions and fair means reform them, they are willed to deliver them to the ordinary, to be by him charitably travelled withal, and removed from their naughty opinions, or else, if they continue obstinate, to be ordered according to the laws provided in that behalf: understanding now, to our no little marvel, that divers of the said disorderly persons, being by the justices of the peace, for their contempt and obstinacy, brought to the ordinaries to be used as aforesaid, are either refused to be received at their hands, or if they be received, are neither so travelled with as christian charity requireth, nor yet proceeded withal according to the order of justice, but are suffered to continue in their errors, to the dishonour of Almighty God, and dangerous example of others; like as we find this matter very strange, so we have thought convenient both to signify our knowledge, and therewith also to admonish you to have in this behalf such regard henceforth to the office of a good pastor and

bishop, as when any such offenders shall be by the said officers or justices of the peace brought unto you, you use your good wisdom and discretion in procuring to remove them from their errors, if it may be, or else in proceeding against them according to the order of the laws; so as through your good furtherance, both God's glory may be better advanced, and the common-wealth more quietly governed. Given under our signet at our manor of Hampton-court, the 24th of May, the first and second years of our reign."

The first article against Simson and Ardeley was of the most sweeping kind; that they had not believed, and did not believe, that there is on earth one catholic and universal whole church, which doth hold all the faith and religion of Christ, and all the necessary articles and sacraments. Secondly, that they had not believed, nor did believe, that they were necessarily bounden, under the pain of damnation, to give full faith and credence unto the said catholic and universal church, and to the religion of the same, in all necessary points of the said faith and religion, without wavering or doubting in the said faith or religion, or in any part thereof. Thirdly, that they had not believed that that faith and religion which both the church of Rome and all other churches in Europe do believe and teach, is agreeing with the said catholic and universal church and the faith and religion of Christ; but contrariwise, that that faith and religion which the church of Rome and all the other churches aforesaid have believed, and do now believe, is false, and ought in no wise to be believed and kept of any Christian man. The four other articles alleged that they would not acknowledge the corporeal presence in the eucharist, or the sacrifice of the mass; and that they condemned as superfluous, vain, and unprofitable, auricular confession, and all the ceremonies and services of the church, saying that services in a foreign tongue were unlawful and naught.

The answers of John Simson, and also of John Ardeley, to the foresaid articles, taken out of the bishops' own registers:—

To the first they believe, that here on earth there is one catholic and universal holy church, which doth hold and believe as is contained in the first article; and that this church is dispersed and scattered abroad throughout the whole world. To the second, they believe that they are bound to give faith and credence unto it, as is contained in the second article. To the third, as concerning the faith and religion of the church of Rome, of Italy, Spain, France, Ireland, Scotland, and other churches in Europe, they have nothing to do with that faith and religion: but as concerning the faith and religion of England, that if the said church of England be ruled and governed by the Word of Life, then the church of England hath the faith and religion of the catholic church, and not otherwise; and do say also, that if the church of England were ruled by the Word of Life, it would not go about to condemn us and others of this heresy. To the fourth they answer, that in the sacrament of the altar there is very bread and very wine, not altered or changed in substance in any wise; and that he that receiveth the said bread and wine, doth spiritually and by faith only receive the body and blood of Christ; but not the very natural body and blood of Christ in substance under the forms of bread and wine. To the fifth they say they have answered in answering

to the said fourth article. To the sixth they say they believe that the mass is of the pope, and not of Christ; and therefore it is not good, nor having in it any goodness, saving the "Gloria in excelsis," the epistle and gospel, the creed and the Lord's prayer; and for this cause they have not, nor will they come and hear mass.

To the seventh, John Ardeley answered that he believeth the same to be true; but John Simson doth answer, that he is not fully resolved with himself what answer to make thereunto, and further saith that as touching the common and daily service said and used in the church, he saith that he never said that the service in the church ought to be said but in the English tongue; nor yet he never said, that if it be otherwise said and used than in English, it is unlawful and naught.

These articles being to them objected, and their answers made unto the same, the bishop, according to the mode of his consistory court, respited them to the afternoon. At which time the bishop repeating again the said articles unto them, and beginning with John Ardeley, urged and solicited him to recant. But he constantly standing to his religion answered—"My lord, neither you, nor any of your religion, are of the catholic church; for you are of a false faith: and I doubt not but ye shall be deceived at length, bear as good a face as ye can. Ye will shed the innocent blood, and ye have killed many, and yet go about to kill more. And if every hair of my head were a man, I would suffer death in the opinion and faith that I am now in." These, with many other words, he spake. Then the bishop yet demanded if he would relinquish his erroneous opinions, and be reduced again to the unity of the church. He answered, "No! God foreshield that I should so do, for then I should lose my soul."

After this, the bishop asking John Ardeley if he knew any cause why he should not have sentence condemnatory against him, read the condemnation, as he also did against John Simson, standing likewise in the same cause and constancy with John Ardeley. So were they both committed to the secular power, that is, to the hands of the sheriffs, on the 25th day of May, 1555, to be conveyed to the place where they should be executed. Being thus delivered to the sheriffs, they were shortly after sent down from London to Essex, where they were both put to death about the 10th of June. John Simson suffered at Rochford; and John Ardeley, on the same day, at Rayleigh, finished his martyrdom most quietly in the quarrel of Christ's gospel.

Furthermore it is not unworthy to be noted of all men, and known to all posterity, concerning the examinations of Ardeley and his company, how that they, on being brought before the commissioners, were by them greatly charged with stubbornness and vain glory. Unto whom they answered in defence of their own simplicity, that they were content willingly to yield to the queen all their goods and lands, so that they might be suffered to live under her, in keeping their conscience free from all idolatry and popery. Yet this would not be granted, although they had offered all to their heart's blood; so greedy and so thirsty be these persecutors of Christian blood. The Lord give them repentance, if it be his will, and keep from them the just reward of such cruel dealing! Amen.

## SECTION VII.

CONTAINING THE EXAMINATION AND MARTYRDOM OF MR. THOMAS HAUKES AND MR. THOMAS WATTS; WITH SOME OTHER INCIDENTS OF THE PERIOD.

While Gardiner and Bonner thirsted for the blood of living reformers, cardinal Pole, possessed of somewhat less cruelty but even greater superstition, directed his attention to every means of degrading the remains of those who were dead. By his order, the bones of Martin Bucer and Paulus Phagius, who had been nearly two years in their graves, were taken up and burned to ashes at Cambridge. And because he would shew some token of his diligence in this degrading work in both universities, he caused the remains of the wife of Peter Martyr, who had been buried in St. Mary's church-yard, to be dug up and cast on a dunghill!

Nor was the cardinal contented with thus treating the relics of distinguished persons; where the least public profession of the reformed opinions had appeared, he was anxious to follow it up with this disgraceful treatment of what remained of those who made it. Thus, because one Tooly, who had robbed a Spaniard and was executed for the crime at Charing-cross, read from a reformed book under the gallows, and spoke against the papal church before he suffered, he became an object of the cardinal's vengeance, who instigated the authorities to disturb the slumber of this unhappy man in his ignominious grave, and to burn the corpse of him whom they had omitted to consume before. To be sure he had been a sinner against the Romish church of no small degree; for not only had he robbed a countryman of king Philip, as he was called; but at his execution for the crime had said that, as he and his fellows had stolen through covetousness, so the bishop of Rome sold his masses and trentals from the same motives.

Mention has already been made of six men brought before bishop Bonner upon the 8th day of February, of which number was Thomas Haukes, who was condemned likewise with the other five on the 9th day of the foresaid month, though his execution was prolonged till the 10th of June following. As touching his education and order of life, first he was of the county of Essex, born of an honest stock, in calling and profession a courtier, brought up daintily from his childhood, and like a gentleman. He was a man of great comeliness and stature, well endued with excellent qualities; but his gentle behaviour towards others, and his fervent study and singular love unto true religion and godliness, did surmount all the rest.

Haukes following the fashion of the court, as he grew in years, entered into service with the lord of Oxford, with whom he remained a good space, being esteemed and loved by all the household, so long as Edward VI. lived. But he dying, all things began to go backward, religion to decay, true piety not only to wax cold, but also to be in danger every where, and chiefly in the houses of the great. Haukes misliking the state of things, and forsaking the nobleman's house, departed thence to his own home, where he might more freely give himself to God, and use his own conscience. Meanwhile he had born unto him a son, whose baptism was deferred to the third week, because

he would not suffer him to be baptized after the papal manner. This his adversaries would not suffer, but laid hands upon him, brought him to the earl of Oxford, there to be reasoned with as not sound in religion, but seeming to contemn the sacraments of the church.

The earl, either intending not to trouble himself in such matters, or else seeing himself not able to contend with him in such points of religion, sent him up to London with a messenger and the following letter to the bishop of London—"Most reverend father in God, be it known unto you that I have sent you Thomas Haukes of the county of Essex, who hath a child that hath remained unchristened more than three weeks; who being upon the same examined hath denied to have it baptized, as it is now used in the church, whereupon I have sent him to your good lordship, to use as you think best by your good discretion." Thus willing to clear his own hands, he put him in the hands of Bonner, bishop of London, who began to communicate with Mr. Haukes, first asking, what should move him to leave his child unchristened so long? To this he answered—"Because we are bound to do nothing contrary to the word of God. His institution I do not deny; but I deny all things invented and devised by man: your oil, your cream, your salt, your spittle, your candle, and your conjuring of water." Then the dialogue thus went on.

*Bonner.* Will you deny that which the whole world and your forefathers have been contented withal?

*Haukes.* What my fathers and all the world have done, I have nothing to do with: but what God hath commanded me to do, to that stand I.

*Bonner.* The catholic church hath taught it.

*Haukes.* What is the catholic church?

*Bonner.* It is the faithful congregation, wheresoever it be dispersed throughout the whole world.

*Haukes.* Who is the head thereof?

*Bonner.* Christ is the head thereof.

*Haukes.* Are we taught in Christ, or in the church now?

*Bonner.* Have you not read in the fourteenth of St. John where he said, He would send his comforter which should teach you all things?

*Haukes.* I grant you it is so, that he would send his comforter, but to what end? Forsooth to this end, that he should lead you into all truth and verity, and that is not to teach a new doctrine.

*Bonner.* Ah, sir, you are a right scripture man; for you will have nothing but the scripture. There are a great number of your countrymen of your opinion.

Mr. Haukes himself informs us that at this point of the dialogue the bishop sent for a preacher of Essex of the name of Baget. He knew and respected Mr. Haukes, and yet the bishop hoped to have influence enough over him to induce him to impeach his friend. At first he could not succeed; but after a little private conversation with Baget the conversation was thus resumed—

*Bonner.* How say you now unto baptism? Say whether it be to be frequented and used in the church, as it is now, or not?

*Baget.* Forsooth, my lord, I say it is good.

*Bonner.* Befool your heart, could you not have said so before? You

have wounded this man's conscience. How say you now, sir, this man is turned and converted?

*Haukes.* I build not my faith upon this man, neither upon you, but upon Christ Jesus only, who, as St. Paul saith, is the founder and author of all men's faith.

*Bonner.* I perceive you are a stubborn fellow; I must, therefore, go to work another way with you, to win you.

*Haukes.* Whatsoever you do, I am ready to suffer it; for I am in your hands to abide it.

*Bonner.* Well, you are so; come on your ways, you shall go in, and I will use you christian-like: you shall have meat and drink, such as I have in my house: but in any wise talk not.

*Haukes.* I purpose to talk nothing but the word of God and truth.

*Bonner.* I will have no heresy talked of in my house.

*Haukes.* Why, is the truth become heresy? God hath commanded that we should have none other talk in our houses, in our beds, at our meat, and by the way, but all truth.

*Bonner.* If you will have my favour be ruled by my counsel.

*Haukes.* Then I trust you will grant me my request.

*Bonner.* What is that?

*Haukes.* That your doctors and servants give me no occasion: for if they do, I will surely utter my conscience.

Upon this the bishop commanded his men to take in Baget, that Haukes and he might not have an opportunity to talk together. And so thus they departed and went to dinner, dining at the steward's table. After dinner, the bishop's chaplains and his men began to talk with Mr. Haukes; and in the company there was one Darbyshire, principal of Broadgates, in Oxford, and the bishop's kinsman, who said that Haukes was too curious: "for ye will have," said he, "nothing but your little pretty God's book."

"And is not that sufficient for my salvation?" Haukes enquired. "Yes," said he, "it is sufficient for our salvation, but not for our instruction." At the time that they thus reasoned, Bonner came in; and after reproving Haukes for talking, they all went into his orchard again, when the bishop resumed the dialogue.

*Bonner.* Would not ye be contented that your child should be christened after the book that was set out by king Edward?

*Haukes.* Yes, with a good will: it is what I desire.

*Bonner.* I thought so: ye would have the same thing. The principal is in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and in the necessity it may serve. Will ye be content to tarry here, and your child shall be baptized, and you shall not know of it, so that you will agree to it?

*Haukes.* If I would so have done, I needed not to have come to you: for I had the same counsel given before.

*Bonner.* You seem to be a lusty young man; you will not give your head for the washing; you will stand in the defence of it for the honour of your country. Do ye think that the queen and I cannot command it to be done in spite of your teeth?

*Haukes.* What the queen and you can do I will not stand in it: but ye get my consent never the sooner.

*Bonner.* Well, you are a stubborn young man; I perceive I must work another way with you.

*Haukes.* Ye are in the hands of God, and so am I.

*Bonner.* Whatsoever you think, I will not have you speak such words unto me.

They departed until even-song time: and ere even-song was begun, my lord called Haukes into the chapel, and said—"Haukes, thou art a proper young man, and God hath done his part unto thee; I would be glad to do thee good. Thou knowest that I am thy pastor, and one that should answer for thee. If I would not teach thee well I should answer for thy soul."

*Haukes.* That I have said, I will stand to it, God willing: there is no way to remove it.

*Bonner.* Nay, nay, Haukes, thou shalt not be so wilful. Remember Christ bade two go into his vineyard; the one said he would, and went not; the other said he would not, and went. Do thou likewise, and I will talk friendly with thee; how sayest thou? It is in the sixth of St. John—"I am the bread of life, and the bread that I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world. And whosoever eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, hath everlasting life. My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed. And he that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him." Do ye believe this?

*Haukes.* Yea, I must needs believe the scriptures.

*Bonner.* Why, then I trust that you be sound in the blessed sacrament.

*Haukes.* I beseech your lordship to feel my conscience no farther than in that which I was accused in unto you.

*Bonner.* Well, well, let us go unto even-song. Why will you not tarry even-song?

*Haukes.* Because I have no edifying thereby, for I understand no Latin.

*Bonner.* Why, you may pray by yourself. What books have you?

*Haukes.* I have the New Testament, the book of Solomon, and Psalter.

*Bonner.* Then I pray you tarry here, and pray you on your Psalter.

*Haukes.* I will not pray in this place, nor in any such.

Then said one, "Let him go, my lord." So Bonner went to even-song; and within an hour after sent for Haukes into his chamber.

*Bonner.* You know of the talk that was between you and me, as concerning the sacrament. You would not have your conscience sought any farther, than in that you were accused of.

*Haukes.* I thought you would not be both mine accuser and judge.

*Bonner.* Well, you shall answer me to the sacrament of the altar, the sacrament of baptism, the sacrament of penance, and the sacrament of matrimony.

*Haukes.* There are none of these, but I dare speak my conscience in them.

*Bonner.* The sacrament of the altar you seem to be sound in.

*Haukes.* In the sacrament of the altar? Why, sir, I do not know it.



*Bonner.* Well, we will make you to know it, and believe in it too, before we have done with you.

*Haukes.* No, that shall ye never do. What God thinketh meet to be done, that shall ye do, and more ye shall not do.

*Bonner.* Do you not believe that there remaineth in the blessed sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration be spoken, no more bread, but the very body and blood of Christ? Why, did not Christ say, "Take, eat, this is my body?"

*Haukes.* Christ said so: but therefore it followeth not that the sacrament of the altar is so as you teach, neither did Christ ever teach it so to be.

*Bonner.* Why, the catholic church taught it so, and they were of Christ's church.

*Haukes.* How prove you it? The apostles never taught it so. Neither St. Peter nor St. Paul ever taught it, nor instituted it so.

*Bonner.* Ah, sir, you will have no more than the scripture teacheth, but even as Christ hath left it bare.

*Haukes.* He that teacheth me any otherwise, I will not believe him.

*Bonner.* Why, then you must eat a lamb, if you will have but Christ's institution only.

*Haukes.* Nay, that is not so, for before Christ instituted the sacrament, that ceremony ceased, and then began the sacrament. Except you teach me by the word of God, I never will credit you, nor believe you.

And thus they concluded. The next day the bishop went to London, for Fecknam was made dean that day. Upon the Monday morning, very early, the bishop called for Haukes, having with him Harpsfield, archdeacon of London, to whom he said, "This is the man which I told you of, who would not have his child christened, nor will have any ceremonies."

*Archdeacon.* Christ used ceremonies. Did he not take clay from the ground, and took spittle, and made the blind man to see?

*Haukes.* That I well know; but Christ never used it in baptism. If ye will needs have it, put it to the use that Christ put it unto.

*Archdeacon.* Admit your child die unchristened, what a heavy case you stand in! Marry, then are you damned, and your child both. Do you not know that your child is born in original sin? and how is original sin washed away?

*Haukes.* By true faith and belief in Christ Jesus.

*Archdeacon.* How can your child, being an infant, believe?

*Haukes.* The deliverance of it from sin standeth in the faith of his parents. "The unbelieving man is sanctified by the believing woman, and the unbelieving woman is sanctified by the believing man, or else were your children unclean, but now are they holy."

*Bonner.* Recant, recant: do you not know that Christ said, "Except ye be baptised, ye cannot be saved?"

*Haukes.* I say as St. Peter saith, "Not the washing of water purgeth the filthiness of the flesh, but a good conscience consenting unto God."

*Bonner.* Let us make an end here. How say you to the mass?

*Haukes.* I say it is detestable, abominable, and unprofitable.

*Bonner.* What, nothing profitable in it? What say you to the epistle and gospel?

*Haukes.* It is good if it be used as Christ left it to be used.

*Bonner.* How say you to the Confitour?

*Haukes.* I say it is abominable and detestable, yea, and a blasphemy against God, and his son Jesus Christ, to call upon any, to trust to any, or to pray to any, save only Christ Jesus.

*Archdeacon.* What books have you?

*Haukes.* The New Testament, Solomon's books, and the psalter.

*Archdeacon.* Will you read any other books?

*Haukes.* Yes, Latimer's books, my lord of Canterbury's book, Bradford's sermons, and Ridley's books.

*Bonner.* Away, away, he will have no books but such as maintain his heresies!

The next day came an old bishop, who had a pearl in his eye, and he brought with him unto my lord a dish of apples, and a bottle of wine. For he had lost his living because he had a wife. Then the bishop called Mr. Haukes again into the orchard, and said to the old bishop, "This young man hath a child, and will not have it christened."

*Haukes.* I deny not baptism.

*Bonner.* Thou art a fool; thou canst not tell what thou wouldst have.

*Haukes.* A bishop must be blameless, sober, discreet, no brawler, nor given to anger.

*Bonner.* Thou judgest me to be angry: no, by my faith I am not.

With that he struck himself upon the breast. Then the old bishop said to Mr. Haukes, "Alas, good young man, you must be taught by the church, and by your elders, and do as your forefathers have done before you."

*Bonner.* No, no, he will have nothing but the scriptures, and God knows, he doth not understand them. He will have no ceremonies in the church, no not one: what say you to holy water? The scriptures allow it? We prove it in the book of Kings, where Elisha threw salt into the water.

*Haukes.* You say truth, that it is written in the Kings, the children of the prophets came to Elisha, saying—"The dwelling of the city is pleasant, but the waters be corrupted." This was the cause that Elisha threw salt into the water, and it became sweet and good: and so when our waters be corrupted, if you can, by putting in salt, make them sweet, clear, and wholesome, we will the better believe your ceremonies.

*Bonner.* How say you to holy bread? Have you not read where Christ fed five thousand men with five loaves and two small fishes.

*Haukes.* Will ye make that holy bread? There Christ dealt fish with his holy bread. He did not this miracle, or other, because we should do the like miracle, but because we should believe and credit his doctrine thereby.

Thus closed the dialogue with the bishop for the present. Mr. Haukes now went to dinner, and, if a humble and holy consciousness of attachment to the word of God amidst personal danger could impart appetite for the food of this life, his meal must have been a source of real enjoyment. After dinner he was called into the hall again, when his lordship desired the old bishop to take him into his chamber, to see if he could convert him. So he took him, and sat himself down in a chair,

and said—"I would to God I could do you some good: you are a young man, and I would not wish you to go too far, but learn of your elders to bear somewhat." To this Haukes answered—"I will bear nothing that is contrary to the word of God."

Next day, Fecknam came and said, "Are you he that will have no ceremonies? You will not have your child christened but in English, and you will have no ceremonies." To this Haukes replied—"Whatsoever the scripture commandeth to be done, I refuse not."

A short conversation then followed between Haukes and Fecknam concerning the real presence and the true interpretation of the words of Christ—"This is my body." The usual arguments on both sides were repeated. At length Fecknam said—"I perceive you hang and build on them that be at Oxford; I mean Latimer, Cranmer, and Ridley.

*Haukes.* I build my faith upon no man, and that shall ye well know: for if those men, and as many more as they be, should recant and deny that they have said and done, yet will I stand to it; and by this shall ye know that I build my faith upon no man.

*Bonner.* If any of those recant, what will ye say to it?

*Haukes.* When they recant, I will make you an answer.

*Bonner.* Then thou wilt say as thou dost now for all that?

*Haukes.* Yes indeed will I, and that, trust to it, by God's grace.

*Bonner.* I dare say Cranmer would recant, so that he might have his living.

And so the bishop and Fecknam departed from Haukes with great laughing, and he went again to the porter's lodge. The next day came Dr. Chedsey to the bishop; and then was Haukes called into the garden again. After some talk, Chedsey inquired, "What say ye to the church of Rome?"

*Haukes.* I say it is a church composed of vicious cardinals, priests, monks, and friars, which I will never credit nor believe.

*Chedsey.* What say you to the bishop of Rome?

*Haukes.* From him and all his detestable enormities, good Lord deliver us.

*Bonner.* He will by no means come within my chapel, nor hear mass: for neither the mass nor the sacrament of the altar can he abide, neither will he have any service but in English.

*Chedsey.* Christ never spake in English.

*Haukes.* Neither did he ever speak in Latin, but always in such a tongue as the people might be edified thereby. And St. Paul saith that tongues profit us nothing. He maketh a similitude between the pipe and the harp, and except it be understood what the trumpet meaneth, who can prepare himself to the battle? So if I hear a tongue that I do not understand, what profit have I thereby? no more than he hath by the trumpet, that knoweth not what it meaneth.

*Chedsey.* If you understand St. Paul's saying, he speaketh it under a prophecy—"If one *prophecy* to you in tongues."

*Haukes.* St. Paul maketh a distinction between prophesying and tongues, saying—"If any man speak with tongues, let it be two or three at the most, and let another interpret it. But if there be no interpreter, let them keep silence in the congregation, and let himself pray unto God: and then let the prophets speak two or three, and that by course, and let the others judge: and if any revelation be made to him that

sitteth by, let the first hold his peace:" so that it seemeth that St. Paul maketh a distinction between tongues and prophesying.

*Chedsey.* Hath any man preached other than Christ's doctrine unto you?

*Haukes.* Yea; I have been taught, since I came here, praying to saints and to our Lady, trusting in the mass, holy bread, holy water, and idols.

*Chedsey.* He that teaches you so, teacheth not amiss.

*Haukes.* Cursed be he that teacheth me so! for I will not trust him, nor believe him.

The next day Dr. Chedsey preached in the bishop's chapel, and did not begin his sermon until the service was done: and then came the porter for Haukes, and said—"My lord would have you come to the sermon;" and so he went to the chapel and stood without the door, and when Bonner commanded him in, Haukes refused and answered, "I will come no nearer," and so stood at the door.

Then Dr. Chedsey put the stole about his neck, and carried the holy water unto the bishop, who blessed him, and sprinkled him with holy water, and so he went to his sermon. His text was the sixteenth of St. Matthew—"Whom do men say that I the Son of Man am? Peter said, Some say that thou art Elias, some that thou art John the Baptist, some say thou art one of the prophets. But whom say ye that I am? Then said Peter, Thou art Christ the Son of the living God." Then he left the text there, and said, "'Whose sins soever ye bind, are bound:' which authority is left to the heads of the church, as my lord here is one, and so unto all the rest that be underneath him. But the church hath been much kicked at since the beginning: yet kick the heretics, spurn the heretics ever so much, the church doth stand and flourish." Then he went straightway to the sacrament, and said his mind on it, exalting it above heaven, as most of them do, and so returned to this place again, saying, "Whose sins ye do remit, are remitted and forgiven:" and so he applied it to the bishops and priests to forgive sins, and said, "All that be of the church will come and receive the same." And this he attempted to prove by St. John saying, that Christ came to raise Lazarus, who, when he was risen, was bound in bands: then said Christ to them that were in authority, "Go ye and loose him, let him go." And this was the effect of his sermon, applying all to the bishops, that they have the same authority that Christ spake of to his apostles.

The several parties separated after this sermon for dinner. After dinner Mr. Haukes was called into the chapel, where were several of the queen's servants, and other strangers whom he did not know. The conversation was thus resumed—

*Bonner.* Haukes, how like you the sermon? What, are you not edified thereby? It was made only because of you.

*Haukes.* Why, then I am sorry that you had no more heretics here, as you call them: I am sorry that you have bestowed so much labour on one, and that the labour was so little regarded by him.

*Bonner.* Well, I will leave you here, for I have business; I pray my friends to talk with him, for if you could do him good, I would be glad.

This the bishop spake to the queen's men, who said unto Haukes,

“Alas! what mean you to trouble yourself about such matters against the queen’s proceedings?”

*Haukes.* This matter have I answered before them in authority: and unless I see you have a further commission, I will answer you nothing at all.

The bishop had borne with answers equally firm and decisive as this; but the servants were more haughty than their lord, and instantly resented what they affected to consider an insult. They loudly exclaimed as with one heart and voice, “Fagots! burn him! hang him! to prison with him! it is pity he liveth! lay irons upon him!” and with a great noise they spake these words. In the midst of all their rage he departed from them to the porter’s lodge again. The next day the bishop called him into his chamber, and said, “You have been with me a great while, and you are never the better, but worse and worse: and therefore I will delay the time no longer, but send you to Newgate. Come on your ways, you shall see what I have written.” Then did he shew certain articles, and this is the substance of them—whether the catholic church doth teach and believe, that Christ’s real presence doth remain in the sacrament or no, after the words of consecration, according to these words of St. Paul; “Is not the bread which we break the partaking of the body of Christ, and the cup which we bless, the partaking of the blood of Christ?” which, if it were not so, St. Paul would never have said it.

*Haukes.* What your church doth understand I cannot tell: but I am sure that the holy catholic church doth never so take it, nor believe it.

*Bonner.* Whether doth the catholic church teach and believe the baptism that now is used in the church, or no?

*Haukes.* I answered to it as I did to the other question before.

Again the opponents separated for the night. The next morning, which was the first of July, the bishop called Haukes from the porter’s lodge, commanding him to make himself ready to go to prison, and to take such things with him as he had of his own. Then he wrote his warrant to the keeper of the Gate-house at Westminster, and delivered it to Harpsfield, who, with his own man and one of the bishop’s, brought him to prison, and delivered the warrant to the keeper, which ran as follows—“I will and command you, that you receive him who cometh named in this warrant, and that he be kept as a safe prisoner, and that no man speak with him, and that you deliver him to no man, except it be to the council, or to a justice; for he is a sacramentary, and one that speaketh against baptism, a seditious man, a perilous man to be abroad in these perilous days.”

There he remained thirteen days, when the bishop sent two of his men unto him, saying, “My lord would be glad to know how you do.” He answered them, “I do like a poor prisoner.” They said, “My lord would know whether you be the same man that you were when you departed.” He said, “I am no changeling.” They said, “My lord would be glad that you should do well.” He said, “If my lord will do me any good, I pray you desire him to suffer my friends to come to me.” They said they would speak for him, but he heard no more of them. In fact he remained in close confinement, neglected by his

enemies, insulted by those who had the charge of him, and denied the society and advice of his friends, for nearly two months, during which it afterwards appeared that Bonner was devising every crafty method to prepare him, either for a public recantation or a dreadful death; or perhaps for both, and for the one as the immediate precursor of the other.

His second examination took place on the 3rd of September, immediately after a sermon by Gardiner at St. Paul's Cross. In answer to a question from Bonner whether he would attend and hear the discourse, Mr. Haukes said—"Yes, my lord, I pray you let me go; and that which is good I will receive, and the rest I will leave behind me."

Bonner soon perceived that the sermon, though prepared and preached by one who was bishop of Winchester and lord chancellor at the same time, produced no effect in the mind of his steadfast prisoner, except rendering him more steadfast in the true faith. He therefore retired to prepare a paper that Haukes would be required to sign; meanwhile he left the latter to be reviled and taunted by some of his menials. Among these was one Smith, who was an apostate from the reformed church, and appears to have been retained by Bonner as a fit instrument of his evil designs against the reformers. Mr. Haukes observes of him in his journal—"As I stood there, Dr. Smith came unto me, who once recanted, as it appeared in print, saying, he would be glad to talk brotherly with me. I asked him what he was? Then said they that stood by, he is Dr. Smith. Then said I, Are you he that did recant? And he said, It was no recantation, but a declaration." To this Mr. Haukes answered with a smile, "You were best to term it well for your own honesty: but to be short with you, I will know whether you will recant any more or not before I talk with you, credit you, or believe you! and so I departed from him to the other side of the chamber."

It would be trifling with the reader's patience to record the conversations which Mr. Haukes was compelled to hold with other individuals even of a meaner stamp: it may be remarked, however, that he perfectly confounded every one of them—being constrained to exercise his talent for satire, and to answer the fools according to their folly. At length the bishop, having finished his paper, came to Mr. Haukes and laid it before him to sign—first reading the following portion of it—"I Thomas Haukes do hereby confess and declare before my said ordinary, Edmund, bishop of London, that the mass is abominable and detestable, and full of all superstition, and also as concerning the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, commonly called the sacrament of the altar, that Christ is in no part thereof, but only in heaven: this I have believed, and this I do believe." At this point Mr. Haukes said, "Stop there, my lord: what I *have* believed, what have you to do withal? but what I *do* believe, to that stand I and will." Altering the paper accordingly, the bishop went farther with his writing, and said, "I Thomas Haukes have talked with my said ordinary, and with certain good, godly, and learned men; notwithstanding I stand still in mine opinion."

Here Mr. Haukes was constrained to protest—"Shall I grant you to be good, godly, and learned men, and yet allow myself to stand in a

contrary opinion? No, I will not grant you to be good, godly, and learned men."

*Bonner.* Ye will grant that ye have talked with us: the other I will put out for your pleasure.

Then said all his doctors, "If your lordship be ruled by him, he will cause you to put out all together." And then he read more: "Here unto this bill have I set my hand," and then he offered Haukes the bill and his pen, and bade him set his hand to it.

*Haukes.* Ye get not my hand to anything of your making or devising.

*Bonner.* Wilt not thou set to thy hand? It shall be to thy shame for the denying of it.

And then he called all his doctors, and said he would have every man's hand to it that was in the chamber. And so he had all their hands to it, and said, "He that will not set his hand to it, I would he were hanged;" and so said all his chaplains and doctors with a great noise. Then the bishop thrust Haukes on the breast with great anger, saying he would be even with him, and with all such proud knaves in Essex.

*Haukes.* Ye shall do no more than God shall give you leave.

*Bonner.* This gear shall not go unpunished—trust to it.

*Haukes.* As for your cursings, railings, and blasphemings, I care not for them: for I know the moths and worms shall eat you, as they eat cloth, etc.

*Bonner.* I will be even with you when time shall come.

*Haukes.* You may in your malice destroy a man; but, when you have done, ye cannot do so much as make a finger; and ye are meetly even with some of us already.

Then Bonner took the bill, and read it again; and when he saw that he could not have his hand to it, then he would have had him to take it into his hand, and to give it to him again.

*Haukes.* What needeth that ceremony? Neither shall it come into my hand, heart, or mind.—Then the bishop wrapt it up, put it in his bosom, and in great anger went his way, and called for his horse; for the same day he rode in visitation into Essex.

After all these private conferences, persuasions, and long debates had with Thomas Haukes in the bishop's house, the bishop, seeing no hope to win him to his wicked ways, was fully set to proceed openly against him after the ordinary course of his popish law. Whereupon Thomas Haukes, shortly after, was cited with the rest of his other fellows above specified, to wit, Thomas Tomkins, Stephen Knight, William Pygot, John Lawrence, and William Hunter, to appear in the bishop's consistory, the 8th day of February, 1555. Upon which appearance was laid against him, in like order as to the others, first the bill of his confession, written with Bonner's hand, to the which bill ye heard before how this blessed servant of God denied to subscribe. After which bill of confession being read, and he constantly standing to the said confession, the bishop then assigned him, with the other five, the day following to appear before him again, to give a resolute answer what they would stick unto.

Being exhorted the next day by the bishop to return again to the bosom of the mother church, he answered, "No, my lord, that will I not; for if I had a hundred bodies, I would suffer them all to be torn in pieces, rather than I will abjure and recant." Whereupon Bonner, at the last, read the

sentence of death upon him ; and so was he condemned the same day with the residue of his fellows, which was the 9th of February. Nevertheless his execution was prolonged, and he remained in prison till the 10th day of June. Then was he committed to the hands and charge of the lord Rich, who, being assisted with power sufficient of the worshipful of the shire, had the foresaid Thomas Haukes down into Essex, with six other fellow-prisoners, whose stories hereafter follow, there to suffer martyrdom ; Haukes at Coggleshall, the others severally in other several places.

By the way, Thomas Haukes used great exhortation to his friends ; and whensoever opportunity served to talk with them, he would familiarly admonish them. When the day and hour of his execution arrived, being led to the place appointed for the slaughter, he there mildly and patiently prepared himself for the fire, having a strait chain cast about his middle, with a multitude of people on every side, unto whom he spake many things. At length, after his fervent prayers first made and poured out unto God, the fire was set unto him ; in the which when he had continued long, and when his speech was taken away by violence of the flame, his skin also drawn together, and his fingers consumed, so that now all men thought that he had certainly been gone, suddenly this blessed servant of God (being mindful of a promise secretly made unto his friends) reached up his hands burning on a light fire over his head to the living God, and with great rejoicing, as it seemed, struck or clapped them three times together : and so the blessed martyr of Christ, straightway sinking down into the fire, gave up his spirit, June 10, 1555.

Thomas Watts, of Billericay in Essex, and of the diocese of London, was by his occupation a linen draper. Before he was apprehended he disposed of his stock in trade, giving much of his cloth to the poor ; and being in daily expectation of his enemies' virulence, he set his affairs in order, for the sake of his wife and children. On the 26th of April he was apprehended and brought before the lord Rich and other commissioners at Chelmsford, and there being accused for not coming to the church, was upon the same examined before the lord Rich, Sir Anthony Brown, Edmund Tyrel, and several other magistrates of the county. When Mr. Watts first came before the justices at the sessions at Chelmsford, lord Rich thus addressed him, "Watts, you be brought hither, as I understand, because of disobedience to the king and queen's laws. You will not come to the church, you will not hear mass ; but have your conventicles a sort of you in corners, contrary to the king and queen's proceedings."

To this Mr. Watts answered, "My lord, if I have offended a law, I am subject to the law." Then justice Brown said to him, "Watts, I pray thee tell me who has been thy schoolmaster to teach thee this religion, or where didst thou first learn it?" "Forsooth," said Watts, "even of you, sir, you taught it me, and none more than you. For in king Edward's days in open sessions you spake against the religion now used, no preacher more. You then said the mass was abominable, and all their trumpery besides, wishing and earnestly exhorting that none should believe therein, and that our belief should be only in Christ : and you then said, that whosoever should bring in any strange nation to rule here, it were treason, and not to be suffered."



Then said Brown to my lord Rich, "He belies me, my lord. What a knave is this! he will soon belie me behind my back, when he doth it before my face." And my lord Rich said again, "I dare say he doth so." In conclusion, the commissioners being weary of him, or else not willing to meddle further in such high matters, sent him up to the bishop of London, with their letter withal, importing the cause of his sending up.

On Thursday, the 2nd of May, Thomas Watts was accordingly brought before the bishop of London; and there being examined, upon his words had before the lord Rich and others, as is contained in their letters, he did earnestly affirm the same to be true. Whereupon the bishop objected, and examined him upon these articles following. (1) That he was of Billericay, and so of the jurisdiction of the bishop of London. (2) That he believed not in the sacraments of the church of Rome. (3) That he believeth, and also hath taught others, that the substance of material bread and wine doth remain in the sacrament after the consecration. (4) That he believeth that the very true presence of Christ's body and blood, in substance, is not in the sacrament, but only in heaven, and nowhere else. (5) That he believeth that the mass now used in the church of Rome is full of idolatry, abomination, and wickedness, and that Christ did never institute it. (6) That he believeth auricular confession to be not necessary, but superfluous. (7) That he believeth that Luther, Wickliffe, Dr. Barnes, and all others that have holden against the sacrament, and suffered death by fire for the maintenance of the said opinion, were good men, and faithful servants and martyrs of Christ in so believing and dying. (8) That he hath and doth believe that to fast, pray, or to do alms-deeds, is a thing utterly unprofitable. (9) That coming unto the open court at the sessions, he there said openly, that all that is now used and done in the church is abominable, heretical, schismatical, and altogether naught. (10) That he the said Thomas, by reason of the premises, was and is a manifest and open heretic; and for the same is to be declared accursed; and being obstinate and incorrigible, is to be delivered to the secular power, there to be punished as a heretic. (11) That he, besides all these offences, had believed and deliberately spoken, that the church of Rome, in her rites, ceremonies, sacraments, constitutions, and traditions, is the synagogue of Satan. (12) That the premises and every part thereof be true, notorious, manifest, and openly spoken and talked of.—To these articles the said Thomas Watts answered: The first he confessed to be true. To the second, that he believed in all the sacraments according to Christ's institution, but not according to the bishop of Rome's church. To the third, that he hath and doth believe that Christ's body is in heaven, and nowhere else; and further, that he will never believe that Christ's body is in the sacrament. To the fourth, that he believed the same to be true. To the fifth, that he believed that the mass is abominable, and would not go from that belief. To the sixth, that the priest could not absolve him of his sins, though he allowed it to be good to ask counsel at the priest's mouth. To the seventh, that he knew not what the opinions of the said persons were. To the eighth, he denied having thus spoken; but said that fasting, prayers, and almsdeeds, be works of a lively faith. To the ninth, that he did thus speak, and desired God that he might die in that faith and belief, wherein he now is. To the tenth, that he will submit himself to the order of the

law; and further said, that he trusteth that with God he shall be blessed, although with men he be accursed. To the eleventh, that he believed the bishop of Rome to be a mortal enemy to Christ and his church. To the twelfth, that all which before he confessed to be true, is true; and all that he hath denied to be true, he denieth again to be true, and believeth the same to be according to such things as he hath confessed.

Thus having answered the articles, the bishop commanded Mr. Watts to appear again in the same place at three o'clock in the afternoon; when, after many persuasions to cause him to recant, he ordered him to depart, and come again on Saturday at eight o'clock in the morning. The bishop being then absent, Harpsfield, the archdeacon, represented him, and earnestly exhorted Watts to deny his opinions. But he being still resolute, as one whose house was built upon a rock, Harpsfield ordered him to appear there again upon Friday, the 10th day of the same month. Upon which day the bishop sent for him privately into his chamber; but finding all persuasion in vain, he was again dismissed until the 17th of May, and then commanded to appear in the consistory; when being condemned he was delivered to the sheriffs of London, by whom he was sent to Newgate, where he remained until the 9th of June when he was carried to Chelmsford, to an inn, where, as he and his fellow sufferers were eating, they prayed together both before and after their meal. When this was over, Mr. Watts retired, and prayed privately, and afterwards came to him his wife and six children, when having exhorted them to remain steadfast in the faith, he bade them farewell.

Being brought to the stake, he kissed it, after which he thus addressed lord Rich: "My lord, beware, beware, for you do against your own conscience herein, and without you repent, the Lord will avenge it; for you are the cause of my death."

Mention was made before, in the story of Thomas Haukes, of six prisoners which were sent down with him to Essex; of which six, three were sent to be burned, and three to recant and do penance. Their names were, Thomas Osmond, fuller; William Bamford, weaver; Nicholas Chamberlain, weaver; Thomas Osborne, fuller; Thomas Brodehill, weaver; Richard Web, weaver; being all of the town of Coggleshall. The articles objected against Osmond, Bamford, and Chamberlain were similar to those of Watts and others, and their answers equally firm and decided. After these had been propounded and answered, they were dismissed till the afternoon; at which time the bishop and his assistants, by fair and flattering speeches, tried to make them recant and revoke their opinions. They, notwithstanding, remained firm, and therefore were sent away again until the next day; in the afternoon of which the bishop condemned them as heretics, and so delivered them to the sheriffs, in whose custody they remained until they were delivered to the sheriff of Essex, and by him executed: Chamberlain at Colchester, on the 14th of June; Thomas Osmond at Manningtree, and William Bamford at Harwich on the day following.

Long persuasion had been in England with great expectation, for the space of half a year or more, that the queen was conceived with child. This report was made by the queen's physicians, and others nigh about the court; so that divers were punished for saying the contrary. Command-

ment was given, that in all churches supplication and prayer should be made for the queen's safe delivery; as may appear by provision made before in act of parliament for the child. Such was the public excitement that about Whitsuntide, the time that this young prince should come into the world, a rumour was blown in London of the prosperous deliverance of the queen, and the birth of a son! Then the bells were rung, bonfires and processions made, not only in London, and in most other parts of the realm, but also in Antwerp guns were shot off upon the river by the English ships, and the mariners thereof rewarded with a hundred pistolets, or Italian crowns, by the lady regent, who was the queen of Hungary. Yea, divers preachers, after procession and *Te Deum*, took upon them to describe the proportion of the child, how fair, how beautiful, and great a prince it was, as the like had not been seen!

It is said that a simple man, dwelling within four miles of Berwick, who never had been before half way to London, cried out concerning the bonfires made for the supposed child—"Here is a joyful triumph, but at length all will not prove worth a mess of pottage;" as indeed it came to pass: for in the end it proved quite contrary, and the joy and expectations of men were much deceived. One thing of mine own hearing and seeing I cannot pass over unwitnessed: There came to me, whom I did both hear and see, one Isabel Malt, a woman dwelling in Aldersgate-street, in Horn-alley, who before witness made this declaration: that she being delivered of a man-child upon the 11th of June, 1555, there came to her the lord North, and another lord to her unknown, dwelling then about Old Fish-street, demanding of her if she would part with her child, and would swear that she never knew nor had any such child; which, if she would, her son (they said) should be well provided for, she should take no care for it; with many fair offers if she would part with her child: but she in no wise would let go her son, who at the writing hereof being alive, and called Timothy Malt, was of the age of thirteen years and upward.

Among many other great preparations made for the queen's deliverance of child, there was a cradle very sumptuously and gorgeously trimmed, upon which these lines were written both in Latin and English:

The child which thou to Mary, O Lord of Might! hast send,  
To England's joy, in health preserve!—keep, and defend!

About this time there came over a certain English book, warning Englishmen of the Spaniards, and disclosing certain close practices for recovery of abbey-lands, which book was called, "A Warning for England." By the occasion of this book, upon the 13th day of this month came out a certain proclamation, in the name of the king and queen, repealing and disannulling all manner of books written or printed, whatsoever should touch any thing to the impairing of the pope's dignity; whereby not only much godly edification was hindered, but also great peril grew among the people.

Now as these papists have in this present proclamation condemned these books above recited; so I desire thee to give thy censure upon their books, by them allowed, and upon the matter in them contained, and mark well what good stuff it is. And to begin with the Primer in English for children, after the use of Salisbury, called "Our Lady's Matins;" let us repeat and

survey some part thereof, beginning with the first lesson of our Lady in these words :—

“ Holy Mary, mother most pure of virgins all,  
Mother and daughter of the King Celestial,  
So comfort us in our desolation,  
That by thy prayer and special mediation  
We enjoy the reward of thy heavenly reign,” etc.

Confer this with the Scriptures, good reader, and judge uprightly, whether this doctrine be tolerable in the church or not. It followeth more in the second lesson :—

“ Holy Mary, of all godly the godliest,  
Pray for us, of all holy the holiest;  
That He our prayers accept may in good wise  
Which of thee was born, and reigneth above the skies,” etc.

THE VERSICLE.—“ Pray for the people, entreat for the clergy, make intercession for the devout woman-kind; let all feel thy help, that worthily solemnize thy memorial,” etc.

“ Holy Mother of God, make thy petition,  
That we may deserve Christ’s promise,” etc.

And in the anthem after Benedictus, thus it followeth :—“ We beseech thee of thy pity to have us in remembrance, and to make means for us unto Christ, that we, being supported by thy help, may deserve to attain the kingdom of heaven !”

ITEM.—“ Holy Mother, succour the miserable, comfort the weak-spirited, give courage to the desperate, pray for the people, make intercession for the clergy, and be a means for the devout woman-kind,” etc.

Another blasphemy in the said Primer :—“ Hail Queen ! mother of mercy, our life, our sweetness, our hope ! Unto thee do we cry and sigh, weeping and wailing. Come off, therefore, our patroness; cast upon us thy pitiful eyes; and after this our banishment, shew to us the blessed fruit of thy womb. O Gate of glory, be for us a reconciliation unto the Father and the Son. From the wretched their faults expel: remove the spots of sins unclean,” etc.

And thus much of this catholic primer, called our Lady’s Matins. Whereunto, if it were not tedious for the reader, we would also adjoin our Lady’s Psalter, to the intent that all indifferent readers, as they have seen what books these catholic fathers have condemned and do condemn for heretical; so they may also see and judge what books on the other side they approve as lawful and catholic. And forasmuch as it is not known peradventure to all men what our Lady’s Psalter is, or what it meaneth, here therefore we will first produce the name of the author, who was Bonaventure, a seraphical doctor, bishop also and cardinal, canonized moreover by pope Sixtus IV., anno 1482, for a saint in the calendar, who, to show himself a devout servant to his Lady, hath taken every Psalm of David, (which peculiarly refer to Almighty God,) and hath in divers of the said psalms and verses put out the name of the Lord, and hath placed in the name of our Lady. This being done, it is now called our Lady’s Psalter, used to be sung and said in the praise and service of our Lady. A brief taste whereof, for example’s sake, (for, to show all, it were too long,) here followeth: “ Blessed is the man which understandeth thy

name, O Virgin Mary; thy grace shall comfort his soul. Thou shalt bring forth in him the most plentiful fruit of justice, being refreshed as it were with fountains of water. All women thou passest in the beauty of thy body, all angels and archangels in the excellency of thy holiness. Thy mercy and thy grace are magnified every where.

“Why do our enemies fret and imagine vain things against us? Let thy right hand defend us, O mother of God, terribly confounding and destroying them as with a sword. Come unto her, all ye that labour and are troubled, and she will give rest unto your souls. Come unto her in your temptations, and her loving countenance shall stablish and comfort you. Bless her with all your heart; for the earth is full of her mercy.

“Why are they so many, O Lady, that trouble me? In thy fury thou shalt persecute and destroy them. Loose the bonds of our impiety, and take away the burden of our sins. Have mercy upon me, O Lady, and heal my infirmity. Take away my sorrow and the anguish of my heart. Deliver me not into the hands of mine enemies, and in the day of my death comfort my soul. Bring me unto the haven of salvation, and restore my spirit unto my Maker and Creator.

“When I called to thee, thou heardest me, O my Lady, and out of thy high throne thou didst vouchsafe to think upon me. From the roaring of them that prepare themselves to devour me, and out of the hands of such as seek after my life, thy grace shall deliver me: because thy mercy and thy pity are great towards all them that call upon thy holy name. Blessed be thou, O Lady, for ever, and thy majesty for ever and ever. Glorify her, all nations of the earth.

“Hear my words, O Lady, turn our mourning into gladness, and our trouble into rejoicing. Let our enemies fall before our feet, and with thy power dash their heads in pieces. O Lady, suffer me not to be rebuked in God's anger, nor to be chastened in his heavy displeasure. From the gate and deep pit of hell, with thy holy prayers deliver us. Let the everlasting gates be opened, that we may shew forth thy marvellous works for ever. Because the dead, nor they that be in hell, shall not praise thee, O Lady, but they which shall obtain by thy grace life everlasting.

“O my Lady, in thee will I put my trust; deliver me from mine enemies. Stop the mouth of the lion, and bind the lips of the persecutors. Make no tarrying, for thy name's sake, to show thy mercy upon me. Let the brightness of thy countenance shine upon us, that our conscience may be saved before the Most Highest. If the enemy do persecute my soul, O Lady; help me that he destroy me not. I will give thanks to thee, O Lady, with my whole heart, and will shew forth among the nations thy praise and glory. They shall find grace through thee, the finder out of grace and salvation. The humble and penitent groan for pardon and forgiveness; heal thou the sores of their heart.

“In thee, O Lady, do I put my trust. Seek her even from your youth, and she shall glorify you. Her mercy take from us the multitude of our sins, and give unto us plenteousness of merits. Save me, O mother of love, and fountain of mercy. Thou thyself alone hast gone about the compass of the earth, to help them that call upon thee. How long dost thou forget me, O Lady, and dost not deliver me in the day

of my trouble? How long shall mine enemy triumph over me? With thy mighty power destroy him. We magnify thee the finder and the author of grace, by whom the world is repaired.

“Preserve me, O Lady, for in thee have I put my trust. Blessed be thy breasts, which with thy deifying milk did nourish the Saviour. I will love thee, O Lady of heaven and earth; I will call upon thy name among the nations. Confess yourselves unto her, ye that are troubled in heart, and she shall strengthen you against your enemies. O all ye cloisterers honour her, for she is your helper and special advocate. Be thou our refreshing and rest, for thou art the marvellous foundation of all religion.

“Hear us, O Lady, in the day of trouble. Cast us not away in the time of our death, but succour our soul when it forsaketh the body. Send an angel to meet it, that it may be defended from the enemies. In torments and pain let it feel thy comfort, and grant to it a place among the elect of God.”

Moreover, in the Rosary or Garland of our Lady, compiled by the said St. Bonaventure, these words are to be read as followeth:—

“O Mediatrix between God and man, the Lord hath worthily magnified thee, that thou only shouldst conceive his Son. Wherefore, O good Mary our mediatrix, mother of grace, and mother of mercy,” etc.—“Therefore, O our Empress and Lady most bountiful, by the authority of a mother command, command (I say) thy well-beloved Son.”—“O the Advocate of the miserable, the eyes of thy servants be directed to thee,” etc. To these I might also adjoin the horrible and most blasphemous words of the said Bonaventure, “What greater goodness can be, than that Christ is content to be captive upon the altar?”

Is not here good catholic stuff, Christian reader, trow you? Confer this doctrine with the doctrine of the Apostles, who teach us that we are complete in Christ, and I will refer ye to no better judge than to your own conscience. And now, therefore, if any man be in doubt in times past of the doctrines and proceedings of the church of Rome, whether it be rightly charged with blind errors, with blasphemy intolerable, and idolatry abominable, or not, here now may he be fully certified and resolved. For where was ever idolatry or blasphemy to be found, if it be not here in this Matins and Psalter of our Lady?

## SECTION VIII.

THE LIFE AND MARTYRDOM OF JOHN BRADFORD, WHO TOGETHER WITH JOHN LEAF WAS BURNED IN SMITHFIELD.

JOHN BRADFORD was born at Manchester in Lancashire. His parents brought him up in learning from his infancy, and continued his education until he attained such knowledge in the Latin tongue, and such skill in writing, that he was able to gain his own living in a respectable situation. He then entered into the service of Sir John Harrington, knight, who in the great affairs of king Henry VIII. and Edward VI. which he had in hand when he was treasurer of the king's camps and buildings, at Boulogne, had such experience of Mr. Bradford's activity in writing, his expertness in the art of auditors, as also in his faithfulness, that he placed

great confidence in him. Thus encouraged and trusted, Mr. Bradford continued several years in a thriving way, after the course of this world, and so would have continued if his mind could have been satisfied. But the Lord had ordained him to more glorious and important objects, to preach the word of God to man. He called his chosen servant to the understanding and partaking of the gospel; in which he was truly taught, that forthwith his effectual mission was perceived by the fruits. For then he forsook his worldly affairs, and after a just account given to his master of all his doings, he departed from him, to further the kingdom of God by the ministry of his holy word, and to give himself wholly to the study of the scriptures. The better to accomplish his design, he departed from the Temple at London, and went down to the university at Cambridge, where his diligence in study, his profiting in knowledge, and his pious conversation, so pleased all men, that within a few years after he had been there, the university gave him the degree of master of arts.

Immediately after, the master and fellows of Pembroke Hall gave him a fellowship in their college; and that good man, Martin Bucer, held him not only most dear unto him, but also oftentimes exhorted him to bestow his talent in preaching. To this Bradford always answered, that he was unable to serve in that office through want of learning, to which 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." While Mr. Bradford was thus persuaded to enter into the ministry, Dr. Ridley, according to the order then in the church of England, called him to the degree of deacon. This order was not without some abuse, to which Mr. Bradford would not consent, and the bishop perceiving that he was willing to enter into the ministry, was content to ordain him deacon without any abuse, even as he desired. He then obtained for him a licence to preach, and gave him a prebend in his cathedral church of St. Paul's, where Mr. Bradford diligently laboured for the space of three years.

On the 13th of August, in the first year of the reign of queen Mary, Mr. Bourne, then bishop of Bath, made a sermon at Paul's Cross, which set forth the merits of popery in such sort, that it moved the people to such great indignation, that they could scarcely refrain pulling him out of the pulpit. Neither could the reverence of the place, nor the presence of bishop Bonner, nor yet the command of the lord-mayor of London, whom the people ought to have obeyed, stay their rage: but the more they spoke, the more the people were incensed. At length Mr. Bourne, seeing the violence of the people, and himself in such peril, desired Mr. Bradford, who stood in the pulpit behind him, to come forth, and to stand in his place and speak to the people. Mr. Bradford at his request obeyed, and spake to the people of godly and quiet obedience. As soon as the people heard him begin to speak unto them, they were so glad that they gave a great shout. The tumult soon ceased and in the end each departed quietly to his house.

The same Sunday afternoon, Mr. Bradford preached at Bow church in Cheapside, and reproved the people for their seditious misdemeanor. After this he abode in London, with an innocent conscience, to wait

what would come to pass. He was not long at liberty, for within three days after he was sent for to the Tower, where the queen then was, to appear before the council. There he was charged with this act of saving Bourne, which they called seditious; and they also objected against him for preaching, and so by them he was committed first to the Tower, then to the King's Bench in Southwark, and after his condemnation he was sent to the Compter in the Poultry in London; in which latter places he preached twice a day continually, unless sickness hindered him. He ate but one frugal meal a day, and studied continually on his knees.

He remained in prison from August 1553, till January 1555; upon the 22nd of which month he was called before Gardiner, and other of the commissioners. On coming into the presence of the council, (who had just finished with Dr. Farrar, of whom ye have heard,) John Bradford kneeled down; but immediately, by the lord chancellor, was bidden to stand up. Then the lord chancellor spake thus to him in effect: that he had been of long time justly imprisoned for his seditious behaviour at Paul's Cross, the 13th of August, in the year 1553, for his false preaching and arrogancy, taking upon him to preach without authority. "But now," said he, "the time of mercy is come, and therefore the queen's highness, minding to offer unto you mercy, hath by us sent for you, to declare and give the same, if you will with us return: and if you will do as we have done, you shall find as we have found, I warrant you."

Mr. Bradford answered, "My lord and lords, I confess that I have been long imprisoned, and (with humble reverence be it spoken) unjustly, for that I did nothing seditiously, falsely, or arrogantly, in word or deed, by preaching or otherwise, but rather sought truth, peace, and all godly quietness, as an obedient and faithful subject, both in going about to serve the present bishop of Bath, then Mr. Bourne, the preacher at the Cross, and in preaching for quietness accordingly."

*Lord Chan.* I know thou hast a glorious tongue, and goodly shews thou makest; but all is lies thou speakest. And again, I have not forgotten how stubborn thou wast when thou wast before us in the Tower, whereupon thou wast committed to prison concerning religion: I have not forgotten thy behaviour and talk, for which cause thou hast been kept in prison, as one that would have done more hurt than I will speak of.

*Brad.* My lord, I stand as before you, so before God, and one day we shall all stand before him: the truth then will be the truth, though now ye will not so take it. Yea, my lord, I dare say, that my lord of Bath, Mr. Bourne, will witness with me, that I sought his safeguard with the peril of mine own life, I thank God there-for. I took nothing upon me undesired, and that of Mr. Bourne himself, as if he were here present, I dare say he would affirm. For he desired me both to help him to pacify the people, and also not to leave him till he was in safety. And as for my behaviour in the Tower, and talk before your honours, if I did or said any thing that did not beseem me, if your lordships would tell me wherein it was, I should and would presently make you answer.

*Lord Chan.* Well, to leave this matter: how sayest thou now? Wilt thou return again, and do as we have, and thou shalt receive the queen's mercy and pardon?



*Brad.* My lord, I desire your mercy with God's mercy; but your mercy with God's wrath, God keep me from: although, I thank God, my conscience doth not accuse, that I did speak any thing why I should need to receive the queen's mercy or pardon. For all that ever I did or spake was both agreeable to God's laws and the laws of the realm at that time, and did make much to quietness. I have not deceived the people, nor taught any other doctrine than, by God's grace, I am ready to confirm with my life. And as for its devilishness and falseness, I would be sorry you could so prove it.

*Durham.* What say you of the ministration of the communion, as now it is?

*Brad.* My lord, I must desire of your lordship and of all your honours a question, before I dare make you an answer to any question. I have been six times sworn that I shall in no case consent to the practising of any jurisdiction, or authority, on the bishop of Rome's behalf within this realm of England. Now, before God, I humbly pray your honours to tell me whether you ask me this question by his authority, or not? If you do, I dare not answer you any thing in his authority, except I would be forsworn, which God forbid. I was thrice sworn in Cambridge, when I was admitted master of arts, when I was admitted fellow of Pembroke Hall, and when I was there, the visitors came thither and sware the university. Again, I was sworn when I entered into the ministry, when I had a prebend given me, and when I was sworn to serve the king, a little before his death.

*Rochester.* My lords, I never knew wherefore this man was in prison before now: but I see well that it had not been good that this man had been abroad: what the cause was that he was put in prison I know not; but I now well know that not without a cause he was, and is to be kept in prison.

*Sec. Bourne.* Yea, it was reported this parliament time by the earl Derby, that he hath done more hurt by letters, and exhorting those that have come to him in religion, than ever he did when he was abroad by preaching. In his letters he curseth all that teach any doctrine which is not according to that he taught, and most heartily exhorteth them to whom he writeth to continue still in that they received by him, and such like as he is. How say you, Sir, have you not thus seditiously written and exhorted the people?

*Brad.* I have not written nor spoken any thing seditiously; neither, I thank God, have I admitted any seditious thought, nor trust ever shall do. Concerning my letters, what I have written I have written.

*Lord Chan.* We shall never have done with thee, I perceive now: be short, wilt thou have mercy?

*Brad.* My lords, if I may live as a quiet subject without a clog of conscience, I shall heartily thank you for that pardon; if otherwise I behave myself, then I am in danger of the law: in the mean season I ask no more than the benefit of a subject till I be convicted of transgression. If I cannot have this, as hitherto I have not had, God's good will be done.

Here the lord chancellor again offered mercy, and Bradford answered as before. Mercy with God's mercy should be welcome, but otherwise he would have none. Whereupon the lord chancellor rang a bell,

when the under marshal came in, to whom his lordship said, "You shall take this man to you, and keep him close without conference with any man, but by your knowledge, and suffer him not to write any letters, for he is of another manner of charge to you now than he was before." And so they departed, Bradford looking as cheerfully as any man could do, declaring even a desire to give his life for the confirmation of his faith and doctrine.

The second examination of Mr. Bradford took place immediately after the excommunication of Mr. Rogers, who has been before the reader. After a long speech of Gardiner and another bishop or two, Mr. Bradford said, "My lord, and my lords all, as I now stand in your sight before you, so I humbly beseech your honours to consider, that you sit in the seat of the Lord, who (as David doth witness) is in the congregation of judges, and sitteth in the midst of them judging righteously: and as you would have your place to be by us taken as God's place, so demonstrate yourselves to follow him in your sitting; that is, seek no guiltless blood, neither hunt by questions to bring into a snare them which are out of the same. At this present I stand before you guilty or guiltless: if guilty, proceed to give sentence accordingly; if guiltless, then give me the benefit of a subject, which hitherto I could not have."

Here the lord chancellor said, that Bradford began with a true sentence—That the Lord is in the midst of them that judge. But, this and all his gesture declared but hypocrisy and vainglory. Then he endeavoured to clear himself that he sought not guiltless blood, and began a long process, stating that Bradford's fact at St. Paul's Cross was presumptuous and arrogant, and declared a taking upon himself to lead the people, which could not but turn to much disquietness, in that he was so refractory and stout in religion at that present. For which, as he was then committed to prison, so hitherto he has been kept in prison, where he has written letters to the great hurt of the queen's subjects, as was credibly declared by the earl of Derby in the parliament house. And to this he added, that Mr. Bradford did stubbornly behave himself the last time he was before them; and therefore not for any other thing did he now demand of him, but for his doctrine and religion.

*Brad.* My lord, where you accuse me of hypocrisy and vainglory, I must and will leave it to the Lord's declaration, who will one day open yours and my truth and hearty meanings: in the mean season, I will content myself with the testimony of my own conscience, which if it yield to hypocrisy, could not but have God to be my foe also; and so both God and man were against me. And as for my fact at St. Paul's Cross, and behaviour before you at the Tower, I doubt not but God will reveal it to my comfort. For if ever I did any thing which God used to public benefit, I think that my deed was one, and yet for it I have been and am kept a long time in prison. And as for letters and religion, I answer as I did the last time I was before you.

*Lord Chan.* There didst thou say stubbornly and saucily, that thou wouldst maintain the erroneous doctrine in king Edward's days.

*Brad.* My lord, I said, the last time I was before you, that I had

six times taken an oath, that I should never consent to the practising of any jurisdiction on the bishop of Rome's behalf; and therefore I durst not answer to any thing that should be so demanded, lest I should be forsworn, which God forbid. Howbeit, saving my oath, I said I was more confirmed in the doctrine set forth publicly in the days of king Edward than ever I was before I was put in prison: and so I thought I should be, and yet think still shall be found more ready to give my life as God will, for the confirmation of the same.

*Lord Chan.* I remember well that thou madest much ado about needless matter, as though the oath against the bishop of Rome were so great a matter. So others have done before thee; but yet not in such sort as thou hast: for thou pretendest a conscience in it, which is nothing else but mere hypocrisy.

*Brad.* My conscience is known to the Lord, and whether I deal herein hypocritically or no, he knoweth. As therefore I said then, my lord, so I say again now—that for fear I should be perjured I dare not answer to any thing you should demand of me, if my answering should consent to the confirming or practising of any jurisdiction for the bishop of Rome here in England. I am not afraid of death, I thank God; for I have looked for nothing else at your hands a long time: but I am afraid when death cometh, I should have matter to trouble my conscience by the guiltiness of perjury, and therefore I answer as I do.

*Lord Chan.* You have written seditious letters, and perverted the people thereby, and still seem as though you would defend the erroneous doctrine in king Edward's time, against all men: and now you say you dare not answer.

*Brad.* I have written no seditious letters, I have not perverted the people: but that which I have written and spoken, will I never deny, by God's grace. And where your lordship says, I dare not answer you; that all men may know I am not afraid, save mine oath, ask me what you will, and I will plainly make you answer, by God's grace, although I now see my life lieth thereon. But, O Lord, into thy hands I commit it, come what will: only sanctify thy name in me, as in an instrument of thy grace, Amen. Now, ask what you will, and you shall see, I am not afraid, by God's grace, flatly to answer.

*Lord Chan.* Well then, how say you to the blessed sacrament? Do you not believe there Christ to be present concerning his natural body?

*Brad.* My lord, I do not believe that Christ is corporally present at and in the due administration of the sacrament. By 'corporally,' I mean present corporally unto faith. I have been now a year and almost three quarters in prison, and in all this time you have never questioned me hereabout, when I might have spoken my conscience frankly without peril; but now you have a law to hang up and put to death, if a man answer freely and not to your liking, and therefore you come to demand this question. Ah, my lord, Christ used not this way to bring men to faith. Nor did the prophets nor apostles. Remember what Bernard writes to Eugenius the pope—"I read that the apostles stood to be judged, but I read not, that they sat to judge."

*Lord Chan.* I use not this means. It was not my doing, although

some there be that think this to be the best way: for I, for my part, have been challenged for being too gentle oftentimes.

*Brad.* My lord, I pray you stretch out your gentleness that I may feel it, for hitherto I have not.

*Lord Chan.* With all my heart, not only I but the queen's highness would stretch out mercy, if with them you would return.

The next morning about seven o'clock, one Thomas Hussey came into the chamber wherein Mr. Bradford lay, and began a long oration, saying, that of love and acquaintance he came to speak that which he would farther utter. "You did," said he, "so wonderfully behave yourself before the lord chancellor, and other bishops yesterday, that even the greatest enemies you have, saw that they have no matter against you: and therefore I advise you, this day, to desire a time, and men to confer withal, so shall all men think it a wonderful wisdom, and piety in you; and by this means you shall escape present danger, which else is nearer than you are aware of." To this Mr. Bradford answered, "I neither can nor will make such request. For then shall I give occasion to the people, to think that I doubt of the doctrine which I confess; which I do not, for thereof I am most assured, and therefore will give no such offence."

As they were thus talking, the chamber door was opened, and Dr. Seaton entered, who after some by-talk of Mr. Bradford's age, and his country, began a gay and long discourse of my lord of Canterbury, Mr. Latimer, and Mr. Ridley, and how they at Oxford were not able to answer any thing at all; and that therefore my lord of Canterbury desired to confer with the bishop of Durham and others; all which talk tended to this end, that Mr. Bradford should make the like suit, being not to be compared in learning to Dr. Cranmer. But John Bradford kept still one answer—"I cannot, nor I will not so offend the people:" whereat master Seaton waxed hot, and called Bradford arrogant, proud, and vain-glorious. Bradford answered, "Beware of judging, lest you condemn yourself." When all their talk took no such effect as they looked for, Hussey asked Bradford, "Will ye not admit conference, if my lord chancellor should offer it publicly?" To this Bradford replied, "Conference! if it had been offered before the law had been made, or if it were offered so that I might be at liberty to confer, and as safe as he with whom I should confer, then it were something: but else I see not to what other purpose conference should be offered, but to defer that which at length will come, and the lingering may give more offence than do good. Howbeit, if my lord should make such an offer of his own motion, I will not refuse to confer with any he may appoint." Again Dr. Seaton accused Mr. Bradford with being arrogant and proud, and they soon left him. Shortly after they were gone, Mr. Bradford was led to the church and there tarried uncalled for till eleven o'clock; meanwhile the excommunication of Mr. Saunders, already related, took place.

At length the time arrived for Mr. Bradford's last examination. He was again brought before the lord chancellor and other bishops, and his lordship began to speak to this effect—that if he would answer with modesty and humility, and conform himself to the catholic church with them, he might yet find mercy, because they would be loth to use

extremity. Therefore he concluded with an exhortation, that Mr. Bradford would recant his doctrine.

*Bradford.* As yesterday I besought your honours to set in your sight the majesty and presence of God to follow him, who seeketh not to subvert the simple by subtle questions; so I humbly beseech every one of you to do this day: for you know well enough that guiltless blood will cry for vengeance. And this I pray not your lordships to do, as one that taketh upon me to condemn you utterly herein; but that ye might be more admonished to do that, which none doth so much as he should do. For our nature is so much corrupt, that we are very forgetful of God. And last of all, as yesterday the answers I made were by protestation and saving mine oath, so shall mine answers be this day; and this I do, that when death (which I look for at your hands) shall come, I may not be troubled with the guiltiness of perjury.

At these words the lord chancellor was wroth, and said that they had given him respite to deliberate till this day, whether he would recant his errors of the blessed sacrament, which yesterday he uttered before them.

*Brad.* My lord, you gave me no time of any such deliberation, neither did I speak anything of the sacrament which you did disallow. For when I had declared a presence of Christ to be there to faith, you went from that matter to purge yourself, that you were not cruel, and so went to dinner.

*Lord Chan.* What! I perceive we must begin all again with thee. Did I not yesterday tell thee plainly, that thou madest a conscience where none should be? Did I not make it plain, that the oath against the bishop of Rome was an unlawful oath?

*Brad.* No, indeed, my lord: you said so, but you have not proved it yet, nor ever can do.

*Lord Chan.* O Lord God, what a fellow art thou! Thou wouldst go about to bring into the people's heads, that we, all the lords of the parliament house, the knights and burgesses, and all the whole realm be perjured. O what a heresy is this! Here, good people, you may see what a senseless heretic this fellow is. If I should make an oath I would never help my brother, nor lend him money in his need; were this a good answer to tell my neighbour desiring my help, that I had made an oath to the contrary? or that I could not do it?

*Brad.* O, my lord, discern betwixt oaths that be against charity and faith, and oaths that be according to faith and charity, as this is against the bishop of Rome.

Here a long time was spent about oaths which were good, and those which were evil—the lord chancellor captiously asking often of Bradford a direct answer concerning oaths; which Bradford would not give simply, but with a distinction. Whereat the chancellor was much offended: but Bradford still kept him at bay, that the oath against the bishop of Rome was a lawful oath, using thereto the lord chancellor's own book, of true obedience, for confirmation of his assertion.

Then came master Chamberlain of Woodstock, and told my lord chancellor, that Bradford had been a serving-man with master Harrington. To which Gardiner said—"True, and he did deceive his master of seven-score pounds: and because of this, he went to be a gospeller and a preacher, good people; and yet you see how he pretendeth conscience."

*Brad.* My lord, I set my foot by his, whoever he be, that can come forth, and justly vouch to my face, that ever I deceived my master. And as you are chief justicer by office in England, I desire justice upon them that so slander me, because they cannot prove it.

Here my lord chancellor and master Chamberlain were smitten blank, and said they heard it. "But," quoth Gardiner, "we have another manner of matter than this against you; for you are a heretic." "Yea," quoth the bishop of London, "he did write letters to master Pendleton, which knoweth his hand as well as his own: your honour did see the letters."

*Brad.* That is not true; I never did write to Pendleton since I came to prison, and therefore I am not justly spoken of.

*Lord Chan.* Sir, in my house the other day, you did most contemptuously despise the queen's mercy, and stoutly said that you would maintain the erroneous doctrine of king Edward's days against all men.

*Brad.* Well, I am glad that all men see now you have had no matter to imprison me before that day justly. Now say I, that I did not contemptuously contemn the queen's mercy; but would have had it, (though if justice might take place, I need it not,) so that I might have had it with God's mercy, that is, without doing or saying anything against God and his truth. And as for maintenance of doctrine, because I cannot tell how you will stretch this word maintenance, I will repeat again that which I spake. I said I was more confirmed in the religion set forth in king Edward's days than ever I was: and if God so would, I trusted I should declare it by giving my life for the confirmation and testification thereof. So I said then, and so I say now.

*Lord Chan.* Well, yesterday thou didst maintain false heresy concerning the blessed sacrament; and therefore we gave thee till to-day to deliberate.

*Brad.* My lord, as I said at the first, I spake nothing of the sacrament, but that which you allowed; and therefore you reprov'd it not, nor gave me any time to deliberate.

*Lord Chan.* Didst thou not deny Christ's presence in the sacrament?

*Brad.* No, I never denied nor taught, but that to faith, whole Christ, body and blood, was as present as bread and wine to the due receiver.

*Lord Chan.* Yea, but dost thou not believe that Christ's body naturally and really is there, under the forms of bread and wine?

*Brad.* My lord, I believe Christ is present there to the faith of the due receiver: as for transubstantiation, I plainly and flatly tell you, I believe it not. I deny not his presence to the faith of the receiver; but deny that he is included in the bread, or that the bread is transubstantiated.

*Worcester.* If he be not included, how is he then present?

*Brad.* Forsooth, though my faith can tell how, yet my tongue cannot express it; nor you, otherwise than by faith, hear it, or understand it.

Here was much ado, now one doctor standing up and speaking this, and others speaking that, and the lord chancellor talking much of Luther, Zuinglius, Ecolampadius; but still Bradford kept him at this point, that Christ is present to faith; and that there is no transubstantiation nor including of Christ in the bread: but all this would not serve them. Therefore another bishop asked whether the wicked man received Christ's very body or no? To which Bradford answered plainly, "No." Whereat my lord chancellor made a long oration, showing how that it could not be

that Christ was present, except that the evil man received it. But Bradford silenced his oration in a few words, that grace was at that time offered to his lordship, although he received it not; so that the receiving made not the presence, but God's grace, truth, and power, is the cause of the presence, which grace, the wicked that lack faith cannot receive. Bradford concluded his answer admirably, thus—"My lord, are not these words, Take, eat, a commandment? and are not these words, This is my body, a promise? If you will challenge the promise, and do not the commandment, may you not deceive yourself?"

Here the lord chancellor denied Christ to have commanded the sacrament, and the use of it. Bradford said, "Why, my lord, is it not plain to children, that Christ, in so saying, commandeth? If it be not a commandment of Christ to take and eat the sacrament, why dare any take upon them to command and make that of necessity, which God leaveth free? as you do in making it a necessary commandment, once a year for all that be of discretion, to receive the sacrament. Here the lord chancellor called him again diabolus or calumniator, and began out of these words, "Let a man prove himself, and so eat of the bread, ['yea, bread,' quoth Bradford,] and drink of the cup," to prove that it was no commandment to receive the sacrament: "for then," quoth he, "if it were a commandment, it should bind all men, in all places, and at all times."

*Brad.* O my lord, discern between commandments: some be general, as the ten commandments, that they bind always, in all places, and all persons; some be not so general, as this of the supper, the sacrament of baptism, of the thrice appearing before the Lord yearly at Jerusalem, of Abraham offering of Isaac, and many others.

Here my lord chancellor denied the cup to be commanded of Christ: "for then," quoth he, "we should have eleven commandments." To this Bradford said—"Indeed I think you think as you speak: for else you would not take the cup from the people, in that Christ saith, 'Drink ye all of it.' But how say you, my lords? Christ saith to you bishops especially, 'Go and preach the gospel:' 'Feed Christ's flock,' etc. Is this a commandment or no?"

Here was my lord chancellor in a chafe, and said as pleased him. Then the bishop of Durham asked Bradford when Christ began to be present in the sacrament—whether before the receiver received it, or no? Bradford answered, that the question was curious, and not necessary; and further said, that as the cup was the New Testament, so the bread was Christ's body to him that received it duly; but yet so, that the bread is bread. "For," quoth he, "in all the Scripture ye shall not find this proposition, 'Non est panis,' 'There is no bread.' And he brought forth Chrysostome, 'Si in corpore essemus.' Much ado was hereabouts; they calling Bradford heretic; and he, desiring them to proceed on in God's name, looked for that which God appointed for them to do.

*Lord Chan.* This fellow is now in another heresy; as though all things were so tied together, that of mere necessity all things must come to pass.

Here Bradford prayed him to take things as they be spoken, and not wrest them into a contrary sense: "Your lordship," said he, "doth discern betwixt God and man. Things are not by fortune to God at any time, though to man they seem so sometimes. I speak but as the apostles

did—' Lord, see how Herod and Pontius Pilate, with the prelates, are gathered together against thy Christ, to do that which thy hand and counsel hath before ordained for them to do.'

Here the lord chancellor began to read the excommunication. And when he came to the name of John Bradford, layman; he said, art thou no priest? To which he answered, "No, nor ever was a priest, or beneficed, or married, or any preacher, before public authority had established religion, or preacher after public authority had altered religion, and yet I am thus handled at your hands: but God, I doubt not, will bless where you curse." And so he fell down on his knees, and heartily thanked God that he had counted him worthy to suffer for his name's sake; and prayed to God to give him repentance and a good mind. After the excommunication was read, he was delivered to the sheriff of London, and so had to the Clink, and afterwards to the Compter in the Poultry; this being proposed by his murderers, that he should be delivered from thence to the earl of Derby, to be conveyed into Lancashire, and there to be burned in the town of Manchester, where he was born: but their purpose concerning the place was afterwards altered, for he suffered in London. After his condemnation, which was the last day of January, Bradford being sent to prison, remained there till the 1st of July; during all which time, divers other conferences and conflicts he sustained with sundry adversaries, which repaired unto him in the prison: of whom first bishop Bonner, coming to the Compter to degrade Dr. Taylor the 4th of February, called first for John Bradford, and began to talk with him, the effect whereof here ensueth:

*Bonner.* Because I perceive that ye are desirous to confer with some learned men, therefore I have brought master archdeacon Harpsfield to you.

*Brad.* I never desired to confer with any man, nor yet do. Howbeit if ye will have one to talk with me I am ready.

*Bonner.* Well, master Bradford, you are well beloved; I pray you consider yourself, and refuse not charity when it is offered.

*Brad.* Indeed, my lord, this is small charity, to condemn a man as you have condemned me, which never brake your laws. In Turkey a man may have charity; but in England I could not yet find it. I was condemned for my faith, so soon as I uttered it at your requests, before I had committed anything against the laws. And as for conference, I am not afraid to talk with whom you will. But to say that I desire to confer, that do I not.

*Bon.* Well, well.—Then he called for Taylor, and Bradford went his way.

On another day of February, one master Willerton, chaplain of the bishop of London, came to confer with Bradford, and commenced by saying that he swerved from the church.

*Brad.* That do I not, but ye do. For the church is Christ's spouse, and Christ's obedient spouse, which your church is not, which robbeth the people of the Lord's cup, and of service in the English tongue.

*Willerton.* Why? It is not profitable to have the service in English; for it is written, "The lips of the priest should keep the law, and out of his mouth man must look for knowledge."

*Brad.* Should not the people, then, have the Scriptures? Wherefore serveth this saying of Christ, "Search the Scriptures?"

*Wil.* This was not spoken to the people, but to scribes and learned men.



*Brad.* Then the people must not have the Scriptures?

*Willerton.* No; for it is written, "They shall be all taught of God."

*Brad.* Must we learn all at the priests? Then would you bring the people to hang up Christ, and let Barabbas go; as the priests then wished.

At which words, Willerton was so offended that he had no wish to talk any more. On the 25th of February, Percival Creswell came with master Harpsfield, who, after formal salutation, made a long oration to the effect that all men, even the infidels, Turks, Jews, anabaptists, and libertines, desire felicity as well as the Christians, and that every one thinketh to attain it by his religion. To which Bradford answered that he spake not amiss.

*Harps.* But the way thither is not all alike: for the infidels by Jupiter and Juno, the Turk by his Alcoran, the Jew by his Talmud, do believe to come to heaven. For so may I speak of such as believe the immortality of the soul. And here is the matter, to know the way to this heaven.

*Brad.* We may not invent any manner of ways. There is but one way, and that is Jesus Christ, as he himself doth witness, "I am the way!"

*Harps.* It is true that you say, and false also. I suppose that you mean by Christ, believing in Christ.

*Brad.* I have learned to discern betwixt faith and Christ. Albeit, I confess, that whoso believeth in Christ, the same shall be saved.

*Harps.* No, not all that believe in Christ: for some shall say, "Lord, Lord, have we not cast out devils?" etc. But Christ will answer in the day of judgment to these, "Depart from me, I know you not."

*Brad.* You must make difference betwixt believing, and saying, I believe: as for example, if one should swear he loveth you, for all his saying ye will not believe him when you see he doeth you all the evil he can.

*Harps.* Well, this is not much material. There is but one way, Christ. How come we to know him? Where shall we seek to find him?

*Brad.* We must seek him by his word, in his word, and after his word.

*Harps.* Very good: but tell me how first we came into the company of them that could tell us this, but by baptism?

*Brad.* Baptism is the sacrament, by which outwardly we are ingrafted into Christ: I say outwardly, because I dare not exclude from Christ all that die without baptism.

*Harps.* Well, we agree, that by baptism then we are brought, and begotten to Christ. For Christ is our Father, and the church his spouse, is our mother. Now then tell me whether this church of Christ hath not been always?

*Brad.* Yes, since the creation of man, and shall be for ever.

*Harps.* Very good. But tell me whether this church is a visible church, or not?

*Brad.* It is no otherwise visible, than Christ was here on earth; that is, by no exterior pomp or shew that setteth her forth commonly: and therefore to see her we must put on such eyes, as good men put on to see and know Christ when he walked here on earth: for as Eve was of the same substance that Adam was of, so was the church of the same substance that Christ was of.

*Harps.* Well, this church is a multitude. Hath it not the preaching of the gospel, and the administration of the sacraments? And yet more, hath it not the power of jurisdiction? I mean by jurisdiction, ad-

monishing one another, and so forth. It hath also succession of bishops, which I will endeavour to prove as an essential point.

*Brad.* You say as you would have it; for if this part fail you, all the church you go about to set up will fall down. You shall not find in all the scripture, this your essential part of succession of bishops. In Christ's church antichrist will sit. And Peter tells us, as it went in the old church before Christ's coming, so it will be in the new church since Christ's coming: that as there were false prophets, and such as bear rule were adversaries to the true prophets, so shall there be false teachers, even of such as are bishops and bear rule amongst the people.

After some further talk, Harpsfield departed, promising to come again. On the 23rd of the same month, the archbishop of York and the bishop of Chichester came to the Compter to speak with Bradford. When he was brought before them, they used him very gently: desired him to sit down, and because he would not, they also would not sit. So they all stood, and whether he would or not, they would needs have him put on his cap, saying to him, that obedience was better than sacrifice. As they were thus standing together, the archbishop of York began to tell Mr. Bradford that they came to him out of pure love and charity, without being sent; and, after commending his godly life, he concluded with this question, How he was certain of salvation and of his religion? Mr. Bradford thanked him for their good will, and answered thus, "By the word of God, even by the scriptures, I am certain of salvation and religion."

*York.* Very well said: but how do you know the word of God and the scriptures, but by the church?

*Brad.* Indeed, my lord, the church was and is a means to bring a man to know the scriptures and the word of God, as the woman of Samaria was the means by which the Samaritans knew Christ: but when they heard him speak, they said, "Now we know that he is Christ, not because of thy words, but because we ourselves have heard." So after we come to the hearing and reading of the scriptures shewed unto us, and discerned by the church, we do believe them, and know them as Christ's sheep, not because the church saith they are the scriptures, but because they be so, being assured thereof by the same Spirit who wrote and spake them.

*York.* You know, in the apostles' time at first the word was not written.

*Brad.* True, if you mean it for some books of the New Testament; but else for the Old Testament St. Peter tells us, "We have a more sure word of prophecy;" not that it is simply so, but in respect of the apostles, which being alive and subject to infirmity, attributed to the written word more weight, as wherewith no fault can be found; whereas for the infirmity of their persons perchance might have found some fault at their preaching; although in very deed no less obedience and faith ought to have been given to the one, than to the other; for all proceedeth from one Spirit of truth.

*York.* That place of St. Peter is not to be understood of the word written. You know that Irenæus and others do magnify much, and allege the church against the heretics, and not the scripture.

*Brad.* True, for they had to do with such heretics as denied the Scriptures, and yet did magnify the apostles; so that they were forced to use the authority of those churches wherein the apostles had taught, and which had still retained the same doctrine.

*Chichester.* You speak the very truth; for the heretics did refuse all Scriptures, except it were a piece of Luke's gospel.

*Brad.* Then the alleging of the church cannot be principally used against me, which am so far from denying of the Scriptures, that I appeal to them utterly, as to the only judge.

*York.* A pretty matter, that you will take upon you to judge the church! I pray you, where hath your church been hitherto? For the church of Christ is catholic and visible hitherto.

*Brad.* My lord, I do not judge the church when I discern it from that congregation, and those which be not the church; and I never denied the church to be catholic and visible, although at some times it is more visible than at others.

*Chich.* I pray you tell me where the church which allowed your doctrine was, these four hundred years?

*Brad.* I will tell you, my lord, or rather you shall tell yourself, if you will tell me this one thing: where the church was in Elias's time, when Elias said that he was left alone?

*Chich.* That is no answer.

*Brad.* I am sorry that you say so: but this will I tell your lordship, that if you had the same eyes wherewith a man might have espied the church then, you would not say it were no answer. The fault why the church is not seen by you, is not because the church is not visible, but because your eyes are not clear enough to see it.

*Chich.* You are much deceived in making this collation betwixt the church then and now.

*York.* Very well spoken, my lord; for Christ said, "I will build my church;" and not "I do, or I have built it;" but, "I will build it."

*Brad.* My lords, Peter teacheth me to make this collation, saying, as in the people there were false prophets, which were most in estimation before Christ's coming, so shall there be false teachers amongst the people after Christ's coming, and very many shall follow them. And as for your future tense, I hope your grace will not thereby conclude Christ's church not to have been before, but rather that there is no building in the church but Christ's work only: for Paul and Apollos be but waterers.

*Chich.* In good faith I am sorry to see you so light in judging the church.

*Brad.* My lords, I speak simply what I think, and desire reason to answer my objections. Your affections and sorrows cannot be my rules. If you consider the order and case of my condemnation, I cannot think but that it shall something move your honours. You know it well enough, no matter was laid against me, but was gathered upon mine own confession. Because I denied transubstantiation, and the wicked to receive Christ's body in the sacrament, therefore I was condemned and excommunicated; but not of the church, although the pillars of the church did it.

*Chich.* No; I heard say the cause of your imprisonment was, for that you exhorted the people to take the sword in one hand, and the mattock in the other.

*Brad.* I never meant any such thing, nor spake anything in that sort.

*York.* Yea, and you behaved yourself before the council so stoutly at the first, that you would defend the religion then; and therefore worthily were you prisoned.

*Brad.* Your grace did hear me answer my lord chancellor to that point. But put case I had been so stout as they and your grace make it: were not the laws of the realm on my side then? Wherefore unjustly was I prisoned: only that which my lord chancellor propounded, was my confession of Christ's truth against transubstantiation, and of that which the wicked do receive, as I said.

*York.* You deny the presence.

*Brad.* I do not, to the faith of the worthy receivers.

*York.* What is that other than to say that Christ lieth not on the altar?

*Brad.* My lord, I believe no such presence.

*Chich.* It seemeth that you have not read Chrysostome, for he proveth it.

*Brad.* I do remember Chrysostome saith, that Christ lieth upon the altar, as the seraphim with their tongs touch our lips with the coals of the altar in heaven, which is an hyperbolical locution, of which Chrysostome is full.

*York.* It is evident that you are too far gone; but let us come then to the church, out of which you are excommunicate.

*Brad.* I am not excommunicated out of Christ's church, my lord, although they which seem to be in the church, and of the church, have excommunicated me, as the poor blind man was, John ix.; I am sure Christ receiveth me. As I think you did well to depart from the Romish church, so I think you have done wickedly to couple yourselves to it again; for you can never prove that which you call the mother church, to be Christ's.

*Chich.* You were but a child when this matter began. I was a young man, and then coming from the university, I went with the world: but, I tell you, it was always against my conscience.

*Brad.* I was but a child; howbeit, as I told you, I think you have done evil. For you are come and have brought others to that wicked man which sitteth in the temple of God, that is, in the church: for it cannot be understood of Mahomet, or any out of the church, but of such as bear rule in the church.

*York.* See how you build your faith upon such places of scripture as are most obscure, to deceive yourself.

*Brad.* Well, my lord, though I might by fruits judge of you and others, yet will I not utterly exclude you out of the church. And if I were in your case, I would not condemn him utterly that is of my faith in the sacrament, knowing as you know, that at least 800 years after Christ, as my lord of Durham writeth, it was free to believe or not believe transubstantiation. Will you condemn any man that believeth truly the twelve articles of the faith, although in some points he believe not the definition of that which you call the church? I doubt not but that he which holdeth firmly the articles of our belief, though in other things he dissent from your definitions, yet he shall be saved.

"Yea," said both the bishops, "this is your divinity."

*Brad.* No, it is Paul's; who saith, that if they hold the foundation, Christ, though they build upon him straw and stubble, yet they shall be saved.

*York.* How you delight to lean to hard and dark places of the Scriptures.

*Chich.* I will show you how that Luther did excommunicate Zuinglius for this matter: (and so he read a place of Luther making for his purpose.)

*Brad.* My lord, what Luther writeth, as you mind it not, no more do I in this case. My faith is not built on Luther, Zuinglius, or Æcolampadius, in this point; and indeed I never read any of their works in this matter.

*York.* Well, you are out of the communion of the church; for you would have the communion of it consist in faith.

*Brad.* Communion consisteth, as I said, in faith, and not in exterior ceremonies, as appeareth both by St. Paul, who would have one faith, and by Irenæus to Victor, for the observation of Easter.

*York.* You think none are of the church but such as suffer persecution.

*Brad.* What I think, God knoweth: I pray your grace to judge me by my words, and mark what St. Paul saith—"All that will live godly in Christ Jesus must suffer persecution." Sometimes Christ's church hath rest here; but commonly it is not so, and specially towards the end her form will be more unseemly.

*York.* Well, master Bradford, we leese our labour; for ye seek to put away all things which are told you to your good: your church no man can know. I pray you, whereby can we know it?

*Brad.* Chrysostome says, "by the Scriptures:" and thus he often saith.

*York.* That of Chrysostome in Opere imperfecto may be doubted of. The thing whereby the church may be known best, is succession of bishops.

*Brad.* No, my lord, Lyra full well writeth upon Matthew, that "the church consisteth not in men, by reason either of secular or temporal power; but in men endued with true knowledge, and confession of faith, and of verity." Hilary, writing to Auxentius, says that the church was hidden rather in caves, then did glister and shine in thrones of pre-eminence.

After they had tarried three hours with Bradford, one of their servants came and told them that my lord of Durham waited for them at master York's house. And so, after putting up their written books, and wishing poor Bradford good in words, they went their way, and he to his prison.

Within two days following came into the Compter two Spanish friars to talk with master Bradford, sent (as they said) by the earl of Derby; of whom one was the king's confessor, the other was Alphonsus, who had before written a popish book against heresies.

*Alph.* What is the matter whereof you were condemned? We know not.

*Brad.* I have been in prison almost two years: I never transgressed any of their laws for which I might justly be imprisoned; and now I am condemned, because I frankly confessed (which I repent not) my faith concerning the sacrament, when I was demanded in these two points: one, that there is no transubstantiation; the other, that the wicked do not receive Christ's body.

*Alph.* Let us look a little on the first. Do you not believe that Christ is present really and corporally in the form of bread?

*Brad.* No, I do believe that Christ is present to the faith of the worthy receiver, as there is present bread and wine to the senses and outward man: as for any such presence of including and placing Christ, I believe not, nor dare believe.

*Alph.* I am sure you believe Christ's natural body is circumscribable.

And here he made much ado of the two natures of Christ, how that the

one is everywhere, and the other is in his proper place. After further talk on this subject, the friar, in a wonderful rage, spake so high that the whole house rang again; and had Bradford been anything hot, one house could not have held them. At the length he came to this point, that Bradford could not find in the Scripture baptism and the Lord's supper to bear any similitude to each other.

*Brad.* Be patient, and you shall see that by the Scripture I will find baptism and the Lord's supper coupled together. Paul saith, that as we are baptized into one body, so "we have drunk of one spirit," meaning the cup in the Lord's supper.

*Alph.* Paul hath no such words.

*Brad.* Yes, that he hath. Give me a Testament, and I will show you. The text is plain enough, and there are of the fathers which do so understand the place: for Chrysostome doth expound it so.

Alphonsus, who had the Testament in his hand, desirous to suppress this foil, turned the leaves till he came to the place, (1 Cor. xi. ;) and there he read how that he was guilty who made no difference of the Lord's body.

*Brad.* Yea, but therewith he saith, "He that eateth of the bread;" calling it bread still: and that after consecration, as in 1 Cor. x., he saith, "The bread which we break," etc.

*Alph.* Oh, how ignorant are ye which know not that things, after their conversion, retain the same names which they had before, as Moses' rod.

*Brad.* Sir, there is mention made of the conversion, as well as that the same appeared to the sense; but here you cannot find it so. Find me one word how the bread is converted, and I will then say, you bring some matter that maketh for you. I do not trust my own reason, or my own interpretation; for I will bring you the fathers of the church 800 years after Christ, to confirm what I speak.

*Alph.* This church hath defined the contrary, and that I will prove by all the good fathers from Christ's ascension, even for 800 years at least continually, yea that the bread is turned into Christ's body. Will you believe?

*Brad.* Belief is God's gift, therefore I cannot promise: but I tell you I will give place: and I hope I shall believe his truth always, so good is he to me in Christ my Saviour.

*Alph.* I find great fault with your answer. But this I let pass, and repeat the question, if I can prove it as you said, whether you will give place?

*Brad.* Yes, that I will. Give me paper, pen, and ink, to write; and now suppose that I prove by the testimony of the fathers, that continually for 800 years after Christ at least, they did believe that the substance of bread doth remain in the sacrament, what will you do?

*Alph.* I will give place.

*Brad.* Then write you here that you will give place if I so prove, and I will write that I will give place if you so prove; because you are the elder you shall have the pre-eminency.

Here the friar fumed marvellously, and said, "I came not to learn at thee: are not here witnesses? be not they sufficient?" So they arose and talked no more of that matter, going away without bidding Bradford farewell. After they were gone, a priest came, and willed him not to be so obstinate.

On the 21st of March, Mr. Bradford was called down, and as soon as he entered into the hall, Dr. Weston very gently took him by the hand, and asking how he did, desired all to go out, save himself, Mr. Collier, the earl of Derby's servant, the subdean of Westminster, the keeper, Mr. Claydon, and the parson of the church near the Compter. In their presence he began to tell Mr. Bradford, that he had often intended to come unto him, being desired by the earl of Derby: and that after he perceived that he could be contented rather to speak with him than any other, he could not but come to do him all the good in his power, without intending in the least to hurt or injure him.

*Bradford.* Sir, when I perceived by the report of my lord's servant, that you did bear me good will, more than any other of your sort, I told him then that I could be better content and more willing to talk with you, if you should come unto me. This did I say: otherwise I desired not your coming.

*West.* Well, Mr. Bradford, I am now come to talk with you: but before we begin, certain principles we must agree upon, which shall be this day's work; and the first of these is that I shall greatly desire you to put away all vainglory, and not hold any thing for the praise of the world.

*Brad.* Sir, St. Augustine maketh that indeed a piece of the definition of a heretic; which, if I cannot put away clean, (for I think there will be a spice of it remain in us, as long as this flesh liveth) yet I promise you by the grace of God, that I purpose not to yield to it. God, I hope, will never suffer it to bear rule in them that strive against it, and desire all the dregs of it utterly to be driven out of us.

*West.* I am glad to hear you say so, although, indeed, I think you do not so much esteem it as others do. And my next wish is, I would desire you to put away singularity in your judgment and opinions.

*Brad.* Sir, God forbid that I should stick to any singularity or private judgment in God's religion. Hitherto I have not desired it. I neither do, nor mind at any time to hold any other doctrine than is public and catholic, taking the word catholic as good men do according to God's word.

*West.* Very well, this is a good day's work. I hope to do you good; and therefore now I shall pray you to write me the heads of those things whereupon you stand in the sacrament, and to send them to me betwixt this and Wednesday next: until which time, yea, until I come to you again, be assured that you are without all peril of death. Of my fidelity I warrant you, therefore away with all doubts and misgivings of your safety.

*Brad.* Sir, I will write to you the grounds I lean upon in this matter. As for death, if it come, welcome be it; this which you require of me shall be no great hindrance to me therein.

*West.* You know that St. Augustine was a Manichean, yet was he converted at the length; so have I good hope of you.

*Brad.* Sir, because I will not flatter you, I would you should flatly know, that I am even settled in the religion wherefore I am condemned.

*West.* Yea, but if it be not the truth, and you see evident matter to the contrary, will you not then give place?

*Brad.* God forbid, but that I should always give place to the truth. And I heartily and constantly pray that he will more and more confirm me in it, as he hath done and doth.

*West.* Yea, but pray with a condition if you be in it already.

*Brad.* No, sir, I cannot pray so, because I am settled and assured of this truth.

*West.* Well, as the learned bishop answered St. Augustine's mother, that though he was obstinate, yet the tears of such a mother could not but win her son; so also I hope your prayers, which you offer with tears, cannot but be heard by God, though not as you would, yet as best shall please him. Do you not remember the history that I refer to?

*Brad.* Yea, Sir, I think it is of St. Ambrose.

*West.* No, that it is not. I would lay you a wager on the truth of its being St. Augustine. As you are overseen herein, so are you in other things.

*Brad.* Well, Sir, I will not contend with you for the name. This St. Augustine writeth in his confessions.

*West.* The people are too much persuaded by you to withstand the queen. Send to me the heads of the doctrine of the supper, and after Wednesday I will come unto you again. Before I depart now I drink to your health.

In the mean time, when Mr. Bradford had written his reasons and arguments, and had sent them to Dr. Weston, soon after, about the 28th of March, there came to the Compter, Dr. Pendleton, and with him Mr. Collier, some time warden of Manchester, and Stephen Bech. After salutations, Dr. Pendleton began to speak to Mr. Bradford, that he was sorry for his trouble. And further, said he, after that I knew you could be content to talk with me I made the more speed, being as ready to do you good, and serve you what I can, as you would wish. To this Bradford answered, "Sir, I remember that once you were, as far as any man might judge, of the religion that I am of at present, and I remember that you have earnestly set forth the same. Gladly, therefore, would I learn of you what thing it was that moved your conscience to alter, and gladly would I see what thing it is that you have seen since which you saw not before. The cause for which I am condemned, which you say you do not know, is no other than transubstantiation, and because I deny that wicked men do receive Christ's body: wherein I would desire you to shew me what reasons, which before you knew not, did move your conscience now to alter. For once, as I said, you were as I am in religion."

Dr. Pendleton, half amazed, began to excuse himself, as though he had not fully denied transubstantiation, although he confessed, that the word was not in scripture. He then made an endless tale of the thing that moved him to alter: but said he would gather all the places which moved him and send him them. And here he desired Mr. Bradford that he might have a copy of that which he had sent to Dr. Weston; which Bradford promised him, and Pendleton soon after went his way.

In the afternoon came Dr. Weston to Bradford; and, after gentle salutations, he desired every man to depart. After that he had thanked Bradford for his writing to him, he showed the same writing which Bradford had sent



him, which contained certain reasons against transubstantiation which he had carefully collected from the fathers and the holy scriptures.

“That which is former,” saith Tertullian, “is true; that which is later, false. But the doctrine of transubstantiation is a late doctrine, for it was not defined generally before the council of Lateran, about 1215 years after Christ’s coming, under Pope Innocent, the third of that name. Before that time it was free for all men to believe, or not believe it, as the bishop of Durham doth witness in his book of the presence of Christ in his supper, lately published. Therefore the doctrine of transubstantiation is false.

“The words of Christ’s supper be figurative; the circumstances of the scriptures, the analogy or proportion of the sacraments, and the opinions of all the holy fathers, which were and wrote for the space of 1000 years after Christ’s ascension, do teach this: whereupon it follows, that there is no transubstantiation.

“The Lord gave to his disciples bread, and called it his body; the scriptures do witness. For he gave that and called it his body, which he took in his hand, whereon he gave thanks; which also he brake, and gave to his disciples, that is to say, bread; as the fathers Irenæus, Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, Epiphanius, Augustine, and all the residue which are of antiquity, do affirm: but inasmuch as the substance of bread and wine is another thing than the substance of the body and blood of Christ, it plainly appeareth that there is no transubstantiation.

“The bread is no more transubstantiate than the wine; but that the wine is not transubstantiate, St. Matthew and St. Mark teach us: for they witness that Christ said he would drink no more of the fruit of the vine, which was not blood but wine: and therefore it follows, that there is no transubstantiation. Chrysostom upon St. Matthew, and Cyprian do affirm this reason.

“The bread in the Lord’s supper is not Christ’s natural body, but it is his mystical body: for the same Spirit that spake of it, This is my body, said also, For we being many are one bread and one body. But now it is not the mystical body by transubstantiation, and therefore it cannot be his natural body by transubstantiation.

“The words spoken over the cup in St. Luke and St. Paul are not so mighty and effectual as to transubstantiate it: for then the cup, or that which is in it, should be transubstantiated into the New Testament: therefore the words spoken over the bread, are not so mighty as to make transubstantiation.

“The doctrine which agreeth with those churches which be apostolical mother churches, is to be counted for truth, because it holdeth that which these churches received of the apostles, the apostles received of Christ, and Christ received of God. But it is manifest that the doctrine taught at present by the church of Rome, concerning transubstantiation, doth not agree with the apostolic and mother churches of Greece, of Corinth, of Philippi, Colossia, Thessalonica, and Ephesus, which never taught transubstantiation; yea, it agreeth not with the doctrine of the church of Rome, as it was taught in times past.”

After considerable discussion on the preceding, Bradford told Weston that he was still even as he was at the first; and till he should see matter

to teach his conscience the contrary, he said he must needs so continue. And so master doctor with most gentle words took his leave for three days. On the 5th of April, Dr. Weston came again to the Compter; and after much talk he left Bradford, saying, "If I can do you good, I will: hurt you I will not. I am no prince, and therefore cannot promise you life, except you will submit yourself to the definition of the church." Now after his departing came the keeper, master Claydon, and Stephen Bech; and they were very hot with Bradford, and spake with him in such sort as utter enemies, notwithstanding the friendship they both had hitherto pretended. God be with us, and what matter is it who be against us?

Among divers which came to master Bradford in prison, some to dispute and confer, some to give counsel, some to take comfort, and some to visit him, there was a certain gentlewoman's servant, whose mistress had been cruelly afflicted, and miserably handled in her father's house, for not coming to the mass, and like at length to have been pursued to death, had not the Lord delivered her from her father's house. The servant of this gentlewoman coming to master Bradford, and taking him by the hand, said—"God be thanked for you: how do you do?"

*Bradford.* Well, I thank God. For as men in sailing, which be near to the shore or haven where they would be, would be nearer; even so the nearer I am to God, the nearer I would be.—Our quarrel is most just: therefore let us not be afraid. How doth your mistress now?

*Servant.* Well, God be praised; but she hath been sorer afflicted with her own father and mother, than ever you were with your imprisonment; and yet God hath preserved her, I trust, to his glory.

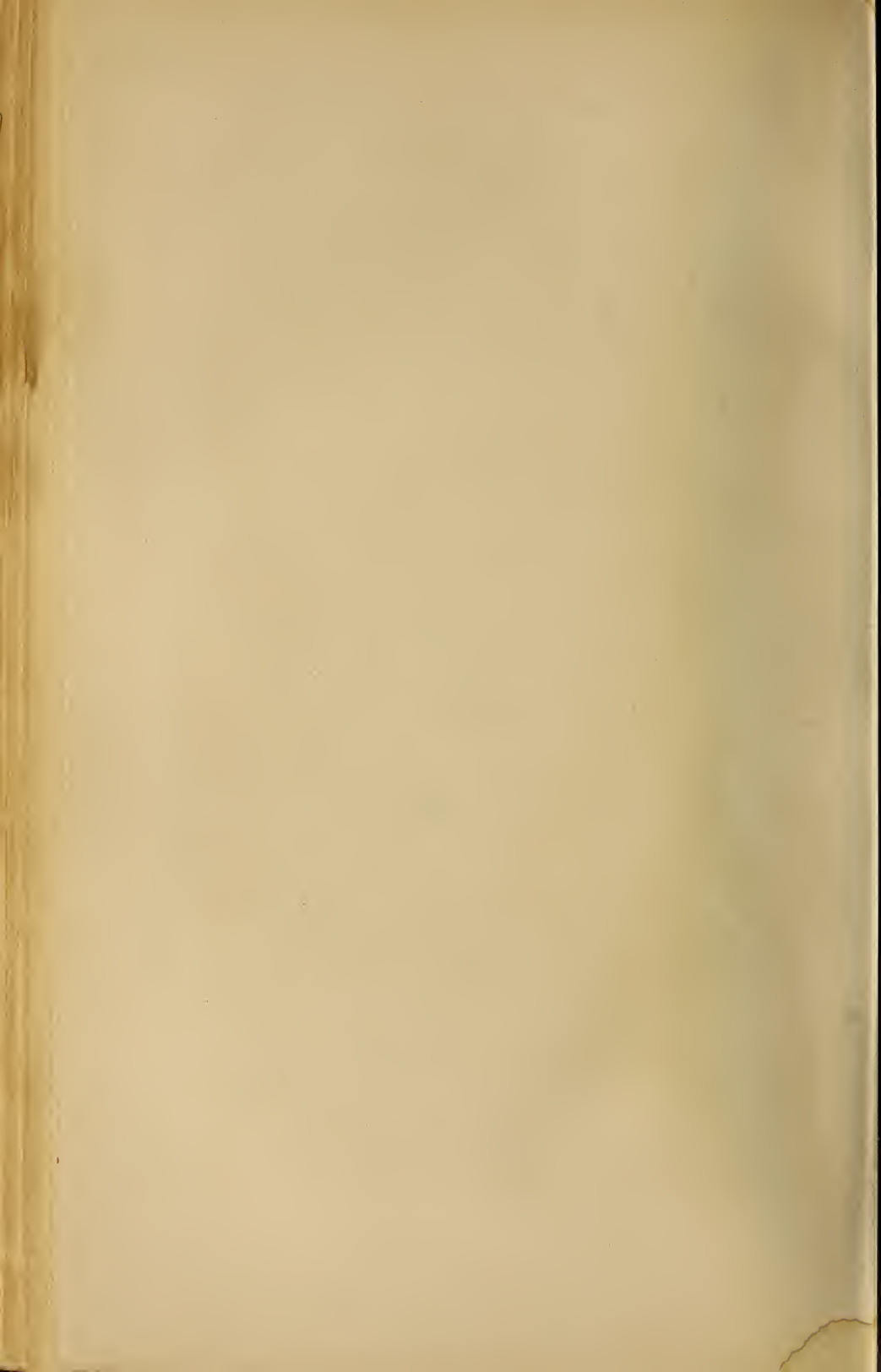
*Brad.* I read this day a godly history, written by Basil the Great, of a virtuous woman who was a widow, and named Juletta. She had great lands and many children, and nigh her dwelt a cormorant, who for her virtuous and pious living had great indignation against her, and of malice he took away her lands, so that she was constrained to go to law with him: and in conclusion, the matter came to trial before the judge, who demanded of this tyrant why he wrongfully withheld these lands from this woman? He made answer and said, he might so do, for the woman was disobedient to the king's proceedings: for she would in no wise worship his gods, nor offer sacrifice unto them. Then the judge hearing that, said unto her, 'Woman, if this be true, thou art not only likely to lose thy land, but also thy life, unless that thou worship our gods, and do sacrifice unto them.' This good woman hearing that, stepped forth to the judge, and said—'Is there no remedy but either to worship your false gods, or else to lose my lands and life? Then farewell suit, farewell lands, farewell children, farewell friends, yea, and farewell life too: and in respect to the true honour of the everlasting God, farewell all.' And with that saying the judge committed her to prison, and afterwards she suffered most cruel death: and being brought to the place of execution, she exhorted all women to be strong and constant. For she said they were redeemed with as dear a price as men. For although they were made of the rib of the man, yet they were all of his flesh; so that also in the case and trial of their faith towards God, they ought to be as strong. And thus died she constantly, not fearing death. I pray you tell your mistress this story.

John Bradford continued in this prison until the month of July, in such labours and sufferings as he always had sustained. But when the time of his death was come, he was suddenly conveyed out of the Compter, in the night season, to Newgate; and from thence he was carried the next morning to Smithfield, where he, constantly abiding in the same truth of God which before he had confessed, earnestly exhorting the people to repent and to return to Christ, and sweetly comforting the godly young man who was burnt with him, cheerfully ended his painful life, to live with Christ.

With John Bradford was burnt one John Leaf, an apprentice to Humfrey Gawdy, tallow-chandler, of the parish of Christ-Church in London, of the age of nineteen years and above, born at Kirby-Moorside, in the county of York. Upon the Friday next before Palm-Sunday he was committed to the Compter in Bread-street, by an alderman of the ward where he dwelt. Afterwards, on coming to examination before Bonner, he gave a firm and Christian testimony of his doctrine and profession, answering to such articles as were objected to him. First, as touching his belief and faith in the sacrament of the altar, he answered, that after the words of consecration, spoken by the priest over the bread and wine, there was not the very true and natural body and blood of Christ in substance; and further did hold and believe, that the said sacrament of the altar, as it is now called, used and believed in this realm of England, is idolatrous and abominable; and also said further, that he believed, that after the words of consecration spoken by the priest over the material bread and wine, there is not the self-same substance of Christ's body and blood there contained; but bread and wine as it was before: and further said that he believed, that when the priest delivereth the said material bread and wine to the communicants, he delivereth it but only material bread and wine; and the communicants do receive the same in remembrance of Christ's death and passion, and spiritually, in faith, they receive Christ's body and blood, but not under the forms of bread and wine. He also affirmed, that he believed auricular confession not to be necessary to be made unto a priest, for it is no point of soul-health; neither that the priest hath any authority given him by the Scripture to absolve and remit any sin.

Upon these his answers and testimony of his faith, he at that time being dismissed, was bid the Monday next, being the 10th of June, to appear again in the said place, there and then to hear the sentence of his condemnation. At this time the bishop, propounding the said articles again to him as before, essaying by all manner of ways to revoke him to his own trade, that is, from truth to error, notwithstanding all his persuasions, threats, and promises, found him the same man still, so planted upon the sure rock of truth, that no words nor deeds of men could remove him.

Then the bishop, after many words to and fro, at last asked him if he had been master Rogers's scholar? To whom John Leaf answered again, granting him so to be; and that he did believe in the same doctrine of the said Rogers, and in the doctrine of bishop Hooper, Cardmaker, and others of their opinion, who of late were burned for the testimony of Christ, and that he would die in that doctrine that they died for: and on the bishop moving him again to return to the unity of the church, he with great courage answered him in these words:—"My lord, you call mine opinion heresy; but it is the true light of the word of God." And again, repeating



This godly Bradford and heavenly martyr, during his imprisonment wrote sundry comfortable treatises, and many godly letters : some to the city of London, Cambridge, Walden, Lancashire, and Cheshire, and divers to his private friends. By which letters it appears how this godly man occupied his time in prison, what special zeal he bare to Christ's church, how earnestly he admonished all men, how tenderly he comforted the heavy-hearted, and how faithfully he confirmed those whom he had taught. The first letter (from which the following is an extract) was addressed to his mother.

"I am at this present in prison, (sure enough for starting,) to confirm that I have preached unto you : as I am ready, I thank God, with my life and blood to seal the same, if God vouchsafe me worthy of that honour. For, good mother and brethren, it is a most special benefit of God, to suffer for his name's sake and gospel, as now I do : I heartily thank God for it, and am sure that with him I shall be partaker of his glory ; as Paul saith, ' If we suffer with him, we shall reign with him.' Therefore be not faint-hearted ; but rather rejoice, at the least for my sake, which now am in the right and high way to heaven : for by many afflictions we must enter into the kingdom of heaven. Now will God make known his children. When the wind doth not blow, then cannot a man know the wheat from the chaff ; but when the blast cometh, then flieth away the chaff, but the wheat remaineth, and is so far from being hurt, that by the wind it is more cleansed from the chaff, and known to be wheat. Gold, when it is cast into the fire, is more precious ; so are God's children by the cross of affliction.

"Fear God, stick to his word, though all the world swerve from it. Die you must once, and when or how you cannot tell. Die, therefore, with Christ ; suffer for serving him truly and after his word ; for sure may we be, that of all deaths it is most to be desired to die for God's sake. This is the most safe kind of dying : we cannot doubt but that we shall go to heaven, if we die for his name's sake. And that you shall die for his name's sake, God's word will warrant you, if you stick to that which God by me hath taught you. You shall see that I speak as I think ; for, by God's grace, I will drink before you of this cup, if I be put to it."

The second letter was addressed "to all that profess the gospel and true doctrine of Christ in the city of London." The following is an extract :

"Cast your care on the Lord, knowing he careth for you. Depend on the providence of God, not only when you have means to help you, but when you have no means, yea, when all means are against you. Give him this honour, which of all other things he requireth at your hands—to become his children through belief in Christ his blessed Son. When you fall he will put his hand beneath you. Before you call he heareth you. Out of all evil he will finally deliver you, and bring you to his eternal joy. I would gladly have given here my body to be burned for the confirmation of the true doctrine I have taught unto you. But that my country must have ; therefore I pray you take in good part this signification of my good will towards all of you. Impute the want herein to time and trouble. Pardon me mine offensive and negligent behaviour when I was amongst you. With me repent and labour to amend. Continue in the truth which I have truly taught unto you, by preaching in all places where I have come ; God's name, therefore,

be praised. Confess Christ when you be called, whatsoever cometh therefrom, and the God of peace be with us all, Amen."

The third letter, addressed to the University of Cambridge, we insert at full length. It is an admirable specimen of faithful remonstrance and reasoning.

"To all that love the Lord Jesus and his true doctrine, being in the university and town of Cambridge, John Bradford, a most unworthy servant of the Lord, now not only imprisoned, but also condemned for the same true doctrine, wisheth grace, peace, and mercy, with increase of all godliness from God the Father of all mercy, through the bloody passion of our Saviour Jesus Christ, by the lively working of the Holy Spirit for ever, Amen.

"Although I look hourly when I should be had to the stake, and although the charge over me is great and strict, yet having by the providence of God secretly pen and ink, I could not but signify unto you my solicitude which I have for all of you in the Lord, though not as I would, yet as I may. You have often and openly heard the truth disputed and preached, that it is needless to do any more but only to put you in remembrance of the same; but hitherto you have not heard it confirmed, and as it were sealed up, as now you do and shall hear by me, that is, by my death and burning. For albeit I have deserved—through my uncleanness, hypocrisy, avarice, vainglory, idleness, unthankfulness, and carnality, whereof I accuse myself, to my confusion before the world, that before God through Christ I might, as my assured hope is I shall, find mercy—eternal death and hell fire, much more than this affliction and fire prepared for me: yet my dearly beloved, it is not these, or any of these things, for which the prelates do persecute me, but God's verity and truth. Yea, even Christ himself is the only cause for which I am now condemned, and shall be burned as a heretic, because I will not grant the antichrist of Rome to be Christ's vicar general and supreme head of his church here, and every where upon earth, by God's ordinance; and because I will not grant such corporeal, real, and carnal presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament, as doth transubstantiate the substance of bread and wine, and is received by the wicked. Also I am excommunicated and accounted as a dead member of Christ's church, as a rotten branch, and therefore shall be cast into the fire.

"Therefore you ought heartily to rejoice with me, and to give thanks for me, that God the eternal Father hath vouchsafed our mother to bring up any child in whom it would please him to magnify his holy name as he doth, and I hope for his mercy and truth's sake, will do in me and by me. Oh, what such benefit upon earth can it be, as that I who deserved death by reason of my sins, should be delivered to a demonstration, a testification, and confirmation of God's verity and truth? Thou, my mother the university, hast not only had the truth of God's word plainly manifested unto thee by reading, disputing, and preaching publicly and privately; but now to make thee altogether excuseless, and as it were, almost to sin against the Holy Ghost, if thou put to thy helping hand with the Romish rout to suppress the verity, thou hast my

life and blood as a seal to confirm thee, if thou wilt be confirmed: else to confound thee, and to bear witness against thee, if thou wilt take part with the prelates and clergy, which now fill up the measure of their fathers who slew the prophets and apostles, that all the righteous blood from Abel to Bradford, shed upon earth, may be required at their hands.

“Of this therefore I thought good before my death, as time and liberty would suffer me, to admonish thee, good mother, and my sister the town, that you would call to mind from whence you are fallen, and study to do the first works. You know these matters of the Romish supremacy, and the antichristian transubstantiation, whereby Christ's supper is overthrown, his priesthood evacuated, his sacrifice frustrated, the ministry of his word unplaced, repentance repelled, faith fainted, piety extinguished, the mass maintained, idolatry supported, and all impiety cherished: you know, I say, that these opinions are not only beside God's word, but even directly against it, and therefore to take part with them, is to take part against God, against whom you cannot prevail.

“Therefore for the tender mercy of Christ, in his bowels and blood I beseech you to take Christ's eye-salve to anoint your eyes, that you may see what you do, and have done, in admitting, as I hear you have admitted, yea, alas! authorized, the Romish rottenness which once you utterly expelled. O be not, ‘The dog returned to his own vomit; the sow that was washed returned to her wallowing in the mire.’ ‘Beware, lest Satan enter in with seven other spirits, and then the last shall be worse than the first.’ ‘It had been better ye had never known the truth, than after knowledge to run from it.’ Ah, woe to this world and the things therein, which hath now so wrought with you. Oh that ever the dirt of the devil should daub up the eye of the realm! for thou, O mother, art as the eye of the realm. If thou be light and shine, all the body shall fare the better: but if thy light be darkness, alas, how great will the darkness be! What is man, whose breath is in his nostrils, that thou shouldst thus be afraid of him!

“Oh what is honour and life here! Bubbles. What is glory in this world, but shame! Why art thou afraid to carry Christ's cross? Wilt thou come into his kingdom, and not drink of his cup? Dost thou not know Rome to be Babylon? Dost thou not know that as the old Babylon had the children of Judah in captivity, so hath this Rome the true Judah, that is, the confessors of Christ? Dost thou not know, that as destruction happened unto it, so shall it do unto this? And thinkest thou that God will not deliver his people now when the time is come, as he did then? Hath not God commanded his people to come out from her? Hast thou forgotten the woe that Christ threateneth to offence-givers? Wilt thou not remember, that it were better that a mill-stone were hanged about thy neck and thou thrown into the sea, than that thou shouldst offend the little ones?

“And alas, how hast thou offended! Yea, and how dost thou still offend! Wilt thou consider things according to the outward shew? Was not the synagogue more seemly and like to be the true church, than the simple flock of Christ's disciples? Hath not the whore of Babylon more

costly array, and rich apparel, externally to set forth herself, than the homely housewife of Christ? Where is the beauty of the king's daughter, the church of Christ? Without or within? Doth not David say, within? O remember that as they are happy which are not offended at Christ, so are they happy which are not offended at his poor church. Can the pope and his prelates mean honestly, which make so much of the wife, and so little of the husband? The church they magnify, but Christ they contemn. If this church were an honest woman, (that is, Christ's wife) except they would make much of her husband, Christ and his word, she would not be made much of by them.

“When Christ and his apostles were upon the earth, who was most like to be the true church, they or the prelates, bishops and synagogue? If a man should have followed custom, unity, antiquity, or the greater part, should not Christ and his company have been cast out of doors? therefore Christ saith, ‘Search the scriptures.’ Good mother, shall the servant be above his master? Shall we look for better entertainment at the hands of the world, than Christ and his dear disciples found? In Noah's time who was taken for the church, poor Noah and his family, or all the others that were destroyed by the flood? Who was taken for God's church in Sodom, righteous Lot, or the others? And doth not Christ say, ‘As it was then, so shall it go now towards the coming of the Son of man?’ What meaneth Christ when he saith, iniquity shall have the upper hand? Doth not he likewise say, that charity shall wax cold? And we plainly see the greatest scarcity of it in those, who would now be taken for Christ's true catholic church. All that fear God in this realm can tell more of this than I can write.

“Therefore, dear mother, receive some admonition of one of thy poor children, now going to be burnt to ashes for the testimony of Jesus. Come again to God's truth; come out of Babylon; confess Christ and his true doctrine; repent of what is past, make amends by declaring thy repentance by the fruits. Remember the reading and preaching of God's prophet, the true preacher, Martin Bucer. Call to mind the threatenings of God against impenitent sinners. Let the exile of Leaver, Pilkington, Grindal, Haddon, Horn, Scory, Ponet, and others, awake and strengthen thee. Let the imprisonment of thy dear sons, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, move thee. Consider the martyrdom of thy intimate friends, Rogers, Saunders, and Taylor. And now cast not away my poor admonition, that am now going to be burnt and to receive the like crown of glory with my fellows. Take to heart God's calling by us. Be not as Pharaoh was, that it may not happen unto thee as it did unto him. What is that? Hardness of heart. And what then? Destruction eternally both of body and soul. Ah, therefore, good mother, awake, awake, repent, repent, and make haste to turn to the Lord. For otherwise it shall be more easy for Sodom and Gomorrah in the day of judgment than for thee. O harden not your hearts; O stop not your ears to-day in hearing God's voice, though it be by a most unworthy messenger. O fear the Lord, for his anger is begun to kindle. Even now the axe is laid to the root of the tree.

“You know I prophesied truly before the sweating sickness came, what would come, if you repented not your carnal preaching. And



now I tell you before I depart hence, that the ears of men shall tingle to hear the vengeance of God that will fall upon you all, both town and university, if you repent not, if you leave not your idolatry, if you turn not speedily to the Lord, if you still be ashamed of Christ's truth which you know.

“O, Perme, repent; O, Thompson, repent! O, doctors, bachelors, and masters, repent! O, mayor, aldermen, and town-dwellers, repent, repent, repent, that you may escape the approaching vengeance of the Lord! Rend your hearts and make haste to come unto the Lord. Let us all say, ‘We have sinned, we have done wickedly, we have not hearkened to thy voice, O Lord. Deal not with us after our deserts, but be merciful unto our iniquities, for they are great. O pardon our offences. In thine anger remember thy mercy. Turn us unto thee, O Lord God of hosts, for the glory of thy name's sake. Spare us and be merciful unto us. Let not the wicked people say, Where is now their God? O for thine own sake, for thy name's sake, deal mercifully with us. Turn thyself unto us, and us unto thee, and we shall praise thy name for ever.’

“If in this sort, my dearly beloved, in heart and mouth we come unto our Father, and prostrate ourselves before the throne of his grace, then surely we shall find mercy. Then shall the Lord look tenderly upon us, for his mercy's sake in Christ; then shall we hear him speak peace unto his people. For he is gracious and merciful, of great pity and compassion: he cannot be chiding for ever: his anger cannot last long to the penitent. Though we weep in the morning, yet at night we shall have our sorrow to cease. For he is merciful, and hath no pleasure in the death of a sinner: he would rather have him turn from his wickedness and live.

“Oh turn ye now and repent, yet once again, I humbly beseech you, and then the kingdom of heaven shall draw nigh. The eye hath not seen, the ear hath not heard, nor is the heart of man able to conceive the joys prepared for us, if we repent, amend our lives, and heartily turn to the Lord. But if you repent not, but be as ye are, and go forwards with the wicked, following the fashion of the world, the Lord will lead you on with wicked doers, you shall perish in your wickedness, your blood will be upon your own heads, your parts shall be with hypocrites, where shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth; you shall be cast from the face of the Lord for ever and ever; eternal shame, sorrow, woe, and misery, shall be both in body and soul to you world without end. Oh, therefore, right dear to me in the Lord, turn you, turn you, repent you, amend you, amend your lives, depart from evil, do good, follow peace, and pursue it. Come out from Babylon, cast off the works of darkness, put on Christ, confess his truth, be not ashamed of his gospel, prepare yourselves for the cross, drink of God's cup before it come to the dregs, and then shall I with you and for you, rejoice in the day of judgment, which is at hand; and therefore prepare yourselves thereto, I heartily beseech you. And thus I take my farewell for ever of you in this present life, mine own dear hearts in the Lord. The Lord of mercy be with us all, and give us a joyful and sure meeting in his kingdom, Amen.

“Your own in the Lord for ever,

“JOHN BRADFORD.”

Mr. Bradford's fourth letter was addressed to the people of Lancashire and Cheshire, among whom he had laboured with fidelity and success. The fifth he wrote to the inhabitants of Walden in Essex, now generally called Saffron Walden, where he had many friends, whom he earnestly exhorted to be "steadfast and unmoveable, always abounding in the work of the Lord." The sixth he calls a letter to his loving brethren, their wives, and families; but the initials only of those brethren appear. The seventh he addressed to a friend named Erkinalde Rawlins, and this contains a passage not to be omitted. "You have cause to rejoice for those days because they are days of trial, wherein you yourselves and all true believers shall know that you belong not unto the world, but are the favourites and friends of God. Before these days came, Lord God! how many thought themselves in God's bosom, and so were taken and would be taken by the world. But now we see whose they are. For whom we obey his servants we be. If we obey the world, then are we the world's, but if we obey God then are we God's; which thing these days have declared to all of us better than we ever knew it before."

The eighth letter of this devoted saint was addressed to a suffering lady of the reformed faith, named Warcup; to whom the thirty-fifth letter was also inscribed, and to whose husband, with herself and some mutual friends of the name of Wilkinson, he addressed the thirteenth in the collection. From the thirty-fifth an extract will appear in due order; at present we must return to the ninth, inscribed to his fellow sufferer Mr. Laurence Saunders, who was then in the Marshalsea prison, and containing allusions to Dr. Taylor and Mr. Philpot, which we have no means at hand of explaining. In conclusion he says, "God, our Father and gracious Lord, make perfect the good work he hath begun in us. He will do it, my brother, my dear brother, whom I have in my inward bowels to live and die with." The tenth letter is also addressed to Laurence Saunders, and contains little else than a repetition of the preceding.

The eleventh letter is addressed "to my dear Fathers, Dr. Cranmer, Dr. Ridley, and Mr. Latimer;" and is here given almost entire:

"Jesus Immanuel. My dear fathers in the Lord, I beseech God our sweet Father through Christ, to make perfect the good he hath begun in us all. I had thought that every one of your staves had stood next the door, but now it is otherwise perceived. Our dear brother Rogers hath broken the ice valiantly, as this day, I think, or to-morrow at the uttermost, hearty Hooper, sincere Saunders, and trusty Taylor, end their course, and receive their crown. The next am I, which hourly look for the porter to open me the gates after them, to enter into the desired rest. God forgive me mine unthankfulness for this exceeding great mercy, that amongst so many thousands it pleaseth his mercy to choose me to be one, in whom he will suffer. For although it be most true, that I justly suffer, (for I have been a great hypocrite, and a grievous sinner, the Lord pardon me,) yet he hath done it, he hath done it indeed; yet what evil hath he done? Christ whom the prelates persecute, his verity which they hate in me, hath done no evil, nor deserved death. Therefore ought I most heartily to rejoice of this tender kindness of the Lord towards me, which useth a remedy for my sin as a testimonial of his covenant, to his glory, to my everlasting comfort, to

the edifying of his church, and to the overthrowing of antichrist and his kingdom.

“Out of prison in haste, looking for the tormenter, February 8th, 1555.

“JOHN BRADFORD.”

The fourteenth letter was written to Sir James Hales, then a prisoner, like his estimable correspondent for the truth as it is in Jesus Christ. Mr. Bradford was, as he says, “unknown to him both by face and name;” yet he knew him to suffer for righteousness' sake, and therefore would not content himself with calling daily to God in his behalf. His style of writing in this letter is somewhat chastened, yet characteristic, as the following extract will shew. “Look, good master Hales, on your vocation: not many judges, not many knights, not many landed and rich men, hath God chose to suffer for his sake as he hath done you. Certainly, I dare say, you think not so of yourself, as though God were bound to prefer you, or had need of you; but rather attribute this as all things to the free mercy of God in Christ. Being a wise man you do judge of things wisely; that is concerning this your cross, you judge of it not after the world, which is the great master of error; nor after the judgment of the world's wisdom, which is foolishness to faith; nor after the present sense, to which it seemeth not to be joyous but grievous; but after the word of God, which tells you that the cross is the path way to glory, felicity, and heaven.”

In the fifteenth letter the writer conjures Dr. Hill, a protestant physician of celebrity in that day, to abide in the true faith for which he had begun to suffer, and to fear God as the best preservative to the fear of man. In the sixteenth, he entreats a pious gentlewoman, whose initials only he gives us, to make God's glory shine in all her words and works. The eighteenth is addressed to a faithful and pious woman, more exposed to inward than outward distress, and to whom, in a long and excellent letter, he thus writes, “Do you not hunger and thirst after righteousness? and I pray you, saith not he who cannot lie, that happy are such? How should God wipe away the tears from your eyes in heaven, if now on earth you shed no tears? How could heaven be a place of rest, if on earth you find it? How could you desire to be at home, if in your journey you find no difficulty, distress, or grief? How could you be made like unto Christ in joy, if in sorrow you never sobbed with him? If you will sit at Christ's table in his kingdom, you must first abide with him in his temptations. If you will drink of his cup of glory, despise not his cup of ignominy. If you were a market sheep, you should go in more fat and grassy pasture. If you were for the fair, you should be stall fed, and want no wealth; but because you are God's own occupying, therefore you must pasture on the bleak and barren heath, abiding the storms and tempests that he may send down upon that and upon you.”

Most of the martyrs of this melancholy reign were more or less comforted, and some of them wholly supported as to their mortal frame, by the noble lady Vane. Several of the letters of Mr. Philpot and Mr. Trehern were addressed to her. She was also one of good Mr. Bradford's correspondents, and to her the nineteenth and twentieth and twenty-ninth

letters in this collection were inscribed. They chiefly relate to certain important and intricate queries which she had in writing or in conversation proposed to him; but are not of sufficient importance to merit the preference of insertion.

In the twenty-third letter he writes to some persons, whose names are not mentioned, but of whose piety he has a good opinion, while what he says implies some apprehension of their fainting in the day of final trial. In the twenty-fourth, a class of rather different persons, whose integrity he suspects, and of consequence stands in great doubt of their stability even in an outward profession of just sentiments, are faithfully admonished in the following terms. "You promised to fight under Christ's standard. You learned his cross before you learned your alphabet. Go forward then, and pay your vows to the Lord. Fight like men, and valiant men too under the standard of Christ. Take up the cross and follow your Master unto death—as your brethren Hooper, Rogers, Taylor, and Saunders, have already done; and as now your brethren Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, Farrar, and *Bradford*, are ready to do."

The twenty-fifth letter was addressed to his "good brother" John Careless, then a prisoner in the King's Bench. It was in answer to one of which he says—"I never received so much consolation by any thing since I came into prison as I have by your last letter." It would appear that either Bradford had been too unmindful of this friend, or was in a state of depression when he wrote very unusual with him; for notwithstanding is the letter very brief, but almost full of misgiving and self-accusation. It concludes thus, "It is not one or two drops that maketh the stone hollow; but the perpetual dropping; so if with hearty prayer for them, and by good example gently working upon them, we may at length see the operation of God, we shall in the end rejoice. I beseech God to make perfect all the good he hath begun in us all."

Letters the twenty-sixth and seventh are addressed to Mr. John Hall and his wife, then prisoners in Newgate, and contain, with nothing remarkable, his usual flow of consolatory reflection and benevolent admonition and advice. The twenty-eighth is in answer to a woman who desired to know of him if she might be present at the popish matins, provided she were absent from the mass? His reasons against her proposals are—that both the morning and evening service of the Romish church were in a foreign tongue, and consequently forbidden in scripture—that they were idolatrous, and therefore sinful—that they were services of antichrist, which no Christian should attend—and that her example might greatly influence and injure others, for whom she would be called to judgment.

The thirtieth letter was addressed to the sheriff of Coventry, Mr. Richard Hopkins, who to avoid danger and preserve unmolested the observance of the true faith and worship, fled with his family to Basle, where he remained till Mary's death. In the thirty-second letter there is this admirable passage, in answer to the inquiry of a friend, how he was to reply to his adversaries? "When you shall come before the magistrates, to give a reason for the hope that is in you, do it with all reverence and simplicity: and if you are afraid of their power and

cruelty, set before you the example of the good father Moses; for he set the invisible God before the eyes of his faith, and with them he looked upon his glorious majesty and power, as with the eyes of his body he saw Pharaoh and all his frightful terrors. So do you, my dearly beloved, let your inward eyes give light unto you, that while you are before the magistrates, so and much more are you and they present before the face of God, who will give you such wisdom and strength as your enemies will be amazed at."

The thirty-fourth is a remarkably serious and spiritual letter addressed to Mr. George Eaton. In the thirty-sixth he strongly urges a young lady, persecuted by her parents for not going to mass, to be steadfast in the true faith, and to reject with firmness and perseverance the papal system. The thirty-seventh is a letter of warm and honest thanks to all the friends from whom he had received comfort and relief during his long imprisonment. The good man's hour was now drawing near, when he fully apprehended, or rather anticipated, that he should pass through the fire of earth to the felicity of heaven. Letters forty-one and forty-two are to his mother, intimating this expectation as likely soon to be fulfilled. The latter is his final farewell to his venerable parent, and thus expresses his perfect confidence and calmness in the almost immediate view of death. "My most dear mother, I heartily pray and beseech you to be thankful for me to God, who now taketh me unto himself. I die not as a criminal, but as a witness of Christ, the truth of whose gospel I have hitherto confessed, and now am willing to confirm by fire. I have nothing to give you, or to leave behind me for you; only I pray God my Father, for Christ's sake, to bless you and to keep you from all evil. May he make you patient and thankful that he will take the fruit of your womb to witness his truth; wherein I confess to the whole world that I die, and depart this life in hope of a much better, which I look for at the hands of God my Father, through the merits of his Son Jesus Christ. Thus, my dear mother, I take my last farewell of you in this life, beseeching the Almighty and eternal Father by Christ, to grant us to meet in the life to come, where we shall give him continual thanks and praise for ever and ever, Amen."

The forty-third letter, the last but one in the collection, was addressed to the queen, her council, and the whole parliament. Let those who but imagine it possible that John Bradford should have made these high powers his resort at last in hope of forgiveness, or, still more, should have attempted to conciliate them by flattery, or propitiate them by compromise and recantation, read the letter, and confess their suspicion, or fear, or whatever else it might be, unfavourable to his pre-eminent reputation for courage and constancy, to have been both premature itself and an offence against him.

"In most humble wise complaineth unto your majesty and honours, a poor subject, persecuted for the confession of Christ's verity; which verity deserveth at your hands to be maintained and defended, as the thing by which you reign, and have your honours and authorities. Although we that be professors, and, through the grace of God, the constant confessors of the same, are, as it were, the out-sweepings of the world; yet I say, the verity itself is a thing not unworthy for your ears to hear, for your eyes

to see, and for your hands to handle, help, and succour as the Lord hath made you able, and placed you where you are for the same purpose. Your highness and honours ought to know, that there is no innocency in words or deeds, where it is enough and sufficient only to accuse. It behoveth kings, queens, and all that be in authority, to know, that in the administration of their kingdoms they are God's ministers. It behoveth them to know, that they are not kings, but plain tyrants, who reign not to this end, that they may serve and set forth God's glory after true knowledge; and therefore it is required of them that they would be wise, and suffer themselves to kiss their Sovereign, lest they perish; as all those potentates, with their principalities and dominions, cannot long prosper, but perish indeed, if they and their kingdoms be not ruled with the sceptre of God, that is, with his word; which whoso honoureth not, honoureth not God; and they that honour not the Lord, the Lord will not honour them, but bring them into contempt, and at length take his own cause, which he hath chiefly committed to them to care for, into his own hands, and so overthrow them, and set up his own truth gloriously: the people also perishing with the princes, where the word of prophecy is wanting, much more is suppressed, as it is now in this realm of England, over which the eyes of the Lord are set to destroy it, your highness and all your honours, if in time you look not better to your office and duties herein, and not suffer yourselves to be slaves and hangmen to antichrist and his prelates, who have already brought your highness and honours in the mind to let Barabbas loose, and to hang up Christ. This by the grace and help of God I shall make apparent, if first it would please your excellent majesty, and all your honours, to take to heart God's doctrine, which rather through the malice of the pharisees, I mean the bishops and prelates, than your consciences, is oppressed; and not for our contemptible and execrable state in the world to pass the less of it. For this doctrine is higher, and of more honour and majesty than all the whole world. It standeth invincible above all power, being not our doctrine, but the doctrine of the ever-living God, and of his Christ, whom the Father hath ordained king, to have dominion from sea to sea, and from the river unto the end of the world. And truly so he doth and will reign, that he will shake all the earth with his iron and brazen power, with his golden and silver brightness, only by the rod of his mouth, to shivers, in such a manner as though they were pots of clay, according to what the prophets write of the magnificence of his kingdom. And thus much for the doctrine, and your duties to hearken, to propagate, and defend the same.

“But now will our adversaries mainly cry out against us, because no man be admitted once to speak against them, that we pretend falsely the doctrine and word of God, calling us the most wicked contemners of it, and heretics, schismatics, traitors, &c. All which their sayings, how malicious and false they are, though I might refer to that which is written by those men whose works they have condemned, and all that retain any of them, publicly by proclamation; yet here will I occasion your majesty and honours by this my writing, to see that it is far otherwise than they report of us. God our Father, for his holy name's sake, direct my pen to be his instrument to put into your eyes, ears, and

hearts, that which most may make to his glory, in the safeguard of your souls and bodies, and preservation of the whole realm. Amen."

In the month of May before, mention was made of certain letters directed from the king and queen to Bonner. Besides which letters, certain others had been directed a little before from the council to the said bishop; by occasion of which letters, Bonner not long after caused a certain declaration to be made unto the people at Paul's cross, by Dr. Chedsey, to purge himself from the general suspicion of cruelty, which was spread abroad of him among the common people. The words of which declaration were in part as follow: "And whereas by these letters, coming from the king's and queen's majesties, it appeareth that their majesties 'do charge my lord bishop of London, and the rest of the bishops, with remissness and negligence in instructing the people infected with heresy, if they will be taught, and in punishing them if they will be obstinate and wilful, ye shall understand that my lord bishop of London, for his part, offereth himself ready to do therein his duty to the uttermost:—and that he will travail and take pains with all that be of his jurisdiction for their amendment; and sorry he is that any are in prison for any such matter. And he willed me to tell you, that he is not so cruel or hasty to send men to prison as some be—slanderous and wilful to do naught, and lay their faults on other men's shoulders."

## SECTION IX.

ACCOUNT OF WILLIAM MINGE AND JAMES TREVISAM—EXAMINATIONS AND MARTYRDOM OF JOHN BLAND—ACCOUNT OF SHETERDEN, FRANKESH, AND MIDDLETON—STORY OF HALL, WAID, AND MARGERIE POLLEY.

THE day after master Bradford and John Leaf did suffer in Smithfield, William Minge, a priest, died in prison at Maidstone, being there confined for religion, and would, had he lived a little longer, doubtless have suffered the fury of his adversaries, whose nature was to spare and favour none that favoured Christ's pure gospel. William Minge, with as great constancy and boldness yielded up his life in prison, as other good and godly men had done before at the stake, being of the same spirit with them, and having the same glorious hope. Had it pleased God to spare him for the same fate, judging by his spirit and conversation, he would have been equally triumphant over the flames and over death in that apparently dreadful form.

The next individual was James Trevisam, of the parish of St. Margaret in Lothbury. Being impotent and lame, he kept his bed a long time. He had a servant named John Small, who was reading in the Bible, when Berd the promoter came to the house, and would needs go up stairs, where he found four persons besides him and his wife; namely, the young man that read, and two men and a woman. Berd apprehended and carried them all to the Compter, where they remained about a fortnight, notwithstanding all the friends they could make. Not only so, but Berd intended to carry the poor lame man to Newgate in a cart, but the neighbours, who had a little more humanity, prevented that barbarous design. Nevertheless, the poor man was obliged to have two

sureties for his forthcoming; for he could not go out of his bed, being not only impotent, but also very sick the same time. So within a few days, the said James lying in extremity, the parson of the church, master Farthing, came to him, and had communication with him, and agreed well, and so departed. It happened after the priest was come down into the street, there met him one Toller, a founder. "Yea," saith he, "be ye agreed? I will accuse you, for he denieth the sacrament of the altar." Upon that the parson went to him again, and then the priest and he could not agree. So the parson went to the bishop of London, and told him. The bishop answered, that he should be burnt; and if he were dead, he should be buried in a ditch. And so, when he died, the parson was against his wife as much as he could, neither would let her have the coffin to put him in, nor anything else, but was fain to bear him upon a table to Moorfield, and there was he buried on the 3rd of July, 1555. The same night the body was cast up above the ground, and his sheet taken from him, and he left naked. After this the owner of the field, seeing him, buried him again. A fortnight after, the sumner came to his grave, and summoned him to appear at Paul's before his ordinary, to answer to such things as should be laid against him! But what more befell upon him, I have not certainly to say.

On the 12th of July, John Bland, John Frankesh, Nicholas Sheterden, and Humphrey Middleton, were all burned at Canterbury together for one cause. Frankesh and Bland were ministers and preachers of the word of God, the one being parson of Adisham, and the other vicar of Rolvendean. 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. His first doings were devoted to the bringing up of children in learning. Under him were trained up several young men, who afterwards flourished. In this number was Dr. Sands, a man of singular learning and worthiness, as may well become a scholar for such a tutor.

After this coming to the ministry in the church of God, or rather being called thereto, he was inflamed with incredible desire to profit the congregation; which may appear by this, that whereas he was twice cast into Canterbury prison for preaching the gospel, and delivered once or twice from thence at the intercession of his friends, yet he would preach again, as soon as he was delivered. Being the third time apprehended, his friends yet once again would have found means to deliver him, if he would promise to abstain from preaching; but he stood in it earnestly, that he would admit no such condition, notably well expressing unto us the manner and example which we read in the apostle St. Paul—"Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Tribulation, or anguish, or hunger, or nakedness, or persecution, or the sword?" But to express the whole life and doings of this godly martyr, seeing we have his own testimony concerning the same, it shall be best to refer the reader to his own report, writing to his father of the whole discourse of his troubles, from the beginning almost to the latter end, in order and manner as followeth:

"Dearly beloved father in Christ Jesus, I thank you for your gentle letters. And to satisfy your mind as concerning the troubles whereof



you have heard, these shall both declare unto you all that has happened to me since you were with me, and also since I received your last letters. God keep you ever.

“First, on Sunday the 3rd of September, after the service was ended, ere I had put off my surplice, John Austen came to the Lord’s table, and laid both his hands upon it, saying, ‘Who set this here again?’ Now they say they took the table down the Sunday before, which I knew not, neither do I know who set it up again. The clerk answered that he knew not. Then said Austen—‘He is a knave, that set it here.’ I was then going down the church, wondering what he meant, I said—‘Goodman Austen, the queen’s highness hath set forth a proclamation that you move no sedition.’ Before I could speak any more, he called me a knave, repeating that by God’s soul, I was a very knave. Then my clerk spoke to him, but what I am not sure. He called us both heretic knaves, and said we had deceived too long already, and if we said any service here again, he would turn our table upside down. In that rage he, with others, took the table and laid it on a chest in the chancel, and set the tressels by it. Soon after, I rode to Mr. Isaac, and declared unto him how seditiously Austen had behaved himself. Mr. Isaac directed a warrant to the constable, which was immediately served, so that he was brought before him the same night, and was bound by recognizance, with sureties, to appear if he were called. But then we agreed so well, that it was never called for: and the table was brought down, and was permitted as before.

“On Sunday the 25th of November, Richard Austen and his brother Thomas came again to the table after the communion, and wished to speak with me. I said, ‘What is your will?’ He said, ‘You know that you took down the tabernacle wherein the rood did hang, and such other things: we would know what recompence you would make us: for the queen’s proceedings are that such things must be put up again.’ Quoth I, ‘I know no such proceedings as et; and as for that I did, I did it by commandment.’ ‘No,’ said Thomas Austen, ‘ye will not know the queen’s proceedings.’ ‘Yes,’ said I, ‘I refuse not to know them.’ Then said Richard, ‘Ye are against the queen’s proceedings; for you say there are abominable uses and devilishness in the mass.’ ‘Goodman Austen,’ said I, ‘if I so said, I will say it again; and stand to the proof of it.’ ‘Masters all,’ said he, ‘bear record of these words;’ and went his way.

“Quoth Thomas Austen, ‘Thou wilt as soon eat this book as stand to them.’ ‘No,’ quoth I, ‘not so soon.’ ‘Tell us,’ quoth he, ‘what that devilishness is that is in the mass.’ ‘I have often preached it unto you,’ said I, ‘and ye have not believed it, nor borne it away, nor will now either, though I should tell you.’ ‘Thou art a heretic,’ said he, ‘and hast taught us nothing but heresy.’ And at the last he said, ‘Ye pulled down the altar: will ye build it again?’ ‘No,’ quoth I, ‘except I be commanded; for I was commanded to do that I did.’ ‘Well, if you will not,’ said he, ‘then will I; for I am churchwarden.’ ‘I charge you,’ said I, ‘that you do not, except you have authority.’ ‘I will,’ said he, ‘nor let for your charge. For we will have a mass here on Sunday, and a preacher that shall prove thee a heretic, if thou dare abide his coming.’ ‘God willing,’

quoth I, 'I will; for he cannot disprove any doctrine that I have preached.' 'Yes,' said Thomas, 'and that thou shalt hear, if thou run not away ere then.' 'No, goodman Austen, I will not run away.' 'Marry, I cannot tell,' said he. With many other words, we departed out of the church.

"When the Sunday came, I looked for our preacher, and at the time of morning prayer I said to the clerk, 'Why do ye not ring? Ye forget that we shall have a sermon to-day.' 'No,' quothe, 'master Miles's servant hath been here this morning, and said his master hath letters from my lord chancellor, that he must go to London, and cannot come.' That day I did preach a sermon to them in his stead; and on making an end thereof I desired all men to conform to the gospel, and to depart quietly in peace.

"Upon the Innocents' day, being the 28th of December, they had procured the priest of Stodmarsh to say them mass. He had nigh made an end of matins ere I came; and, when he had ended, he said to me, 'Master parson, your neighbours have desired me to say matins and mass; I trust ye will not be against the queen's proceedings.' 'No,' quothe I, 'I will offend none of the queen's majesty's laws, God willing.' 'What say ye?' quothe he; and made as he had not heard. And I spake the same words to him again, with a higher voice; but he would not hear, though all the chancel heard. So I cried the third time, (that all in the church heard,) that I would not offend the queen's laws. Then he went to mass; and when he was reading the epistle, I beckoned the clerk unto me, and said unto him, 'I pray you desire the priest, when the gospel is done, to tarry a little; I have something to say to the people.' And the clerk did so.

"Then the priest came down and sat in the stall; and I stood up in the chancel-door, and spake to the people of the great goodness of God, always shewn unto his people, unto the time of Christ's coming; and in him and his coming, what benefit they had; and among others I spake of the great and comfortable sacrament of his body and blood. And after I had briefly declared the institution, the promise of life to the good, and damnation to the wicked, I spake of the bread and wine, affirming them to be bread and wine after the consecration, as yonder mass book, saying—'Holy bread of eternal life, and the cup of perpetual salvation. As our bodily mouths eat the sacramental bread and wine, so doth the mouth of our souls, which is our faith, eat Christ's flesh and blood.' When I had made an end of that, I spake of the misuse of the sacrament in the mass; so that I judged it in that use no sacrament, and shewed how Christ bade us all eat and drink; and in the mass one only eateth and drinketh, and the rest kneel, knock, and worship. After these things ended, as briefly as I could, I spake of the benefactors of the mass, and began to declare who made the mass, and recited every man's name: but before I had rehearsed them all, the churchwarden and the constable his son-in-law, violently came upon me, took my book from me, pulled me down, and thrust me into the chancel, with an exceeding noise. Some cried, Thou heretic! some, Thou traitor! some, Thou rebel! and when every man had said his pleasure, and the rage was somewhat past, I asked them to be quiet, and let me speak to them quietly.

"But they would not hear me, and pulled me, one on this side, and another on that. Then Richard Austen said, 'Peace, masters, no more

till mass be done;’ when they ceased. Then I said to the churchwarden and constable, each holding me by the arm; ‘Masters, let me go into the church-yard till your mass be done.’ Said the churchwarden, ‘Thou shalt tarry here till mass be done. Thou shalt tarry, for if thou go out thou wilt run away.’ Then I said to the constable, ‘Lay me in the stocks, and then you will be sure of me,’ and turned my back to the altar. By that time Richard Austen had devised what to do with me, and called to the constable and churchwarden, and bade them put me into a side chapel, and shut the door on me, and there they kept me till mass was ended; when they came into the chapel to me, and searched what I had about me; and found a dagger, and took it from me. They brought me out of the church, and without the door they railed on me without pity or mercy; but anon the priest came out of the church, and Ramsey, who of late was clerk, said to me, ‘Sir, where dwell you?’ Therefore Thomas Austen took him by the arm, and said, ‘Come on, sirrah, you are of his opinion,’ and took his dagger from him, and said he should go with him.

“By this time John Gray, of Wingham, servant to John Smith, came in at the church-style, and seeing them hold Ramsey by the arms, said to him, ‘How now, Ramsey, have you offended the queen’s laws?’ Therewith Thomas Austen took him, and said, ‘You are one of their opinion, you shall go with them for company,’ and took his dagger from him, and then demanded what he did there? but afterward they let him go. They carried me and Ramsey to Canterbury, guarded by eighteen persons. The next day they made a bill against me, but it served not their purpose, which was to have me in prison. But James Chapman and Bartholomew Joyes were bound in twenty pounds each for my appearance at the next general sessions, or in the mean time to appear, if I was sent for, before the queen’s majesty’s council, or any other commissioners sent by the queen’s authority. Ramsey was bound to the peace, and to be of good behaviour till the next sessions. On the 23rd of February, Sir Thomas Finch, knight, and Mr. Harde, sent for me and my sureties to Finch’s place, took me from my sureties, and sent me to the castle of Canterbury, where I lay ten weeks, and then was bailed and bound to appear at the next sessions at Canterbury: but after, they changed it to be at Ashford on Thursday in Whitsun-week, being the 19th of May; but in the mean time the matter was exhibited to the spiritual court.”

The first examination of John Bland in the Spiritual Court, before Harpsfield and Collins, May 18, 1554, as recorded by the said John Bland:

The 18th day of May, as aforesaid, master Harpsfield, archdeacon of Canterbury, made the mayor’s serjeant to bring me before him and master Collins, commissary, into Christ’s-church; and they went with me into a chamber, in the suffragan of Dover’s house.

Then the archdeacon said, ‘Art thou a priest?’ And I said, ‘I was one.’ And he said, ‘Art thou a graduate of any university?’ And I said, ‘Yea.’ ‘What degree hast thou taken?’ said he. ‘The degree of a master of arts,’ I said. ‘The more pity,’ quoth he, ‘that thou shouldest behave thyself as thou hast done. Thou hast been a common licensed preacher, hast thou not? And what hast thou preached?’

*Bland.* God's word, to the edifying, I trust, of his people.

*Harps.* No, no! to the destroying of their souls and thine both, except the mercy of God be all the greater. I pray thee, what hast thou preached: what one matter to the edifying of the people? I only desire to win thee from the heresies thou art wrapt in, and hast infected others withal. Thou hast preached, as I am informed, that the blessed sacrament of the altar is not the real body and blood of Christ after the consecration. Tell me, hast thou not thus preached; and is not this thy opinion?

*Bland.* Sir, I perceive that you seek some matter against me. But seeing that I am bound in the sessions to my good behaviour for preaching, which may be broken with words, and I know not with what words; and also both mine authority to preach, and my living taken from me, I think I am not bound to make you an answer.

*Collins.* Do you not remember that St. Peter biddeth you make answer to every man that asketh you a reason of the faith that is in you?

*Bland.* I know that, and am content so to answer as that text biddeth: but I am not asked after that manner, but rather to bring me into trouble.

Then they said, "No, ye shall not be troubled for anything ye say here."

*Bland.* For knowledge' sake I will commune with you, but not otherwise.

And so they reasoned more than an hour, of the sacrament, both against me. At the last, Collins said, "Master Bland, will ye come and take in hand to answer such matter on Monday next, as shall be laid to you?"

*Bland.* Sir, ye said I should not be troubled for anything said here.

And they said, "Ye shall not; but it is for other matters."

*Bland.* Sir, I am bound to appear, as some tell me, on Thursday next at Ashford: I am in doubt whether I can or no; yet I have purposed to be there, and so to London to master Wiseman for certain money owing, to pay my debts withal. But I can sustain no great loss if I go not. I pray you let me have a longer day; I cannot well come on Monday.

*Harps.* Wilt thou not come, when he so asketh where he may command?

*Bland.* Sir, I perceive it shall be for this or like matters: will it please you or master Collins, for God's sake, to confer Scriptures privately with me in this matter, seeing ye say ye would so gladly win me?

*Harps.* With all my heart will I take the pains, and I will also borrow what books thou wilt from the bishop's library.—And thus they departed.

Now the 17th of May, at Ashford, I could not be released, but was bound to appear at the sessions held at Cranbrook July 3rd. On the 21st of May I appeared in the Chapter-house, where was a great multitude of people; and Harpsfield said, "Ye are come here according as ye were appointed; and the cause is, that it hath pleased the queen's highness here to place me, to see God's holy word set forth, and to reform those that are here fallen into great and heinous errors, to the great displeasure of God, and the decay of Christ's sacraments, and contrary to the faith of the Catholic church, whereof thou art notably known to be one that is sore poisoned with the same, and hast infected and deceived many with thy evil preaching. This if thou wilt renounce, and come home again to the catholic church, both I and many others would be very glad: and I, for my part, shall be right glad to shew you the favour that lieth in me, as I said unto you when you were appointed hither, because you then refused to satisfy again the people that you had de-

ceived. And whereas it is feigned by you, that I should openly dispute the matter with you this day; although I did neither so intend nor appoint, yet I am content to dispute the matter with thee, if thou wilt not without disputation help to heal the souls that are brought hellward by thee. What sayest thou?

*Bland.* I do protest before God and you all, that neither is my conscience guilty of any error or heresy, neither that I ever taught any error or heresy willingly. And where you say that I have feigned an open disputation with you, it is not true, as I can thus prove. On Saturday I was at Ugden's, and there Mr. Bingham laid it to my charge that such an open disputation as you have here offered, should be this day between you and me. Whereat I much marvelled, and said to him, that before that present I never heard any such word; neither would I answer nor dispute. And to this masters Vaughan, Oxenden, Seth, and Ugden witness; and further, that I never spake to you of any disputation, nor you to me. Now, if you have anything to say to me, I will answer.

*Harps.* Hear ye what he saith? His conscience is clear. I pray thee whereon groundest thou thy conscience? Let me hear what thy faith is.

*Bland.* I know not why ye should more ask me a reason of my faith, than any other man in this open audience.

*Harps.* Why, thou heretic, art thou ashamed of thy faith? If it were a Christian belief, thou needest not be ashamed of it.

*Bland.* I am not ashamed of my faith: for I believe in God the Father, in Jesus Christ his only Son, and all the other articles of the creed; and I believe all the holy Scriptures of God. I will declare no more than this.

*Harps.* Well, I will tell thee whereon I ground my faith: I do believe and ground my faith and conscience upon all the articles of the creed, and upon all the holy Scriptures, sacraments, and holy doctors of the church, and upon all the general councils. Lo, hereupon ground I my faith!

When he could get no other answer of me than I had said before, he called for a scribe to make an act against me. And after much communication I said, "By what law and authority will you proceed against me?"

Master Collins said, "By the canon law."

*Bland.* I doubt whether it be in strength or no. Yet I pray you let me have a counsellor in the law, and I will make answer according to the law.

*Harps.* Why, thou heretic, thou wilt not confess thy faith to me, that have authority to demand it of thee; and yet I have confessed my faith to thee before all this audience. As concerning the blessed sacrament of the altar, thou hast taught, that after the consecration it is bread and wine, and not the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ. How sayest thou, hast thou not thus taught?

*Bland.* Sir, as concerning this matter of the sacrament, when I was with you and Mr. Collins, you said then it was for other matters that I should come hither: and further, that you would be content at my desire to confer on the scriptures with me, to see if you could win me; and you said, you would borrow my lord of Dover's library, that I should have what book I would; and now you require me thus to answer, contrary to your promise, before any conference be had, and seek rather to bring me into trouble, than to win me.

*Harps.* I will, as God shall help me, do the best to thee that I can,

if thou wilt be anything conformable; and I hope to dissolve all thy doubts, if thou be willing to hear. And I also will desire these two worshipful men, my lord of Dover and master Collins, to hear us.

*Bland.* No, you shall pardon me of that: there shall be no such witness, but, when we agree, set to our hands.—Hereat made the people a noise against me, for refusing the witness: and here had we many more words than I can rehearse. But at the last I said, “Sir, will you give me leave to ask you one question?” And he said, “Yea, with all my heart; for in that thou askest anything, there is some hope that thou mayest be won.”

*Bland.* Sir, when it pleased Almighty God to send his angel unto the Virgin Mary to salute her, and said, ‘Hail, full of grace,’ etc., came any substance from God our Father into the Virgin’s womb to become man?—Whereat the archdeacon, as my lord of Dover and master Collins, stayed. But my lord spake first, and said, “The Holy Ghost came to her;” and ere he had brought out his sentence, Harpsfield added, “It was the power of God, sent by the Holy Ghost.” But I said, “Sir, shall I ask one other question: Is there in the sacrament, after the consecration, Christ’s natural body, with all the qualities of a natural body, or no?”

*Harps.* Hark! hear you this heretic? He thinks it an absurdity to grant all the qualities of Christ’s natural body to be in the sacrament. But it is no absurdity: for even that natural body that was born of the virgin Mary is glorified, and that same body is in the sacrament after the consecration. But perceive you not the arrogancy of this heretic, that will put me to answer him, and he will not answer me? He thought to put me to a pinch with his question; for I tell you, it is a learned one.

*Bland.* If you be so much disconcerted with me, I will say no more; yet I would all men heard, that you say the glorified body of Christ is in the sacrament after the consecration.

*Harps.* I may call thee gross ignorant. Thou gross ignorant, is not the same body glorified that was born of the virgin Mary? Is it then any absurdity to grant that to be in the sacrament?—And while he spake many other words, I said to master Petit, that the sacrament was instituted, delivered, and received of his apostles, before Christ’s body was crucified; and it was crucified before it was glorified; which saying Petit partly recited to master archdeacon.

*Harps.* Thou art without all learning. Was not Christ’s body given to his apostles, as in a glorified act?<sup>a</sup> And yet no inconvenience, although his natural body was not crucified; for when he was born of the Virgin Mary without pain, was not that the act of a glorified body? and when he walked on the water, and when he came into the house to his apostles, the doors being shut fast, were not these acts of a glorified body?—Then my lord of Dover helped him to a better place, and said, “When Christ was in Mount Tabor, he was there glorified in his apostles’ sight.”

*Harps.* Ye say truth, my lord; he was glorified in the sight of three of his apostles.

*Bland.* This methinks is new doctrine.

*Harps.* Well, seeing he will by no other way be reformed, let the

<sup>a</sup> How can Christ’s glorified body be in the sacrament, when the sacrament was given before that body was crucified, and it was crucified before it was glorified? “The body unglorified was given in the sacrament, in a glorified act,” quoth Harpsfield.

people come in and prove these matters against him.—And therewith he brought forth a copy of the bill that was put against me at Christmas. Then he rose up and said, “See ye, good people that know this matter, that ye come in, and prove it against him. Whereunto answered Thomas Austen, “I pray you, let us be no more troubled with him.” Then master archdeacon departed, and left master Collins to command me to appear the next day. Howbeit, for certain other urgent business that I had, I did not appear, but wrote a letter to master commissary, desiring him to respite the matter till my coming home again; and if he would, I would be content to submit myself to the law when I came home.

Now about the 28th day of June I came to master commissary to show him of my return, and offered myself to satisfy the law, if it were proceeded against me, before master Cox of Surrey, and Marks the apparitor; but he gently said, that he had done nothing against me; and so appointed me to appear before him the Friday seven-night after.

In the mean time was the sessions holden at Cranbrook, where I was bound to appear; and carrying surety with me to be bound again, (for I looked for none other,) did appear the 3rd of July. Then sir John Baker said, “Bland, ye are, as we hear say, a Scot; where were ye born and brought up?” And I said, “I was born in England.” He said, “Where?” and I said, “In Sedberg, and brought up by one Dr. Lupton, provost of Eton college.” “Well,” said he, “I know him well. Remain to your bond till afternoon.” Then said sir Thomas Moyle, “Ah, Bland, thou art a stiff-hearted fellow. Thou wilt not obey the law, nor answer when thou art called. Master sheriff, take him to your ward:” and the bailiff set me in the stocks, with others, and would not hear me speak one word. So we remained in the gaol of Maidstone till a fortnight before Michaelmas, or thereabouts; and then were we carried to Rochester, to the assize holden there, where we, among the prisoners, remained two days. And when we were called, and the judges of assize asked our causes, when my cause was rehearsed, master Barrow, clerk of the peace, said that I was an excommunicate person.

Then master Roper of Linsted talked with the judges, but what I am not able to say: but the judges of assize said, “Take them to Maidstone again, and bring them to the sessions that shall be holden next at the town of Malden.” Howbeit, the sheriff did not send for us; so we tarried at Maidstone till the sessions holden at Greenwich the 18th and 19th of of February, [1555.] I and others, being within the bar amongst the felons, and irons upon our arms, were called out the latter day by the jailer and bailiffs, and eased of our irons, and carried by them into the town to sir John Baker, master Petit, master Webb, and two others whom I knew not.

*Baker.* Bland, wherefore were you cast into prison?

*Bland.* I cannot well tell. Your mastership cast me in.

*Baker.* Yea, but wherefore were you in before that time?

*Bland.* For an unjust complaint put upon me.

*Baker.* What was the complaint? (I told him as truly and briefly as I could.) Let me see thy book; (and I took him a Latin Testament.) Will ye go to the church, and obey and follow the queen's proceedings, and do as an honest man should do?

*Bland.* I trust in God to do no otherwise but as an honest man should do. Will it please your mastership to give me leave to ask you a question: May a man do anything that his conscience is not satisfied in to be good?

*Baker.* Away, away:—and threw down the book, and said, “It is no Testament.” And I said, “Yes.” Then master Webb took it up, and said, “Master Bland, I knew you when you were not of this opinion; I would to God ye would reform yourself:” with other words. I said, “If ye have known me of another opinion, it was for lack of knowledge.”

*Baker.* Yea, sayest thou so? By St. Mary, and thou hold thee there, I will give six fagots to burn thee withal, ere thou shouldest be unburned: hence, knave, hence!

And so were we reprieved into our place again within the bar; and at night, when judgment of felons and all was done, we were called, and the judge said to the jailer, “Take them with you, and deliver them to the ordinary; and if they will not be reformed, let them be delivered to us again, and they shall have judgment and execution.” And one of our company said, “My lord, if we be killed at your hands for Christ’s sake, we shall live with him for ever.”

Then came we to the castle of Canterbury, and there we remained till the 2nd of March, on which day we were brought into the chapter-house of Cree-church, where were set the suffragan of Canterbury, master Collins, master Mills, with others; and then went to them masters Oxenden, Petit, Webb, and Harges, justices. And when I was called, Webb said, “Here we present this man to you as one vehemently suspected of heresy.”

*Bland.* Mr. Webb, you have no cause to suspect me of heresy. I have been a prisoner this whole year, and no matter has been proved against me. I pray you, what is the reason that I have been kept so long in prison?

*Webb.* Leave your arrogant asking of questions, and answer to that which is laid to your charge.

*Bland.* I do so; for I say you have no cause to suspect me of heresy.

*Webb.* Yes; you denied to Sir John Baker, to be conformable to the queen’s proceedings. Moreover, you were cast into prison, because you fled away from your ordinary.

*Bland.* Then have I had wrong: for I never fled nor disobeyed mine ordinary, nor did anything contrary to the law. Let them now say if I did.

But they said nothing; and when I saw they held their peace, I said, “Master commissary, have you been the cause of this my imprisonment?” “No,” said he. “Ye know that when ye went from me, ye were appointed to appear the Friday after the sessions.” Here I was suffered to speak no more, but was shut up in a corner till my companions were presented; and then we were sent to Westgate into prison, and were put into several close holds, no man being permitted to come to us. We were four at this appearance: but one they dispatched, by what means I cannot tell, whose name was Cornwall, a tanner.

And thus hitherto passed the talk between Bland and the justices, and certain gentlemen of the shire. Now followeth the reasonings between him and the clergymen before whom he was examined. Let us hear his own report of his appearance before the commissary and others in the Spiritual Court, in the Chapter-house of Cree-church, March 9, 1555:



*Collins.* Master Bland, ye know that ye are presented unto us as one suspected of heresy. How say ye? Be ye contented to reform yourself to the laws of this realm, and of the holy church?

*Bland.* I deny that I am suspected justly of heresy; and this ye heard when I was presented, that I denied the suspicion to be just, but to defend the unjust punishment that I have suffered: neither can ye prove that any occasion hath been given by me, whereby any man should suspect me therein. But if you have a law or authority to proceed against me for anything done for a whole year ago and more, I will answer to it.

*Col.* Ye were convented before master archdeacon and me, and matter of heresy laid to your charge.

*Bland.* That matter was done and said a whole year ago, for I have been in prison this year and more. If you have anything against me by any law, I desire you to let me know the law and the matter, and I will answer according to the law.

Then said my lord suffragan, "But that I am one of the judges, I would rise, and stand by thee, and accuse thee to be a sacramentary, and bring witness to prove it; yea, that thou hast called the mass an abominable idol."

*Bland.* You, my lord, never heard me say so; but I heard you once say, that in your conscience ye had abhorred the mass three years.

"Thou liest," quoth he "I never said so."

*Bland.* My lord, if they might be heard, I can bring witness to approve it, with the day, time, and place; and I once did hear master Collins say, at a visitation in Wingham, that Christ was a full satisfaction for all sin, present, past, and to come; contrary to that he saith now.

*Col.* This is but a drift. You had better answer now; else you shall go to prison again, and be called on Monday, and have articles laid to you, and if ye then answer not directly, you shall be condemned as a heretic, and that will be worse for you.

*Bland.* Sir, I do not now, nor will then, deny to answer anything that you can lay to my charge by the law: wherefore I trust ye will let me have the benefit of the law.

*Col.* Well, on Monday, at nine of the clock, you shall see the law, and have articles laid unto you.

The following Monday we were brought to the same place again; but, as I did before, I demanded what they had to lay to my charge, and to see the law, which they said before I should see. Then they brought forth a decretal, a book of the bishop of Rome's law to bind me to answer, which my heart abhorred to look upon. The effect was, that the ordinary had authority to examine, and that those whom they so examined must needs answer. But I said that it meant such as were justly suspected, as I was not. And here we had much communication; for I charged them with unjust imprisonment, which they could not avoid.

*Col.* Are you willing to confer with some of us? It will be better for you; now we offer it, because you would not desire it.

*Bland.* As I did not refuse before, no more will I now. I expected Dr. Faucet would have come to me without desiring, if any profit to me had been in conference; for though I was never able to do him good, yet once I was his tutor.

*Col.* Will you come to his chamber in the afternoon?

*Bland.* Sir, I am a prisoner; and therefore it is meet that I obey, and come whither you will.—And so he departed.

Here followeth a certain confutation of master Mills against false and manifest absurdities, granted by master Mills, priest of Christ's church in Canterbury; which is also given as recorded by Bland himself:—

*Mills.* We say, that Christ is in or under the sacrament really and corporally, which are the forms of bread and wine, and that there is his body contained invisibly; and the qualities which we do see, as whiteness and roundness, be there without substance by God's power, as quantity and weight be there also by invisible measure.

*Bland.* This is your own divinity, to make accidents the sacrament, and Christ's real body invisibly contained in them, and so to destroy the sacrament altogether. And yet the doctors say, the matter of the sacrament is bread and wine. And God by his power worketh no miracles with “*Hoc est corpus meum,*” so to change the substance of bread and wine into his body and blood, in that he maketh accidents to be without their substance by invisible measure. I am ashamed to see you so destroy Christ's sacrament, contrary to your own doctors, and trifle so with God's work.

*Mills.* We eat Christ's flesh and blood spiritually, when we receive it with faith and charity; and we also do eat it corporally in the sacrament. And the body that we so receive hath life; for the Godhead is annexed thereto: which, although it be received with the body of Christ, yet it is not visible after a gross sort. And the flesh of Christ that we receive is lively; for it hath the Spirit of God joined to it. And if a man be drunken, it is not by receiving of the blood of Christ; for it is contrary to the nature of Christ's blood. If he be drunken, it is by the qualities and quantities, without substance of blood.

*Bland.* I am glad that you are so much against all men, to say that Christ's body is alive in the sacrament: it may fortune to bring you to the truth in time to come. Methinketh it is evil to keep Christ's body alive in the pix; or else must ye grant, that he is alive in receiving, and dead in the pix. And ye say truth, that it is not the natural receiving of Christ's blood that maketh a man drunken, for it is the nature of wine that doth that; which ye deny not. And a more truth ye confess than ye did think, when ye said, “If a man be drunken, it is by the qualities and quantities, without the substance of blood;” for indeed blood hath no such qualities with it: by which it is evident that there is no natural blood. If a man be drunken with wine consecrated, it must be a miracle, as I think you will have it, that the said accidents should be without their natural substance, and work all the operations of both substance and accidents: and so it followeth, that a man may be drunken by miracle. The body that ye receive, ye say, is alive, because it is annexed to the Godhead; and the flesh that ye receive is lively, because it hath the Spirit of God joined to it. This division is of your new inventions, to divide the body and the flesh; the one alive by the Godhead, the other lively by God's Spirit, and both one sacrament: ye make of it a thing so fantastical, that ye imagine a body without flesh, and flesh without a body; as ye do qualities and quantities without substance, and a living body without qualities and quantities.

*Mills.* If case so require, and there be a godly intent in the minister

to consecrate, after the consecration thereof, there is present the body and blood of Christ, and no other substance but accidents without substance, to a true believer.

*Bland.* You grant three absurdities, that in a tun of wine consecrated is nothing but accidents: and to increase it withal, you have brought in two inconveniences; first, that it is not the word of God that doth consecrate, but the intent of the priest must help it. And if that lack, ye seem to grant no consecration, though the priest speak the word; and yet your doctors say, that the wickedness of the priest minisheth not the sacrament. And to an unbeliever ye seem to say, that it is not the same that it is to the true believer; and then must the believer have something to do in the consecration. "Incidit in Scyllam, qui vult vitare Charibdim."

*Mills.* The substance of Christ's body doth not fill the mouse's belly; for although he doth receive the outward forms of bread and wine, yet he doth not receive the substance inwardly, but without violation. And a mouse doth not eat the body of Christ, to speak properly; for it doth not feed him spiritually or corporally, as it doth man, because he doth not receive it to any inducement of immortality to the flesh.

*Bland.* Ye make not your doctrine plain to be understood: we must know how a mouse can receive the substance inwardly and outwardly. Ye say he doth not receive the substance inwardly, but without violation: ergo, with violation he receiveth the substance inwardly. Ye say that the mouse cannot violate Christ's body; but he violateth the substance that he eateth. And this your proper speech doth import as much as that the mouse should eat the sacrament to as great effect, and the same thing, as doth the unworthy receiver; for, if that be the cause that he properly eateth not the body of Christ, because he doth not feed upon it spiritually nor corporally, nor receiveth it to any inducement of immortality, as ye say; then it followeth that the unbeliever and the mouse receive both one thing. And yet it cannot be denied but the mouse will live with consecrated bread; and then ye must grant the absurdity, that a substance is nourished and fed only with accidents.

*Mills.* Men's bodies be fed with Christ's body, as with immortal meat, by reason of the Godhead annexed to eternal life; but men's bodies be corporally nourished with qualities and forms of bread and wine: and we deny that, by the sacramental eating, any gross humour turned into blood is made miraculously in the body.

*Bland.* Whereas it cannot be denied that a man may live, and be nourished in his natural body with the sacramental bread and wine consecrated, you cannot avoid that: but then you turn to the spiritual nourishing of man's body, by Christ's body and Godhead annexed, which is not to put away the absurdity, that either a man's natural body should be fed naturally with accidents, or else to have them changed into gross humours.

*Mills.* If the forms of bread and wine be burned, or worms engendered, it is no derogation to the body of Christ, because the presence of his body ceaseth to be there, and no substance cometh again.

*Bland.* Ye grant here, that a substance may be made of accidents, as ashes or worms; but I think you will have it by your miracles. And this I count a more absurdity than the other, that Christ's body should cease to be there, and no substance to come again; for no word in all the Bible

seems to serve you for the ceasing of his presence, though we granted you, (which we do not,) that it were there. God Almighty open your heart, if it be his will and pleasure, to see the truth. And if I thought not my death to be at hand, I would answer you to all the rest, in these and all other my doings. I submit myself to our Saviour Jesus Christ, and his holy word, desiring you in the bowels of Christ to do the same.

At last on the 13th day of June this blessed and faithful servant of God was brought before Thornton, bishop of Dover, Robert Collins, the commissary, and Nicholas Harpsfield, the archdeacon, at Canterbury. Under these a great sort of innocent lambs of Christ were cruelly entreated and slain at Canterbury, among whom this aforesaid master Bland was the first. To whom it was objected by the commissary, whether he believed that Christ is really in the sacrament, or no, etc. To this he answered and said, that he believed that Christ is in the sacrament, as he is in all other good bodies: so that he judged not Christ to be really in the sacrament. Whereupon, the day being Monday, he was bid to appear again upon Wednesday next; and from thence he was deferred again to Monday following, being the 20th of June, in the same chapter-house, then to hear further what should be done, in case he would not relent to their mind. The which day and place he, appearing as before, was required to say his mind plainly and fully to the foresaid articles, being again repeated to him: which articles, commonly and in course, they use to object to their examiners which be brought before them, and which need not again to be repeated. These articles being ministered, and his answers taken, respite was given him yet a few days to deliberate with himself. So, on the 25th day of the same month of June, he making his appearance again in the said chapter-house, there openly and boldly withstood the authority of the pope; whereupon his sentence was read, and so he was condemned and committed to the secular power. Touching the form and tenor of the sentence, because all their sentences of course agree in one, read before in the history of other godly martyrs.

Having now passed over the examinations of master Bland, let us proceed to his fellow-captives, being joined the same time with him in the like cause and like affliction; the names of whom were Nicholas Sheterden, John Frankesh, Humfrey Middleton, Thacker, and Cocker, of whom Thacker only gave back. The rest constantly standing to the truth, were altogether condemned by the suffragan of Canterbury the 25th day of June; touching whose examinations I shall not need long to stand. Forasmuch as the articles ministered against them were all one, so in their answers they little or nothing disagreed. And because Nicholas Sheterden had most talk with the archdeacon and the commissary, I will first begin with the same as recorded by himself.

First, the archdeacon and commissary affirmed, that the very bare words of Christ, when he said, "This is my body," did change the substance, without any other interpretation or spiritual meaning of the words.

*Sheterden.* Then, belike, when Christ said, "This cup is my blood," the substance of the cup was changed into his blood, without any other meaning; and so the cup was changed, and not the wine.

*Arch.* Not so; for when Christ said, "This cup is my blood," he meant not the cup, but the wine in the cup.

*Shet.* If Christ spake one thing and meant another, then the bare words did not change the substance; but there must be a meaning sought as well of the bread as of the cup.

*Arch.* There must be a meaning sought of the cup otherwise than the words stand. But of the bread it must be understood only as it standeth.

*Shet.* Then do you make one half of Christ's institution a figure, and the other half a plain speech; and so ye divide Christ's supper.

*Arch.* Christ meant the wine, and not the cup, though he said, "This cup is my blood."

*Shet.* Then show me whether the words which the priests speak over the cup change the substance, or whether the mind of the priest doth it.

*Arch.* The mind of the priest doth it, and not the words.

*Shet.* If the mind of the priest doth it, and not the words, if the priest then do mind his harlot, or any other vain thing, that thing so minded was there made, and so the people do worship the priest's harlot instead of Christ's blood. And again, none of the people can tell when it is Christ's blood, or when it is not, seeing the matter standeth in the mind of the priest; for no man can tell what the priest meaneth but himself; and so are they ever in danger of committing idolatry.

Then was the archdeacon somewhat moved, and sat him down, and said to the commissary, "I pray you, master commissary, speak you to him another while: for they are unreasonable and perverse answers, as ever I heard of." Then stood up the commissary, and said—"Your argument is much against yourself; for ye grant that the bread is a figure of Christ's body; but the cup can be no figure of his blood, nor yet his very blood; and therefore Christ did not mean the cup, but the wine in the cup."

*Shet.* My argument is not against me at all; for I do not speak it to prove that the cup is his blood, nor the figure of his blood, but to prove that the bare words being spoken of the priest, do not change the substance no more of the bread, than they do change the cup into blood. It still remaineth for you to answer my question to the archdeacon—whether the mind of the priest when he speaketh over the cup, doth change it into blood, or the bare words?

*Com.* Both together doth it, the words and the mind of the priest together; yea, the intent and words together do it.

*Shet.* If the words and intents together do change the substance, yet must the cup be his blood, and not the wine, forasmuch as the words are—"This cup is my blood," and the intent, ye say, was the wine; or else the words take none effect, but the intent only.

*Com.* It was the intent of the priest before he went to mass, without the words; for if the priest did intend to do as holy church had ordained, then the intent made the sacrament to take effect.

*Shet.* If the sacraments take effect of the intent of the priest, and not of God's word, then many parishes having a priest that intendeth not well, are utterly deceived both in baptising, and also worshipping that thing to be God which is but bread, because for lack of the priest's intent, the words do take none effect in it; so that by this it is ever doubtful, whether they worship Christ, or bread, because it is doubtful what the priests do intend.

Then the commissary would prove to me, that Christ's manhood was in two places at one time, by these words of Christ in the third chapter of John; where he saith, "No man ascendeth up to heaven, but he that came down from heaven; that is to say, the Son of man which is in heaven." By this he would prove that Christ was then in heaven and on earth also, naturally and bodily.

*Shet.* This place and other places of scripture must needs be understood of the unity of the person, in that Christ was God and man; and yet the matter must be referred to the Godhead, or else ye must fall into great error.

*Com.* That is not so; for it was spoken of the manhood of Christ, forasmuch as he saith, the Son of Man which is in heaven.

*Shet.* If ye will needs understand it to be spoken of Christ's manhood, then must ye fall into the error of the Anabaptists, who deny that Christ took flesh of the Virgin Mary; for if there be no body ascended up, but that which came down, where is then his incarnation? for then he brought his body down with him.

*Com.* Lo, how you seek an error in me, and see not how ye err yourself! For it cannot be spoken of the Godhead, except ye grant that God is passable; for God cannot come down, because he is not passable.

*Shet.* If that were a good argument, that God could not come down, because he is not passable; then it might be said by the like argument, that God could not sit, and then heaven is not his seat, and then say as some do, that God hath no right hand for Christ to sit at.

*Com.* It is true that God hath no right hand indeed.

*Shet.* Oh, what a spoil of Christ's religion will this be, that because we cannot tell how God came down, therefore we shall say, that he came not down at all; and because we cannot tell what manner of hand he hath, to say that he hath no hand at all; and then he cannot reach the utmost part of the sea. O misery! at length will it come to pass, that God cannot sit, and then how can heaven be his seat; and if heaven be not his seat, then there is no heaven; and then at length I doubt ye will say there is no God, or else no other God but such as the heathen gods are, which cannot go nor feel.

*Com.* Why, doth not the scripture say, that God is a spirit? and what hand can a spirit have?

*Shet.* Truth it is, God is a spirit, and therefore is worshipped in spirit and truth; and as he is a spirit, so hath he a spiritual power, so hath he a spiritual seat, a spiritual hand, and a spiritual sword; which we shall feel, if we go this way to work. Because we know not what God hath, therefore if we say he hath none, then it may as well be said there is no Christ.

Then the commissary said, he would talk no more with me; and so departed. And also he was compelled to grant, that Christ's testament was broken, and his institution was changed from that he left it: but he said they had power so to do.

My first answering, after their law was established; written from Westgate by me, Nicholas Sheterden: Because I know that ye will desire to hear from me some certainty of my state, I was called before the suffragan, and

seven or eight of the chief priests, and examined of certain articles; and then I required to see their commission. They showed it to me, and said, "There it is, and the king and queen's letters also." Then I desired to have it read: and so in reading I perceived, that on some notable suspicion he might examine upon two articles: Whether Christ's real presence were in the sacrament; and whether the church of England be Christ's catholic church. To that I answered, that I had been a prisoner three quarters of a year, and as I thought wrongfully: reason would, therefore, that I should answer to those things wherefore I was imprisoned.

The suffragan said, his commission was, I must answer directly yea or nay. This commission, said I, was not general to examine whom ye will, but on just suspicion. He said I was suspected, and presented to him. Then I required that the accusation might be showed. He said he was not bound to show it; but he commanded me in the king and queen's name to answer directly.

*Shet.* And I, as a subject, do require of you justice: for that I have done I ask no favour.

*Suff.* Thou wast cast into prison because thou wast suspected.

*Shet.* That was a pretty suspicion, because I had suffered imprisonment contrary to God's law and the realm, that therefore I must now, for amends, be examined of suspicion without cause, to hide all the wrong done to me before. For when I was cast into prison, there was no law but I might speak as I did: therefore, in that point, I could be no more suspected than you, who preached the same yourself not long before. All men shall know, that as ye suspect and prove no cause, so shall ye condemn me without a matter, and then shall all men know ye seek my blood, and not justice.

*Suff.* No, we seek not thy blood, but thy conversion.

*Shet.* That we shall see. For then shall you prove my perversion first, before you condemn me on your suspicion without proof of the same: and by that I shall know whether you seek blood or no. If you could prove that men might wrongfully imprison before a law, and in the meanwhile make laws, and then, under that, hide the first offence, then you say true, or else not.—(From Westgate, in haste: Nicholas Sheterden.)

The next examination of Nicholas Sheterden before the bishop of Winchester, then lord chancellor, as recorded by himself:—I was called into a chamber before the lord chancellor, the suffragan, and others—priests, I think, for the most part. He standing to the table, called me to him, and because I saw the cardinal was not there, I bowed myself and stood near. Then said he, "I have sent for you, because I hear you are indicted for heresy; and, being called before the commissioners, ye will not answer nor submit yourself." I said, "If it like you, I did not refuse to answer; but I did plainly answer, that I had been in prison long time, and reason it was that I should be charged or discharged for that, and not to be examined of articles to hide my wrong imprisonment; neither did I know any indictment against me. If there were any, it could not be just, for I was not abroad since the law was made."

*Winchester.* If thou wilt declare thyself to the church to be a Christian, thou shalt go, and then have a writ of wrong imprisonment.

*Shet.* I have no mind to sue now, but require to have justice: make a promise I will not; but if I offend the law, then punish me accordingly.

For it might be that my conscience was not persuaded, nor would be, in prison: seeing these things which I have learned, were by God's law openly taught and received by the authority of the realm.

*Win.* It was not a few that could be your guides in understanding, but the doctors and the whole church; now, whom wouldst thou believe? either the few or the many?

*Shet.* I did not believe for the few or for the many, but only for him that bringeth the word, and shewed it to me to be so, according to the process thereof.

*Win.* Well, then, if an Arian come to thee with scripture, thou wilt believe him, if he shew this text—"My Father is greater than I."

*Shet.* No, my lord, he must bring me also the contrary place, and prove them both true, where he saith—"My Father and I are one."

So, after many words, Winchester came to the church's faith, and comely orders of ceremonies and images. And then I joined to him again with the commandments. He said, that was done that no false thing should be made, as the heathen would worship a cat, because she killed mice. I said that it was plain that the law forbade not only such, but even to make an image of God to any likeness. He asked, where find ye that?

*Shet.* Forsooth, in the law where God gave them the commandments: for he said, "Ye saw no shape, but heard a voice only:" and added a reason why, "lest they should after make images, and mar themselves."

Winchester said, I made a goodly interpretation. I said, no, it was the text. Then was the Bible called for; and when it came, he bade me find it, and I should strait be confounded with mine own words; so that if there were any grace in me, I would trust mine own wit no more. And when I had read it aloud, he said, "Lo, here thou mayest see; this is no more to forbid the image of God, than of any other beast, fowl, or fish," (the place was Deut. iv.) I said it did plainly forbid to make any of these an image of God, because no man might know what shape he was of. Therefore might no man say of any image, "This is an image of God."

*Win.* Well, yet by your leave, so much as was seen we may; that is, of Christ, of the Holy Ghost; and the Father who appeared to Daniel.

*Shet.* That is no proof that we may make images contrary to the commandment; for though the Holy Ghost appeared like a dove, yet was he not like in shape, but in certain qualities; and therefore when I saw the dove, I might remember the Spirit to be simple and loving, etc.

With that Winchester was somewhat moved, and said I had learned my lesson; and asked me who taught me, with many more words. And he said he would prove how good and profitable images were to teach the unlearned, etc. At the last I said, "My lord, although I were able to make never so good a gloss upon the commandments, yet obedience is better than all our good intents:" and much ado we had. At last he saw, he said, what I was, and how he had sent for me for charity's sake to talk with me, but now he would not meddle; and said my wrong imprisonment could not excuse me, but I must clear myself. I said that was easy for me to do; for I had not offended. Winchester said, I could not escape so; there I was deceived. I said, "Well, then I am under the law," etc. The archdeacon was there called in for me, and he laid to me, that with such arrogancy and stoutness as never was heard, I behaved myself before



him; whereas he was minded with such mercy towards me, etc. I declared that herein he falsely reported me, and brought in the queen's proclamation that none should be compelled, till the law were to compel. "And I did use him then," said I, "as I use your grace now, and no otherwise."

Winchester said that I did not use myself very well now. I said, I had offered myself to be bailed, and to confer with them, when and where they would.—Winchester said, I should not confer, but be obedient. I said, let me go, and I will not desire to confer neither; and when I offended, let them punish me: and so departed.—By your brother, Nicholas Sheterden.

And thus much concerning the examinations of Nicholas Sheterden and master Bland. Now to touch something of the other martyrs, which were the same time examined, and suffered with them together; to wit, Humfrey Middleton, of Ashford, and John Frankesh, vicar of Rolvendean, in the diocese of Kent. Here first should be declared the articles, which publicly, in their last examinations, were jointly and severally ministered unto them by the foresaid Thornton, bishop of Dover. But forasmuch as these are already expressed in the story of master Bland, it shall not be needful.

To these seven articles then being propounded to the four persons above named, first answered John Frankesh somewhat doubtfully, desiring further respite to be given him of fourteen days to deliberate with himself, which was granted. Master Bland answered flatly and roundly, as before ye heard. Nicholas Sheterden and Humfrey Middleton answered to the first and second articles affirmatively. To the third, concerning the catholic church, after a sort they granted. To the fourth, fifth, and sixth, concerning the real presence, and the sacrament to be administered in the Latin tongue, and in one kind, they utterly refused to answer. Sheterden said, he would not answer thereto, before the cause were determined why he was imprisoned, and so still remained prisoner, before the laws of parliament were known and ascertained. Middleton added moreover and confessed, that he believed in his own God, saying—"My living God, and no dead god for me!" These four, upon their answers, were condemned by the suffragan of Dover the 25th day of June, 1555.

Being delivered to the secular power, they were all burnt together at Canterbury, on the 12th of July, at two several stakes, but in one fire, where they in the sight of God and of his holy angels, and before men, like true soldiers of Jesus Christ, gave a constant testimony to the truth of his holy gospel. A few days before he suffered, Sheterden wrote affectionately to his wife and mother, and also two letters to his brother.

In the same month of July followed the martyrdoms of Nicholas Hall, bricklayer, and Christopher Waid, of Dartford, linen-weaver, which both were condemned by Maurice, bishop of Rochester, about the last day of June. The six articles administered to them were the same as others which have been mentioned: That they were christian men and professed the catholic determinations of our holy mother church: That they who maintain or hold otherwise than our holy mother the catholic church doth, are heretic: That they hold and maintain, that in the sacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine, is not the very body and blood of Christ; but that the body of Christ is verily in heaven only, and not in the sacrament: That they have and do hold and maintain, that the mass, as it is now used in the catholic church, is naught

and abominable: That they have been, and be amongst the people of that jurisdiction vehemently suspected upon the premises, and thereupon indicted.

To these articles they answered rather variously, and thus proved themselves to be honest men as well as christians. Hall denied to call the catholic and apostolic church his mother, because he found not this word Mother in the scriptures. Concerning the very body and blood of Christ to be under the forms of bread and wine in substance, they would not grant; affirming the very body of him to be in heaven, and the sacrament to be a token or remembrance of Christ's death. Hall adding moreover, That whereas before he held the sacrament to be but only a token or remembrance of Christ's death, now he said, that there is neither token nor remembrance, because it is now misused and clean turned from Christ's institution. Concerning the mass in the fourth article, to be abominable, Waid, with the other, answered, that as they had confessed before, so they would not now go from what they had said. To the fifth article for the people's suspicion, they made no great account nor difficulty to grant the same.

And thus much concerning the articles and answers of these good men: which being received, immediately sentence of condemnation was pronounced by the said Maurice. Nicholas Hall was burned at Rochester about the 19th day of July; and Christopher Waid, about the same time, at Dartford. Furthermore, with the aforesaid Hall and Waid, three others were condemned, whose names were Joan Beach, widow, John Harpol, of Rochester, and Margery Polley: of which latter, touching her examination and condemnation, here followeth in story.

Margery Polley, widow of Richard Polley of Pepenbury, was accused and brought before the said Maurice, bishop of Rochester; which bishop, rising out of the chair of his majesty, in the swelling style, after his ordinary fashion, to dash the silly poor woman, began in these words:

"We Maurice, by the sufferance of God, bishop of Rochester, proceeding of our mere office in a cause of heresy against thee, Margery Polley, of the parish of Pepenbury, of our diocese and jurisdiction of Rochester, do lay and object against thee all and singular these articles ensuing. To which, and to every parcel of them, we require of thee a true, full, and plain answer, by virtue of thine oath thereupon to be given." The oath being administered, and the articles, which were the same as those against Hall and Waid, commenced against her, she so framed her answers, especially to the third and fourth article, that she neither allowed the deity of the sacrament, nor the absurdity of the mass. Upon which sentence was read against her, and she was condemned for the same. Her death followed not immediately, but took place some days after, about the time that Waid was burnt. They were brought out together, though they did not suffer at the same hour nor on the same spot.

Christopher Waid, as has been intimated, was sentenced to be burnt at Dartford. On the day appointed for his execution, which was in the month of July, there was carried out of town betimes in the morning in a cart, a stake, and therewith many bundles of reeds, to a gravel-pit, the common place for the execution of felons. Thither

also was brought a load of fagots and tall wood: unto which place resorted the people of the country in great numbers, and there tarried his coming, insomuch that thither came divers fruiterers with horse-loads of cherries, and sold them. About ten of the clock came the sheriff, with a great many other gentlemen and their retinue appointed to assist him, and with them Christopher Waid and Margery Polley, riding pinioned, and both singing a psalm. As soon as Margery Polley espied afar off the multitude gathered about the place where he should suffer, waiting his coming, she said unto him very loud and cheerfully, "You may rejoice, Waid, to see such a company gathered to celebrate your marriage this day."

And so, passing by the place, which joined hard to the highway, they were carried straight down to the town, where Margery was kept until the sheriff returned from Waid's execution. And Waid being made ready, and stripped out of his clothes at an inn, had brought unto him a fair long white shirt from his wife, which being put on, he was led on foot to the foresaid place. And coming straight to the stake, he took it in his arms, embracing it, and kissed it, setting his back unto it, and standing in a pitch-barrel, which was taken from the beacon, being hard by. Then a smith brought a hoop of iron, and with two staples made him fast to the stake under his arms. Thus fixed, with his eyes and hands lifted up to heaven, he repeated with a cheerful and loud voice the last verse of the 86th Psalm—"Shew 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." Near to the stake was a little hill, upon the top whereof were set up four stays, quadrangle-wise, with a covering round about like a pulpit: into which place, as Waid was thus praying at the stake, entered a friar with a book in his hand; whom when Waid espied, he cried earnestly unto the people, to take heed of the doctrine of the whore of Babylon, exhorting them to embrace that gospel preached in king Edward's days. While he was thus speaking to the people, the sheriff interrupted him, saying, "Be quiet, Waid, and die patiently." "I am quiet," said he, "I thank God, Mr. Sheriff, and so trust to die." All this while the friar stood still looking over the coverlet, as though he would have uttered somewhat: but Waid strongly admonished the people to beware of that doctrine; which when the friar perceived, whether he was amazed, or could have no audience of the people, he withdrew immediately, without speaking any word, and went down to the town. Then the reeds being set about the martyr, he pulled them, and embraced them in his arms, and again addressed the people louder than before. His tormentors perceiving this, cast fagots at him; but notwithstanding, he still put them off, his face being hurt with the end of a fagot. Then the fire being kindled he cried unto God often, "Lord Jesus, receive my soul," without any token or sign of impatience; till at length he was no longer heard to speak, but still holding his hands together over his head towards heaven, even when he was dead, as though they had been stayed up with a prop standing under them.

## SECTION X.

BURNING OF DIRICK CARVER, JOHN LAUNDER, JOHN DENLEY, JOHN NEWMAN, PATRICK PACKINGHAM, AND OTHER GODLY MARTYRS.

THE 22nd day of this month of July was burned at Lewes, in Sussex, one Dirick Carver, brewer, late of Brighthelmstone, in the same county. And the next day was also burned at Stenning, another named John Launder, husbandman, late of Godstone, in Surrey. These two men were (with others) about the end of October, anno 1554, apprehended by Edward Gage, gentleman, as they were at prayers in the house of Carver; and by him sent up to the queen's council, who, after examination, sent them to Newgate, there to attend the leisure of Bonner. From whence (upon the bishop's receipt of a letter from the lord treasurer) they were brought on the 8th of June into the bishop's house in London; and there (being examined upon divers points of religion) they made their several confessions, subscribing and signing with their own hands. These being read, the bishop objected unto them certain other articles, causing them to swear truly and directly to answer thereunto; which articles they confessed to be true, referring themselves chiefly to their former confessions. This done, after long persuasions and fair exhortations, they were demanded whether they would stand to their answers. Launder said, "I will never go from these answers so long as I live." Carver also confirmed the same; upon which they were commanded to appear again in the Consistory on the 10th.

On Monday, being the said 10th of June, these two persons, with others, were brought to the bishop's consistory. The bishop, beginning with Carver, caused his confession with the articles and answers to be openly read to him, asking him whether he would stand to the same. To which Carver answered that he would: "for your doctrine," said he, "is poison and sorcery. If Christ were here, you would put him to a worse death than he was put to before. You pretend and say that you can make a god: ye can make a pudding as well. Your ceremonies in the church be beggary and poison. And further I say, that auricular confession is contrary to God's word, and very poison:" with divers other such words.

The bishop, seeing this constancy, and finding that neither his flatteries nor threatenings could once move this good man to incline to their idolatry, pronounced his usual and general blessing, as well towards Carver as also upon the said John Launder; who (after the like manner of process used with him) remained in the same constancy. They were therefore both delivered unto the sheriffs, who were there present; but afterwards were 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, by Jesus Christ, who had assured them to a better hope of life.

Furthermore, on the said Carver's coming into the town of Lewes to be burned, the people called upon him, beseeching God to strengthen him in the faith of Jesus Christ. He thanked them, and prayed unto God to strengthen them in the like faith. When he came to the stake, he kneeled down and made his prayers, and the sheriff made haste. Then his book was thrown into the barrel; and when he had stripped (as a joyful member of God) he went into the barrel himself. And as soon as he came in, the

unbending, fearless man took up the New Testament which some one had thrown into it, and threw it among the people, as though he would not suffer the profanation of the word of the Lord being burnt with him. He then, with a serene countenance and solemn voice, addressed them in these words. "Dear brethren and sisters, witness you all, that I am come to seal with my blood Christ's gospel, because I know that it is true: it is not unknown unto you, but that it hath been truly preached here in Lewes, and in all places of England, and now it is not. And because that I will not here deny the gospel, and be obedient to man's laws, I am condemned to die. Dear brethren, as many of you as do believe upon the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, unto everlasting life, see you do the works appertaining to the same. And as many of you as do believe upon the pope of Rome, or any of his laws which he sets forth in these days, you do believe to your utter condemnation; and, except the great mercy of God, you shall burn in hell perpetually." After that the fire came to him, he cried, "O Lord, have mercy upon me;" and sprung up in the fire calling upon the name of Jesus, and so ended.

About the same time was burnt at Chichester, Thomas Iveson, of Godstone, in the county of Surry, carpenter. His apprehension, examination, constancy, and condemnation, were at the same time, and nearly in the same form with that of Dirick Carver and John Launder. The same fate awaited John Aleworth; but that he died in prison at the town of Reading, where he was confined, for the testimony of the gospel. Although the catholic prelates, according to their usual solemnity, excluded him from christian burial, yet we see no cause to exclude him from the number of Christ's holy martyrs, and heirs of his heavenly kingdom and glory.

Among the number that endeavoured in these trying days to keep a good conscience, was James Abbes, a young man, who was forced to share his part with his brethren in wandering from place to place, to avoid the peril of apprehension. At length he was caught by the hands of the enemy, and brought before Dr. Hopton, bishop of Norwich: who examining him respecting his religion, and charging him therewith, began to threaten and persuade him so strongly, that at last he appeared willing to recant. After he was dismissed, the bishop calling him again, gave him a piece of money, which when James had received, and had again withdrawn, his conscience began to throb, and he returned immediately to the bishop, threw him his money, and said, he repented that he ever gave his consent to their wicked persuasions. Hereupon, Dr. Hopton with his chaplains laboured afresh to win him again, but in vain; for he would not yield, but stood manfully in his Master's quarrel to the end, and abode the torture of the fire in the consuming of his body to ashes, which took place in Bury, the second of August, 1555.

In the midst of this rage of the malignant adversaries against the saints, there was one Edmund Tyrrel, a justice of the peace within the county of Essex, who on returning from the burning of some martyrs, met with John Denley, and John Newman, both of Maidstone in Kent, travelling upon the way, and going to visit some of their friends in Essex. Full of officious zeal, he apprehended them upon suspicion, searched them, and finding the confession of their faith about them in

writing, sent them with a letter to the queen's commissioners. The commissioners immediately dispatched them to bishop Bonner, who on June 28th, caused Denley and Newman, with one Patrick Packingham, to be brought into his chamber, where examining them upon their confessions, they all answered in effect one thing. Upon this they were commanded to appear in the bishop's consistory the fifth of the following month.

The articles of objection to Mr. Denley have some points of diversity from what have already appeared: sufficient to claim for them insertion. That the said Denley hath not believed, nor doth believe, that there is any catholic church of Christ here in earth. That he hath not believed, nor doth believe, that this church of England is any part or member of the said catholic church. That he hath believed and doth believe, that the mass now used in England is full of idolatry and evil, and plain against God's word, and therefore he hath not heard it, nor will hear it. That he hath believed, and doth believe, that auricular confession now used in this realm of England, is not good, but contrary to God's word; that absolution given by the priest on hearing confession, is not good, nor allowable by God's word, but contrary to the same; that the christening of children, as it is now used in the church of England, is not good, nor allowable by God's word, but against it: likewise confirming of children, giving of orders, saying of matins and even-song, anointing of sick persons, making of holy bread and water, with the rest of the church; that there are but two sacraments in Christ's catholic church, namely, that of baptism and the sacrament of the altar; that forasmuch as Christ is ascended up into heaven, therefore the very body of Christ is not in the sacrament of the altar. To these were added the following charge, That thou Patrick Packingham, now being of the age of twenty-one at least, being within the house of the bishop of London at St. Paul's and by him brought to the great chapel to hear mass there, the said 23rd day of June, in the year of our Lord 1555, didst unreverently stand in the said chapel, having thy cap on thy head all the time of mass; and didst also refuse to receive holy water and holy bread at the hands of the priest, there contemning and despising the mass, and the said holy water and bread.

The answers to these objections possess also sufficient interest and importance to merit record. "I believe the holy catholic church, which is built upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles, Christ being the head; which holy church is the congregation of faithful people dispersed through the whole world; which church doth truly preach God's holy word, and doth also administer the two sacraments of baptism and the supper of the Lord, according to that word. I do believe that the church of England, using the faith and religion which is now used, is no part or member of the aforesaid catholic church, but is the church of antichrist, the bishop of Rome being the head thereof. Christ's testament is that he would have all things done to the edifying of the people, as it appeareth when he taught them to pray; and also it appeareth by St. Paul, when he saith—'He that prophesieth, speaketh unto men for their edifying, for their exhortation, and for their comfort: he that speaketh with tongues, profiteth himself; he that prophesieth,

edifieth the congregation. Even so likewise, when you speak with tongues, except you speak words that have signification, how shall it be understood what is spoken? for you shall but speak in the air.'

"I do believe, that the mass now used in England is abominable idolatry and blasphemy against God's holy word; for Christ in his holy supper instituted the sacrament of bread and wine to be eaten together in remembrance of his death till he come, and not to have them worshipped, and made an idol of: for God will not be worshipped in his creatures, but we ought to give him praise for his creatures, which he hath created for us. For he saith in the second commandment, 'Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image, nor the likeness of any thing that is in heaven above or in the earth beneath, thou shalt not bow down to them, nor worship them.'

"I do believe, that auricular confession is not good as it is now used. Touching my sins wherein I have offended God, I must seek to him for remission thereof; for our Saviour saith, 'Come unto me, all ye that labour and are laden, I will give you rest.' The prodigal son saith, 'I will arise and go to my father, and I will say unto him, Father, I have sinned against heaven, and before thee, and am no more worthy to be called thy son.' Also David saith, 'I acknowledge my sin unto thee. For this shall every one that is godly pray unto thee.'

"I believe, as touching the sacrament of baptism, it is altered and changed; for St. John used nothing but the preaching of the word and the water, as it doth appear when Christ required to be baptised of him, and others also who came to John to be baptised. The chamberlain said, 'See here is the water, what hindereth me to be baptised?' It appeareth here that Philip had preached unto him. We do not read, that he asked for any cream, oil, or spittle, or conjured water, or conjured wax, or salt; for it seemeth that Philip had preached no such thing to him; for he would as well have asked for them as for water; and the water was not conjured, but even as it was before. Then there are no more sacraments than two; baptism, and the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ; except you will make the rainbow a sacrament: for there is no sacrament but what hath a promise annexed to it. And last, with regard to the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament, ye have my mind written already, plainly expressed: for Christ's body is in heaven, and will not be contained in so small a piece of bread. And as the words which Christ spake are true indeed, so must they also be understood by other places of scripture which Christ spake himself, and also the apostles after him. And thus I make an end." All this Denley signed with his name.

On the 1st day of July, the three prisoners, Denley, Newman, and Packingham, were brought into the consistory in St. Paul's, where Bonner proceeded against them after the usual form; reading first their confessions, articles, and answers, and then tempting them sometimes with fair promises, at other times with threatenings, which indeed were his strongest arguments and reasons. In the end, seeing their unmoveable constancy, upon the 5th of July he condemned them as heretics, and delivered them to the sheriffs of London, as to his common executioners. The sheriffs kept them till they were commanded by writ to send them to their several places of suffering; and accordingly

Mr. Denley was conveyed to Uxbridge, where he was burned on the 8th of August; and in the midst of the flames he sung a psalm with remarkable strength and fervency. Mr. Packingham suffered at the same town, about three weeks after. Their fellow-prisoner Newman survived another month, during which the following examination of his opinions took place.

One of the doctors, whose name Newman doth not express, began to question him on the words of Christ—"This is my body which is given for you." To this Newman promptly replied, "It is a figurative speech, one thing spoken, and another meant; as Christ saith—'I am a vine, I am a door, I am a stone.' Is he therefore a material stone, vine, or door?—I do not so believe; for the soul of man doth not feed upon natural things as the body doth. I think the soul of man doth feed as the angels in heaven, whose feeding is only the pleasure, joy, felicity, and delectation that they have of God: and so the soul of man doth feed and eat, through faith of the body of Christ. The soul doth live otherwise than the body which doth perish: therefore natural things do but feed the body only. I pray you, what did Judas receive at the supper? You say that Judas received the very body of Christ; but the devil had entered into him before, and then he had the devil and Christ in him at one time. We ought to know that Christ will not be in an unclean person, who hath the devil."

Dr. Thornton, suffragan of Dover, then sought to confound Mr. Newman by the favourite popish argument drawn from the omnipotence and omnipresence of God. He said—"Seeing God may do all things, he may do what he list, and be where he will. And doth not the Psalm say, He is in hell, and in all places? Why should we then doubt of his being in the sacrament?" "Though his Godhead be in all places, yet that is not sufficient to prove that his humanity is in all places," answered Newman. "I believe that God is omnipotent, and may do all things. I know that he can also be every where; but will you have the humanity of Christ in all places as the Deity is? When you say that if it please him he may be in all places with the Deity; I dare not even grant that, lest I should deny Christ to be a very man, and that were against all the scriptures." Thornton then put to him the question plainly—"How say you, is the body of Christ really in the sacrament, or no?" To which Newman replied, "I believe it not, and must deny it till I be persuaded by a further truth. I stand not, as you say, to mine own opinion but to the scriptures of God."<sup>f</sup>

Being, like his noble companions, found faithful and unalterable in the cause of truth, he was, as before observed, condemned with them. Accounts differ concerning the place of his martyrdom—some assigning it to Walden in Essex, and others to Chichester, in Sussex. Being an inhabitant of Maidstone, it might be conjectured that he suffered there, as the condemned were usually appointed to die where they had mostly lived. It is, however, the more probable that he endured the fiery

<sup>f</sup> Instead of leaving the admirable arguments of Mr. Newman weakened by the interpolation of short and colloquial questions, they have been rendered continuous by the omission of those questions: at the same time not an atom of the reasoning of this good man has been suffered to escape, nor in a single instance has his meaning been misinterpreted.



ordeal at Chichester, in company with Richard Hook, an equally faithful, though not an equally clever man, the latter end of August, 1555.

Mention has been already made in the story of Mr. John Bland, and Mr. Nicholas Sheterden, of other Kentish men, who were with them called forth and examined by Thornton, suffragan of Dover, Dr. Harpsfield, Richard Faucet, and Robert Collins; but their condemnation and execution were deferred till the latter end of August. Their names were Coker, Hopper, Laurence, Collier, Wright, and Stere. The articles objected to them have been before related. To which articles they severally answered as follows.

William Coker said, he would answer no otherwise than he had already; and being offered a respite of six days more, he refused it; upon which sentence of condemnation was read against him on the 11th of July. William Hopper seemed at first to admit the faith and determination of the Roman church, but calling himself better to mind, constantly adhered to the truth, and was condemned on the 16th of July. Henry Laurence was examined on the same day, and answered to the articles objected against him; first denying auricular confession, and that he neither had, nor would receive the sacrament, because the order of the holy scripture was changed. So resolute was he, that he was also charged for not putting off his cap, when the suffragan made mention of the sacrament, and for not doing reverence to the same. After considerable effort made with him he was required to subscribe his answers, and wrote under their examinations—"You are all of antichrist, and him you fol—." Here he was stopped from writing any further. Being found constant, sentence was given against him on the 2nd of August.

Richard Collier, of Ashford, was examined on the 16th of August. He answered, that he did not believe, that after the consecration there was the real and substantial body of Christ, but only bread and wine, and that it is most abominable, most detestable, and most wicked to believe otherwise. Upon this, sentence was read against him, and he was condemned on the same day. After his condemnation he sung a psalm. Wherefore the priests and their officers railed at him, saying he was out of his wits. Richard Wright was then required of the judge to declare what he believed of the real presence in the sacrament, and answered, that as touching the sacrament of the altar and the mass, he was ashamed to speak of it, or to name it, and that he allowed it not, as it was used in the church. On which sentence was accordingly read to him. William Stere, also of the parish of Ashford, was brought up on the same day. And as touching the sacrament of the altar, he found it not, he said, in the scripture, and, therefore, would not answer thereunto. When the judge commanded him to be uncovered, while speaking of the sacrament of the altar, William told him, that he needed not to reverence that matter so highly. Then sentence was pronounced against him; and after it was read, he said, that the sacrament of the altar was the most blasphemous idol that ever was. These six martyrs and witnesses of the truth, being condemned by the bloody suffragan of Dover, and equally cruel archdeacon of Canterbury, were burnt all together in that city, at three stakes in one fire, about the latter end of August.

The London prisons beginning now to be overstocked with the persecuted christians, and numbers continually coming in, the council and commissioners, thinking to make quick dispatch, sent ten martyrs, named in the following letter, to Bonner, by him to be examined and disposed of. The letter is a sample of the coolness with which these abettors of cruelty prepared to sacrifice some of the most upright men of the nation, and some also of its most amiable and benevolent women, at the shrine of a base superstition. "After our hearty commendations to your good lordship, we send you here John Wade, William Hale, George King, Thomas Leyes, Thomas Fust, Robert Smith, Stephen Harwood, George Tankerfield, Elizabeth Warne, and Joan Lashford,<sup>§</sup> sacramentaries; all which we desire your lordship to examine, and to order according to the ecclesiastical laws: praying your lordship to appoint some of your officers to receive them at this bearer's hands. And thus most heartily fare your lordship well. From London this 2nd of July. Your lordship's loving friends." Signed by four commissioners.

We shall now proceed briefly to relate the particulars of these worthies, who lived and died in a good confession. We begin with the first of the women, Elizabeth Warne. She was the widow of John Warne, upholsterer, and martyr, who was burnt the latter end of the May before, as has been recorded in his story, in connection with Mr. Cardmaker and others. She had been apprehended amongst others the first of January, in a house in Bow-churchyard, in London, as they were gathered together in prayer, and was carried to the Compter, where she remained till the 11th day of June; when she was brought to Newgate, and confined there till the 2nd of July. Then was she sent by the queen's commissioners to Bonner, bishop of London, who, on the 6th of the same month, caused her, with Robert Smith, George Tankerfield, and others, to be brought before him into his palace, and there examined upon sundry articles, such as were commonly administered to the martyrs of that day. In addition to the chief objection made against her, respecting the corporeal presence of the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament of the altar, as the chief ground and most profitable foundation for their catholic dignity, many other matters he objected against her and her fellow-prisoners, as for not coming to the church, for speaking against the mass, despising their ceremonies, &c.

In the end, when she had been several times brought before him and his adherents, and by them earnestly exhorted to recant, she said—"Do what you will; for if Christ were in an error, then am I in one." Upon which she was condemned as a heretic, on the 12th of the same month, and delivered to the secular power, to be put to death, which took place at Stratford le Bow on the following month. It is painful to think that the chief procurer of her death was Dr. Storey, who was somewhat related to her, or else to her late husband. He, at her first apprehension, endeavoured by all means to get her pardon, and accordingly

<sup>§</sup> This young woman appears to have been the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Warne, and a child worthy of such holy and devoted parents. Whether the name Lashford arose from her being married, or was a second name by which she was generally known, is uncertain.

applied to Dr. Martin, one of the commissioners in matters of religion, himself not being then one, and by his suit obtained her deliverance for that present; yet afterwards, upon what occasion God only knoweth, except upon some burning charity, Storey becoming one of the commissioners, caused not only John Warne, but also his wife, and afterwards his daughter, to be again apprehended, never leaving them till he had brought them all to ashes.

George Tankerfield, of London, born in York, about the age of twenty-seven years, had been, in the days of king Edward, a papist, till the time queen Mary came in; and then perceiving the great cruelty which the papists used, he was brought into a doubt of their doctrines, and began in his heart to abhor them. Concerning the mass, whereof he had but a doubtful opinion before, and much striving with himself in that case, he at length fell to prayer, desiring God in mercy to open to him the truth, that he might be thoroughly persuaded therein, whether it were of God or not; if not, that he might utterly hate it in his heart. The Lord mercifully heard his prayer, daily working more and more in him to detest his former errors. He was then moved to read the Testament, whereby the Lord enlightened his mind with the knowledge of the truth, working a lively faith in him to believe the same, and utterly to detest all popery, and at length he came no more to their doings. Moreover, the truth kindled such a flame in him, as would not be kept in, but uttered itself by the confession thereof, reproving his former ways to his friends, exhorting them likewise to repent and turn to the truth with him, till they at length discovered him.

It pleased God to strike him with sickness, whereby he lay long confined; and on a certain day, to take the air abroad, he rose and walked into the Temple fields to see the shooters. In the mean time Mr. Beard, yeoman of the guard, came to his house and enquired for him, pretending to his wife, that he came only to have him dress a banquet at the lord Paget's. His wife, because of his apparel, which was very rich, took him to be some great friend, and with all speed prepared herself to fetch her husband; and lest this gentleman should be tired with tarrying, she fetched him a cushion to sit on, and laid a fair napkin before him, and set bread thereon, and came to her husband; who, when he heard it, said—"a banquet, woman! indeed it is such a banquet as will not be very pleasant to the flesh; but God's will be done." When he came home he saw who it was, and called him by his name, which when his wife perceived, and wherefore he came, she seized a spit and would have run him through, had not the constable which Mr. Beard had sent for by his man, come in and rescued him: yet she sent a brickbat after him, and hit him on the back. And so Tankerfield was delivered to the constable, and brought to Newgate about the last day of February, 1555.

Being thus brought to prison by his adversaries, at length, with the others before named, he was brought to his examination before bishop Bonner, who, after his accustomed manner, ordered his articles and positions to be objected against him. To these he answered again, constantly declaring his mind concerning auricular confession, the sacrament of the popish altar, and the mass. He avowed that he had

not confessed to any priest for five years past, nor to any, but only to God; and further declared that he would not hereafter be confessed by any priest, for that he found it not in Christ's book. Then, as it regardeth the sacrament, commonly called the sacrament of the altar, he confessed that he neither had nor did believe, that in the sacrament there was the real body and blood of Christ, because the body was ascended into heaven, and there sitteth at the right hand of God the Father. To these things he added his belief that the mass now used in the church of England was full of idolatry and abomination, and against the word of God; affirming also, that there were but two sacraments in the church of Christ, baptism and the supper of the Lord. To these assertions he said he would stand; which he did to the end.

When at last the bishop began to read the sentence, first exhorting him, with many words, to revoke his heretical opinion, he resisted all their persuasions. "I will not," said he, "forsake mine opinions, except you, my lord, can refute them by scriptures; and I care not for your divinity; for you condemn all men, and prove nothing against them." And after many words of exhortation, which Bonner then used, to convert, or rather pervert him, he answered boldly—That the church, whereof the pope is supreme head, is no part of Christ's catholic church; and adding thereunto, pointing to the bishops, and speaking to the people, saying, "Good people, beware of them, and such as them, for these be the people that deceive you, and lead you astray like silly sheep." Then the bishop read the sentence of condemnation, and gave him to the secular power, who conducted him to St. Alban's, where he ended his life with much patience and constancy on the 26th of August, for the defence of the truth.

The reader will be interested with some particulars of this good man's last days, derived from authentic sources of information. He was brought to St. Alban's by the high sheriff of Hertfordshire, Edward Brocket, esq. and Mr. Pulter, of Hitchin, who was under-sheriff. They put up at the Cross-keys inn, where there was a great concourse of people to see and hear the prisoner; some were sorry to find so pious a man brought to be burned; others praised God for his constancy and perseverance in the truth. Contrariwise, some said, it was pity he did stand in such opinions: and others, both old men and women, cried against him; one called him heretic, and said it was not fit that he lived. But Tankerfield spake unto them so effectually out of the word of God, lamenting their ignorance, and protesting unto them his unspotted conscience, that God did mollify their hardened hearts, insomuch that some of them who had doubted him, departed out of the chamber weeping.

There came a certain school-master to have communication with him, the day before he was coming to St. Alban's, concerning the sacrament of the altar, and other points of the popish religion: but as he urged Tankerfield with the authority of the doctors, wresting them after his own will; so on the other side, Tankerfield answered him mightily by the scriptures, not wrested after the mind of any man, but being interpreted after the will of the Lord Jesus. As he would not allow such allegations as Tankerfield brought out of the scriptures without the opi-

nions of the doctors; so again Tankerfield would not credit his doctrine to be true, except he would confirm it by the scriptures. In the end, Tankerfield prayed him that he would not trouble him in such matters, for his conscience was established. He, therefore, departed from him wishing him well, and protesting that he meant him no more hurt than his own soul.

When the hour drew on that he should suffer, he desired the wine-drawer that he might have a pint of malmsey and a loaf, that he might eat and drink in remembrance of Christ's death and passion, because he could not have it administered to him by others in such manner as Christ commanded: and then he kneeled down, making his confession unto the Lord with all which were in the chamber with him; and after he had prayed earnestly, and had read the institution of the holy supper by the Lord Jesus out of the evangelists, and out of St. Paul, he said—"O Lord, thou knowest it, I do not this to derogate authority from any man, or in contempt of those which are thy ministers, but only because I cannot have it administered according to thy word." When he had spoke these and such like words, he received it with giving of thanks. Then he was entreated to strengthen him by taking some meat; but he said he would not eat that which should do others good that had more need, and that had longer to live than he had.

He prayed his host to let him have a good fire in the chamber, which was granted him; and then sitting on a form before it, he put off his shoes and hose, and stretched out his leg to the flame; and when it had touched his foot he quickly withdrew his leg, shewing the flesh did persuade him one way, and the spirit another. The flesh said, "O thou fool, wilt thou burn, and needest not?" The spirit said, "Be not afraid, for this is nothing in respect of fire eternal." The flesh said, "Do not leave the company of thy friends and acquaintance which love thee, and will let thee lack nothing." The spirit said, "The company of Jesus Christ and his glorious presence doth exceed all earthly friends." The flesh said, "Do not shorten thy time, for thou mayest live if thou wilt much longer." The spirit said, "This life is nothing unto the life in heaven which lasteth for ever." And all this time the sheriffs were at a gentleman's house at dinner, not far from the town, whither also resorted many knights and gentlemen out of the country, because his son was married that day, and until they returned from dinner, the prisoner was left to the care of his host, by whom he was kindly treated; and considering that his time was short, his saying was—"Although the day be ever so long, yet at the last it ringeth to evening song."

About two o'clock, when the sheriffs returned from dinner, they brought Mr. Tankerfield out of the inn to the place where he should suffer, which was called Romeland, being a green place near the west end of the Abbey church; unto which when he was come, he kneeled down by the stake that was set up for him; and after he had ended his prayers he arose, and with a joyful faith said, that although he had a sharp dinner, yet he hoped to have a joyful supper in heaven. While the fagots were set about him, there came a priest and persuaded him to believe on the sacrament of the altar, and he would be saved. But Tankerfield cried vehemently—"I defy the whore of Babylon! fie on

that abominable idol: good people, do not believe him." Then the mayor of the town commanded fire to be set to the heretic, and said, if he had but one load of fagots in the world, he would give them to burn him. Amidst this confusion there was a certain knight, who went unto Tankerfield, and taking him by the hand said—"Good brother, be strong in Christ." This he spake softly; and Tankerfield said, "O Sir, I thank you, I am so; I thank God." Then fire was set unto him, and he desired the sheriff and all the people to pray for him; most of them did so. And so embracing the fire, he called on the name of the Lord Jesus, and was quickly out of pain.

We are now to review the history of Mr. Robert Smith, a gentleman whose talents and character gained him the highest esteem. Mr. Smith was brought to Newgate on the 5th of November, by John Matthew, a yeoman of the guard, by the command of the council. He had formerly devoted his services to the house of Sir Thomas Smith, knight, being at the same time provost of Eton: from thence he was preferred to Windsor, having there in the college a clerkship of ten pounds a year. Of stature he was tall and slender, active about many things, but chiefly delighted in the art of painting, which many times, rather for his amusement than for gain, he practised. In religion he was fervent, after he had once tasted the truth; wherein he was much confirmed by the preaching of Mr. Turner, of Windsor, and others. At the coming in of queen Mary he was deprived of his clerkship by her visitors; and not long after was apprehended, and brought to examination before Bonner. The following examinations were written with his own hand, and will be given to the reader with only such abridgment as will render them the more acceptable.

"About nine in the morning I was, among the rest of my brethren, brought to the bishop's house; and first of all I was brought before him into his chamber, where he began as followeth, after he had asked my name—How long is it since you were confessed to any priest?"

*Smith.* Never since I had years of discretion. For I never saw it needful, neither commanded by God to shew my faults to any of that sinful number whom you call priests."

*Bon.* Thou shewest thyself even at thy first speech to be a rank heretic, who being weary of painting, art entered into divinity, and so fallen, through thy departing from thy vocation, into heresy.

*Smith.* Although I understand painting, yet, I praise God, I have had little need hitherto to live by it.

*Bon.* How long is it since you received the sacrament of the altar, and what is your opinion of the same?

*Smith.* I never received it since I had years of discretion, nor ever will, by God's grace; neither do I esteem it in any point, because it hath not God's ordinance, but rather is set up to mock him withal.

*Bon.* Do you not believe that the sacrament is the very body of Christ naturally, substantially, and really, after the words of consecration?

*Smith.* I showed you before it was none of God's ordinances, as you use it; then much less to be God, or any part of his substance; but only bread and wine erected to the use aforesaid: yet, nevertheless, it

you can prove it to be the body that you spake of by the word, I will believe it; if not, I will do as I do, account it a detestable idol.

*Bon.* Then there is no remedy, but you must be burned.

*Smith.* You shall do no more unto me than you have done to better men than either of us. But think not thereby to quench the spirit of God, neither to make your matter good. For your wound is too well seen to be healed so privily with blood. For even the very children have all your deeds in derision; so that though you patch up one place with authority, yet shall it break out in forty to your shame.

*Bon.* Well, even now, by my troth, even in good earnest, if thou wilt go to confession I will tear this paper of your examination in pieces.

*Smith.* It would be too much to your shame to shew it to men of discretion.

“After this answer, I was carried down to the garden with my jailer, and there remained till my brother Harwood was examined; then being again brought up before Bonner, he demanded if I agreed with Harwood in his confession.”

*Bon.* What say you to the catholic church? Do you not confess there is one in earth?

*Smith.* Yes, verily, I believe that there is one catholic church, or faithful congregation, which is built upon the prophets and apostles, Christ Jesus being the head corner stone: which church, in all her words and works maintaineth the word, and bringeth the same for her authority. Of this I hope I am by grace made a member.

*Bon.* You shall understand, that I am bound when my brother offendeth, and will not be reconciled, to bring him before the congregation: now if your church be the same, where may a man find it, to bring his brother before it?

*Smith.* It is written in the Acts of the Apostles, that when the tyranny of the bishops was so great against the church in Jewry, they were fain to assemble in houses and secret places, as they do now: and yet were they nevertheless the church of God: and seeing they had their matters redressed being shut up in a corner, may not we do the like now?

*Bon.* Yea, their church was known full well. For St. Paul wrote to the Corinthians, to have the man punished and excommunicated that had committed evil with his father's wife. Whereby we may well perceive it was a known church; but yours is not known.

*Smith.* Then could you not persecute it as you do: but as you say the church of God at Corinth was manifest both to God and St. Paul; even so is this church of God in England, which you persecute, both known to God, and also even to the very wicked, although they know not, nor will know their truth nor conversation; yea, and your sinful number have professed their verity, and maintained the same a long season.

*Bon.* Well, thou sayest that the church of God was only at Corinth, when St. Paul wrote unto them; and so will I put in writing, with your permission.

*Smith.* I greatly marvel, my lord, that you are not ashamed to lay

snares for your brethren in this manner. This is now the third snare you have laid for me. First, to make me confess that the church of England is not the church of Christ. Secondly, to say it is not known. Thirdly, to say the church of God is not universal, but particular. This is not the office of a bishop, for had an innocent come in your way you would have done your best, I see, to have entangled him.

*Bon.* You are no innocent, as it appeareth. Tell us, how sayst thou of the church?

*Smith.* I told you whereon the true church is built, and I affirm it not only in England to be the congregation of God, but also in *omnem terram*: as it is written, "Their sound is gone forth into all lands;" and this is the afflicted and persecuted church, which ye cease not to imprison, and kill. In Corinth was not all the congregation of God, but a select number of those holy people. For neither Paul nor Peter were present at Corinth when they wrote, and yet were they of the church of God, as many thousands more which also communicate in that Holy Spirit.

A certain doctor, the same probably who had questioned Mr. Newman, now took up the argument with Mr. Smith, politely asking to have some communing, and desiring first to know if he were a prisoner.

*Smith.* I am in this flesh a prisoner, and subject to my master and yours; but I hope yet the Lord's free man through Christ Jesus.

*Doctor.* I do much desire to talk to you lovingly, because you are a man I much lament. You say in derision or in despite, *Sub melle latet venenum*: but let me ask you, What derogation was it to Christ, when the Jews spat in his face?

*Smith.* If the Jews, being his enemies, did spit in his face, and we being his friends throw him into the draught, which of us have deserved the greatest damnation? But by your argument, he that doth injury to Christ shall have a most plenteous salvation.

"Then started the doctor away, and would have his humanity incomprehensible—making a comparison between our soul and the body of Christ; bringing in to serve his turn, which way came Christ in among his disciples, the doors being shut?

*Smith.* Although it be said, that when he came the doors were shut, yet have I as much to prove, that the doors opened at his coming as you have to prove he came through the door. For that Almighty God who brought the disciples out of prison, which yet when search was made was found shut, was able to let Christ in at the door, although it were shut: and yet it maketh not for your purpose; for they saw him, heard him, and felt him; that you cannot say you do, neither is he in more places than one at the same time.

"At this answer they made many scoffings, and we were carried into my lord's hall, where we were baited by the band of servants almost all the day, until our keeper seeing their rudeness shut us all up in a handsome chamber, while my lord went into his synagogue to condemn Mr. Denley and Mr. Newman. Then they brought my lord mayor up into the chamber where my lord intended to sup, to hear the matter; and I was the first that was called; where my lord mayor being set with the bishop and one of the sheriffs, wine was flowing on every side, whilst I



stood before them like a mute; which made me remember how Pilate and Herod were made friends, and how no man was sorry for Joseph's hurt. But after my lord had well drunk, my articles were sent for and read, and he demanded whether I did say as was written?

*Smith.* That which I have said, I have said; and what I have said I mean.

*Bon.* Well, my lord mayor, your lordship hath heard, in some measure what a stout heretic this is, and that his articles have deserved death; nevertheless forasmuch as they report me to seek blood, and call me bloody Bonner, whereas, God knoweth, I never sought any man's blood in all my life, I have kept him from the consistory this day, whither I could have brought him justly. I desire him to turn, and I will, with all speed, dispatch him out of his trouble; and this I profess before your lordship and all this audience.<sup>h</sup>

*Smith.* Why, my lord, do you put on this fair vizard before my lord mayor, to make him believe that you seek not my blood, to cloak your murders, through my stoutness, as you call it? Have you not had my brother Tomkins before you, whose hand when you burned most cruelly you burned also his body; and not only him, but a great many of the members of Christ, men that lived virtuously, and also the queen's most true subjects, as their goods and bodies have made manifest? And seeing in these saints you have shewed so little mercy, shall it seem to my lord and his audience that you shew me more? No, no, my lord. But if you mean as you say, why then do you examine me of what I am not bound to answer you?

*Bon.* Well, what sayest thou by the sacrament of the altar? Is it not the very body of Christ, flesh, blood, and bone, as it was born of the Virgin?

*Smith.* I have answered, that it is none of God's order, nor a sacrament, but man's own invention.

Then he proved before the audience that it was a dead god, declaring the distinction appointed between two creatures of bread and wine, and that a body without blood hath no life; at which Harpsfield was much offended, and said, "I will approve by the Scriptures that ye blaspheme God in so saying: for it is given in two parts, because there are two things shown, that is to say, his body and his passion, as saith St. Paul; and, therefore, is the bread his body, and the wine the representation of his death and blood-shedding."

*Smith.* You falsify the word, and rack it to serve your purpose. For the wine was not only the shewing of his passion, but the bread also. For our Saviour saith, "So often as you do this, do it in remembrance of me." And St. Paul saith, "So oft as you eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, you shall show the Lord's death till he come." And here is as much reverence given to the one as to the other. Wherefore,

<sup>h</sup> This is a striking instance of a feature too common in Bonner's character, uniting ingenious wit with cool deliberate barbarity, presenting the most cruel parts of his disposition from beneath a mask of the greatest hypocrisy. He sought to convey to those who heard him, not perhaps excepting the lord mayor himself, that upon Smith's recantation he should be delivered from his present thralldom and peril: whereas it is too clear that the sanguinary dissembler meant only that the reward of recantation should be a more speedy *dispatch* by the fire, a more prompt sentence and a quicker burning! In this light Smith evidently viewed it.

if the bread be his body, the cup must be his blood, and you may as well make his body in the cup, as his blood in the bread.

“Then my lord rose up and went to the table, where the lord mayor desired me to save my soul. I answered, I hoped it was saved through Christ Jesus; desiring him to have pity on his own soul, and remember whose sword he carried, and how much influence he had on others. I was then carried into the garden, and there abode till the rest of my friends were examined, and then were we sent away to Newgate with many foul farewells, my lord giving the keeper a charge to lay me in limbo. This was done for two or three days, and on Saturday, at eight o'clock, I was brought to his chamber again, and there examined by the bishop.

*Bon.* Thou, Robert Smith, sayest that there is no catholic church here on earth.

*Smith.* You have heard me both speak the contrary, and you have writing as a witness of the same. Must you of necessity begin with a lie? It maketh manifest that you determine to end with the same. But there shall no liars enter into the kingdom of God. Nevertheless, if you will be answered, ask mine articles that were written yesterday, and they shall tell you that I have confessed a church of God, as well in earth as in heaven; and yet all one church, and all members of Christ Jesus.

*Bon.* Well, what sayest thou to the auricular confession? Is it not necessary to be used in Christ's church? and wilt thou not be confessed by the priest?

*Smith.* It is not needful to be used in Christ's church, as I answered yesterday. But if it be needful for your church, it is to pick men's pockets; and such pick-pocket matter is all the whole rabble of your ceremonies: for all that you maintain is but a money affair.

*Bon.* Why, how art thou able to prove that confession is a pick-pocket matter? Art thou not ashamed to say so?

*Smith.* I speak by experience: for I have both heard and seen the fruits of the same. For first it hath been a betrayer of king's secrets, and the secrets of other men's consciences; who being delivered, and glad to be discharged from their sins, have given great sums of money to priests to absolve them, and sing masses for their souls.

*Bon.* Ah, you are a generation of liars! there is not one true word that cometh out of your mouths.

*Smith.* Yes, my lord, I have said that Jesus Christ has died for my sins, and risen for my justification, and this is no lie.

*Bon.* How sayest thou, Smith, to the seven sacraments? Believest thou not that they be of God's order, that is to say, the sacraments of his institution and of his church?

*Smith.* I believe that in God's church are but two sacraments, that is to say, the sacrament of regeneration, and the sacrament of the Lord's supper: and as for the sacrament of the altar, and all your other sacraments, they may well serve your church; but God's church hath nothing to do with them, neither have I any thing to do to answer them, nor you to examine me of them.

*Bon.* Why, is God's order changed in baptism? In what point do we dissent from the word of God?

*Smith.* First, in hallowing your water; in conjuring of the same; in baptising of children with anointing and spitting in their mouths, mingled with salt; and with many other lewd ceremonies, of which not one point is able to be proved in God's order.

*Bon.* By the mass, this is the most unshame-faced heretic that ever I heard speak.

*Smith.* Well sworn, my lord; you keep a good watch.

*Bon.* Well, Mr. Comptroller, you catch me at my words: but I will watch thee as well, I warrant.

*Smith.* It is a shameful blasphemy against Christ, so to use any mingle-mangle in baptising young infants.

*Bon.* I believe, I tell thee, that if they die before they be baptised, they be damned.

*Smith.* You shall never be saved by that belief. But I pray you, my lord, shew me, are we saved by water, or by Christ?

*Bon.* By both.

*Smith.* Then the water died for our sins: and so must ye say, that the water hath life; and it being our servant, and created for us, is our Saviour. This, my lord, is a good doctrine, is it not?

*Bon.* Why, how understandeth thou the scriptures? "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." And how readest thou again Christ's words—"Suffer these children to come unto me?" and if thou wilt not suffer them to be baptised after the laudable order, thou hinderest them to come unto Christ.

*Smith.* When you allege St. John—"Except a man be born of water and of the spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God," and will thereby prove the water to save, and so the deed or work to save and put away sins; I will send you to St. Paul, who asketh of the Galatians, "Whether they received the Spirit by the deeds of the law, or by the preaching of faith?" and there concludeth, that the Holy Ghost accompanieth the preaching of faith, and with the word of faith entereth into the heart. So now, if baptism preach unto me the washing in Christ's blood, so doth the Holy Ghost accompany it, and it is unto me as a preacher and not a Saviour. And whereas ye say, I hinder the children to come unto Christ, it is manifest by our Saviour's words that you hinder them to come that will not suffer them to come unto him without the necessity of water. For he saith "Suffer them to come unto me," and not unto the water; and therefore if you condemn them, you condemn both the merits and words of Christ. For our Saviour saith, "Except ye turn and become as children, ye cannot enter the kingdom of God."

*Bon.* Well, sir, what say you to the sacrament of orders?

*Smith.* You may call it the sacrament of disorders; for all orders are appointed of God. But as for your shaving, anointing, greasing, polling, and rounding, there are no such things appointed in God's book. and therefore I have nothing to do to believe your orders. And as for you, if you had grace and intelligence, you would not so disfigure yourself as you do.

*Bon.* Sayest thou so? Now, by my troth, I will go shave myself to anger thee withal.

That Bonner should have had the folly to put his ridiculous threat into execution, and that at the moment and upon the spot, is almost past belief even of that strange man. Yet Mr. Smith's narrative of the affair goes on to say that "he sent for his barber, who immediately came: and before my face at the door of the next chamber, he shaved himself, desiring me before he went, to answer to these articles."

*Bon.* What say you to holy bread and holy water, to the sacrament of anointing, and to all the rest of such ceremonies of the church?

*Smith.* I say they be baubles for fools to play withal, and not for the children of God to exercise themselves in, and therefore they may go among the refuse.

"My lord then left me with certain doctors, of whom I asked this question."

*Smith.* Where were you all the days of king Edward, that you spake not that which you speak now?

*Doct.* We were in England.

*Smith.* Yea, but then ye had the faces of men; but now ye have put on lions' faces again, as saith St. John. Ye show yourselves as full of malice as ye may be; for ye have for every time a vizor; yea, and if another king Edward should arise, ye would then say, "Down with the pope, for he is antichrist, and so are all his angels."

"Then was I reviled, and so sent away, and brought in again before these men; when one of them asked me if I disallowed confession? I answered, 'Look in mine articles, and they shall show you what I allow.'"

*Doct.* Your articles confess that you allow not auricular confession.

*Smith.* Because the word alloweth it not, nor commandeth it.

*Doct.* Why, it is written, thou shalt not hide thy sins and offences.

*Smith.* No more do I when I confess them to Almighty God.

*Doct.* Why, you cannot say that you can hide them from God, and therefore you must understand the words are spoken to be uttered to them that do not know them.

*Smith.* You have made a good answer: then the priest must confess himself to me, as well as I to him; for I know his faults and secrets no more than he knoweth mine. But if you confess to the priest and not unto God, you shall have the reward that Judas had; for he confessed himself to the priest, and presently went and hanged himself; and so many as do not acknowledge their faults to God are said to hide them.

*Doct.* What did they that came to John to be baptised?

*Smith.* They came and confessed their sins to Almighty God.

*Doct.* And not unto John?

*Smith.* If it were unto John, as you are not able to prove, yet it was to God, before John and the whole congregation.

*Doct.* Why, John was alone in the wilderness.

*Smith.* Indeed! and yet the scriptures say he had many disciples, and that many pharisees and sadducees came to his baptism! Here the scriptures and you agree not. If they confessed themselves to John, as you say, it was to all the congregation, as St. Paul doth to Timothy, and to all that read his epistles, in opening to all the hearers, that he was not worthy to be called an apostle, because he had been a tyrant.

But as for ear-confession, you never knew it allowed by the word. The prophet David made his confession unto God, and saith—"I will confess my sins unto the Lord." Daniel maketh his confession unto the Lord. Judith, Toby, Jeremy, Manasseh, with all the fathers, did even so. And the Lord hath said—"Call upon me in the time of trouble, and I will deliver thee." This is the word of God; now bring somewhat of the word to help yourself withal. You call me a dog! Nay, you are dogs, that because holy things are offered, will slay your friends. For I may say with St. Paul, "I have fought with beasts," in the likeness of men.

Bonner now returned to the assault, boasting of having been shaved; and exclaiming as he entered—"How standeth it, doctors, have you done any good?"

*Doct.* No, my lord, we can do no good to such an evil man.

*Smith.* Then it is fulfilled which is written, "How can an evil tree bring forth good fruit?"

*Bon.* Well, wilt thou neither hear them nor me?

*Smith.* Yes, I am compelled to hear you; but you cannot compel me to follow you.

*Bon.* Well, thou shalt be burnt at a stake in Smithfield, if thou wilt not turn.

*Smith.* And you shall burn in hell, if you repent not: but, my lord, to put you out of doubt, because I am weary, I will strain courtesy with you: I perceive you will not with your doctors come unto me, and I am determined not to come unto you, by God's grace. For I have hardened my face against you as brass.

Mr. Smith was now dismissed for some days. "On the 12th of July I was with my brethren brought into the consistory, and mine articles read before the lord mayor and sheriffs, with all the assistants: to which I answered as I had done before. Then my lord proceeded with the rest of my articles, demanding of me if I said not as was written. To which I answered—'No!' And turning to my lord mayor, I said—'I require you, my lord, in God's behalf, unto whom pertaineth your sword and justice, that I may here before your presence answer to these objections that are laid against me, and have probation of the same; and if any thing that I have said, or will say, be proved heresy, I shall not only with all my heart forsake the same, and cleave to the truth, but also recant wheresoever you shall assign me, and all this audience shall be witness to the same.'

*L. Mayor.* Why, Smith, thou canst not deny but this writing contains what thou saidst!

*Smith.* Yes, my lord, I deny that which he hath written, because he hath both added to, and diminished from the same; but what I have spoken I will never deny. I denied what you call the blessed sacrament of the altar to be any sacrament, and I do here stand to make probation of the same: but if my lord or any of his doctors be able to prove either the name or usage of the same, I will recant mine error.

*Bon.* By my troth, Mr. Speaker, you shall preach at a stake, or I am no saint.

*Smith.* No, my lord, nor yet a good bishop. For a bishop, saith St. Paul, should be faultless, and a vessel dedicated unto God; and are

you not ashamed to sit in judgment and be a blasphemer, condemning innocents?

*Bon.* Well, Mr. Comptroller, you are faultless.

*Smith.* My lord mayor, I require you in God's name, that I may have justice. We be here to-day a great many innocents wrongfully accused of heresy. And I require you, if you will not seem to be partial, let me have the favour at your hands that the apostle had at the hands of Festus and Agrippa, who being heathens and infidels, gave him leave to speak for himself, and also heard the probation of his cause. This require I at your hands, who being a christian judge I hope will not deny me that right, which the heathen have suffered: if you do, then shall all this audience, yea, and the heathen, speak shame of your act. For all that do well come to the light, and they that do evil hate the light.

“At this the lord mayor hanging down his head, said nothing; but the bishop told me, I should preach at the stake, and the sheriff cried with the bishop for the officers to take me away. I had now been before them four times, desiring justice, but could have none: at length my friends required the same with one voice, but could not have it; so we had sentence; and then being carried out, were brought in again, and received it separately. But before the bishop gave me sentence, he told me in derision of my brother Tankerfield, a tale between a gentleman and his cook. To this I answered, ‘My lord, you fill the people's ears with fantasies and foolish tales, and make a laughing matter at blood; but if you were a true bishop, you should leave these railing sentences, and speak the words of God.’”

*Bon.* Well, I have offered to that naughty fellow, Mr. Speaker, your companion the cook, that my chancellor should here instruct him, but he hath with great disdain refused it. How sayest thou, wilt thou have him instruct thee, and lead thee into the right way?

*Smith.* My lord, if your chancellor will do me any good, and take any pains, as you say, let him take mine articles in his hands, that you have objected against me, and either prove one of them heresy, or any thing that you do to be good: and if he be able so to do, I stand here with all my heart to hear him; if not, I have no need, I praise God, of his sermon: for I come to answer for my life, and not to hear a sermon.

Then began the sentence, “In the name of God.” To which I answered, that he began in a wrong name, requiring of him, where he learned in scripture to give sentence of death against any man for his conscience sake. To which he made no answer, but went forward to the end, and immediately cried—“Away with him!” Then I turned to the mayor, and said—“Is it not enough for you, my lord mayor, and you that are the sheriffs, that you have left the straight way of the Lord, but you must condemn Christ causeless?”

*Bon.* Well, Mr. Comptroller, now you cannot say but I have offered you fair, to have instruction. And now, I pray thee, call me bloody bishop, and say, I seek thy blood.

*Smith.* Well, my lord, if neither I nor any of this congregation do report the truth of your fact, yet shall these stones cry it out rather than it shall be hidden.

*Bon.* Away with him, away with him!

I then turned to my fellow-sufferers and said—"Well, good friends, you have seen and heard the great wrong that we have received this day, and you are all witnesses that we have desired the probation of our cause by God's book, and it hath not been granted: but we are condemned, and our cause not heard. Nevertheless, my lord mayor, forasmuch as you have here exercised God's sword causeless, and will not hear the right of the poor, I commit my cause to Almighty God, who will judge all men according to right, before whom we shall both stand without authority; and there will I stand in the right, and have judgment, to your great confusion, except you repent, which the Lord grant you to do, if it be his will." And then was I with the rest of my brethren carried to Newgate.

Thus was this steady martyr condemned on the 12th of July. While he remained in prison, between the periods of his sentence and his death, he was very active in exhorting and encouraging his fellow martyrs, and teaching the way of life to those who were confined for criminal offences, many of whom he converted to the truth. He terminated his triumphant career at Uxbridge, on the 8th of August, rejoicing in the cross even in the midst of the flames. While in prison, he wrote several letters to his friends, some of which were in verse, a proof, that he could not be under any impression of fear at his approaching death. His verses discover more of the genius of piety than poetry. Considering the backward state and the paucity of English poetry in the age in which he lived, his verse, at the same time, displays an ease and prettiness by no means unworthy of perusal. But that the reader may judge for himself, we insert the following specimen, addressed to his children. A longer poem, on religious subjects generally, precedes this in some former editions; but the domestic one here inserted will be more acceptable both for its brevity, and the touching nature of the theme.

Give ear, my children, to my words,

Whom God hath dearly bought:  
Lay up my law within your heart,  
And print it in your thought.

For I your father have foreseen  
The frail and filthy way  
Which flesh and blood would follow fain,  
E'en to their own decay.

For all and every living beast  
Their crib do know full well;  
But Adam's heirs, above the rest,  
Are ready to rebel:

And all the creatures on the earth  
Full well can keep their way:  
But man, above all other beasts,  
Is apt to go astray.

For earth and ashes is his strength,  
His glory and his reign;  
And unto ashes at the length,  
Shall he return again.

For flesh doth flourish like a flower,  
And grow up like the grass,  
And is consumed in an hour,  
As it is brought to pass.

In me the image of your years,

Your treasure and your trust:  
Whom ye do see before your face,  
Dissolved into dust.

For as you see your father's flesh  
Converted into clay:  
Even so shall ye, my children dear,  
Consume and wear away.

The sun and moon, and all the stars,  
That serve the day and night;  
The earth and ev'ry earthly thing,  
Shall be consumed quite.

And all the worship that is wrought,  
That have been heard or seen,  
Shall clean consume and come to nought,  
As it had never been.

Therefore that ye may follow me,  
Your father and your friend,  
And enter into that same life,  
Which never shall have end:—

I leave you here a little book,  
For you to look upon:  
That you may see your father's face  
When I am dead and gone.

Who for the hope of heavenly things,  
 While he did here remain,  
 Gave over all his golden years  
 In prison and in pain.  
 Where I among mine iron bands,  
 Inclosed in the dark,  
 Not many days before my death  
 Did dedicate this work,  
 To you mine heirs of earthly things,  
 Which I have left behind,  
 That ye may read and understand,  
 And keep it in your mind ;  
 That as you have been heirs of that,  
 Which once shall wear away ;  
 Even so ye may possess the part  
 Which never shall decay.  
 In following of your father's foot,  
 In truth and also love :  
 That ye may likewise be his heirs  
 For evermore above.  
 And in example to your youth,  
 To whom I wish all good,  
 I preach you here a perfect faith,  
 And seal it with my blood.  
 Have God always before your eyes,  
 In all your whole intents :  
 Commit not sin in any wise,  
 Keep his commandments.  
 Abhor that arrant whore of Rome,  
 And all her blasphemies ;  
 And drink not of her decretals,  
 Nor yet of her decrees.  
 Give honour to your mother dear,  
 Remember well her pain :  
 And recompense her in her age,  
 In like with love again.  
 Be always aiding at her hand,  
 And let her not decay :  
 Remember well your father's fall,  
 That should have been her stay.  
 Give of your portion to the poor,  
 As riches do arise :  
 And from the needy naked soul,  
 Turn not away your eyes.  
 For he that will not hear the cry  
 Of such as are in need,  
 Shall cry himself and not be heard,  
 When he would hope to speed.  
 If God have given you great increase,  
 And blessed well your store :  
 Remember ye are put in trust,  
 To minister the more.  
 Beware of foul and filthy lust,  
 Let whoredom have no place :  
 Keep clean your vessels in the Lord,  
 That he may you embrace.  
 Ye are the temples of the Lord,  
 For ye are dearly bought :  
 And they that do defile the same,  
 Shall surely come to nought.  
 Possess not pride in any case,  
 Build not your nests too high :

But have always before your face,  
 That ye were born to die.  
 Defraud not him that hired is,  
 Your labours to sustain ;  
 But give him always out of hand,  
 His penny for his pain.  
 And as ye would that other men,  
 Against you should proceed ;  
 Do ye the same again to them  
 When they do stand in need.  
 And part your portion with the poor,  
 In money and in meat :  
 And feed the fainted feeble soul,  
 With that which ye should eat.  
 That when your body lacketh meat,  
 And clothing to your back,  
 Ye may the better think on them  
 That now do live and lack.  
 Ask counsel also at the wise ;  
 Give ear unto the end :  
 Refuse not you the sweet rebuke  
 Of him that is your friend.  
 Be thankful always to the Lord,  
 With prayer and with praise :  
 Desire you him in all your deeds,  
 For to direct your ways :  
 And sin not like that swinish sort,  
 Whose bellies being fed—  
 Consume their years upon the earth  
 From belly unto bed.  
 Seek first, I say, the living God ;  
 Set him always before ;  
 And then be sure that he will bless  
 Your basket and your store.  
 And thus if you direct your days  
 According to this book,  
 Then shall they say that see your ways,  
 How like me ye do look.  
 And when you have so perfectly,  
 Upon your fingers' ends,  
 Possessed all within your book,  
 Then give it to your friends.  
 And I beseech the living God,  
 Replenish you with grace,  
 That I may have you in the heav'ns,  
 And see you face to face.  
 And though the sword have cut me off,  
 Contrary to my kind,  
 That I could not enjoy your love,  
 According to my mind.  
 Yet I do hope when that the heav'ns  
 Shall vanish like a scroll,  
 I shall receive your perfect shape,  
 In body and in soul.  
 And that I may enjoy your love,  
 And you enjoy the land,  
 I do beseech the living God  
 To hold you in his hand.  
 Farewell, my children, from the world,  
 My children and my friends ;  
 I hope to God to have you all,  
 When all things have their ends.



And if you do abide in God,  
As you have now begun;  
Your course I warrant will be short,  
Ye have not far to run.

God grant you so to end your years  
As he shall think it best;  
That ye may enter into heav'n,  
Where I do hope to rest.

A third letter in prose, addressed to his brother, on the education of his daughter, appears in some editions; and a fourth—"to all who unfeignedly love God"—appears in others. From the latter an extract will interest our readers. After reviewing the principal truths for which he and other martyrs were called to lay down their lives, he says—

"These doctrines have all the blessed martyrs of Christ's church witnessed with their blood to be true. To this truth have the consciences of all true believers subscribed ever since the ascension of Christ. This witness is not of man, but of God. What better can ye give your lives for than the truth. He who does this takes the readiest way to life eternal. He that hath the pope's curse for the truth, is sure of Christ's blessing. Well then, my brethren, what shall now hinder your going forward as ye have begun? Hold on the right way—look not back—have the eye of your soul fixed upon Christ—and follow him whithersoever he is pleased to lead you. Away with the thorns that choke the heavenly seed of the gospel. Do not those gain who find heavenly and immortal treasure for earthly and corruptible riches? Loseth that man any thing who is forsaken of all the world, when he is received to be the heir of God, and joint heir with Christ? Heavenly for earthly—immortal for mortal—permanent for transitory—is infinite gain for a christian conscience."

Two martyrs named Harwood and Fust suffered about the same time as their brethren, Smith and Tankerfield, in whose company they were condemned by bishop Bonner. As the proceedings against them were so much alike, it would be superfluous to repeat the particulars. Harwood was burnt at Stratford, and Fust at Ware. It is worth observing of Mr. Fust, that on his last examination, when Bonner was persuading him to recant, he answered with great boldness—"No, my lord, for no truth cometh out of your mouth, but all lies: you condemn men, and will not hear the truth."

An equally remarkable example of intrepid fidelity, in his behaviour before the same cruel judge, was one William Hale, who was sent to bishop Bonner by Sir Nicholas Hare and other commissioners. He belonged to Thorp, in the county of Essex. When Bonner pronounced his sentence, the fearless man looked around on the assembly and said—"Ah, good people, beware of this idolater, and this antichrist," pointing to the bishop. He was then delivered to the sheriffs to be burnt as a heretic, who sent him to Barnet, where about the latter end of August he most constantly sealed the faith with his death.

Three others were devoted to death at the same time; but a fatal sickness while in prison deprived them of the honour of a public martyrdom. The names of these martyrs were George King, Thomas Leyes, and John Wade. Their close confinement, and the hardships to which they were subjected, in Lollard's tower, made them the prey of lingering and loathsome disease; which, however, they bore with signal patience till

death, nearly at the same time, put a period to their sufferings and degradation; but not to their enemies' malice—for their bodies were cast out into the fields to be the prey of beasts, and would have been unburied but for the care of some humble and faithful brethren, who interred them under cover of a dark night.

The same charitable attention was paid by other friends to the remains of a worthy protestant mechanic of the name of William Andrew, of Horsley, in the county of Essex, who was brought to Newgate the 1st day of April, 1555. His principal persecutor was the lord Rich, whose influence in the county obtained his arrest. Andrew being twice examined before bishop Bonner, boldly stood in defence of his religion. At length, by the severe usage he met with in Newgate, he there lost his life, which otherwise would have been taken away by fire: and so after the popish manner he was cast out into a field, and by night was privately buried by the hands of good men and faithful brethren, reminding us of the impressive fact of christian history—"Devout men carried Stephen to his burial, and made great lamentation over him."

At Cobdock, near Ipswich, in the county of Suffolk, lived a justice of the peace named Foster, remarked for his zeal and hatred against the faithful, whom he took every means of persecuting. Among many whom he had troubled, was Mr. Samuel, in king Edward's days a very holy and faithful preacher of God's word, who for his constant behaviour in his sermons, seems worthy of high admiration. He was minister at Barfold, in Suffolk, where he industriously and successfully taught the flock which the Lord had committed to his charge, so long as the time would suffer him to do his duty.

At last he was removed from the ministry, and deprived of his benefice, and although he could not escape the violence of the time, yet would he not give over his care for his flock, but continued to teach them by stealth, when he could not openly do it. On the order being given by the queen, that all priests who had been married in king Edward's days, should put away their wives, and be compelled to return to a single life, Mr. Samuel would not obey, because he knew it to be manifestly abominable; but determining with himself, that God's laws were not to be broken for man's traditions, he still kept his wife at Ipswich, and gave his diligence in the mean time to instructing others which were about him, as occasion served. At last Mr. Foster having intelligence thereof, being very officious in those parts, spared no time nor diligence, but quickly sent his spies abroad, laying close wait for Mr. Samuel, that if he came home to his wife at any time, they might apprehend him, and carry him to prison.

In conclusion, they espied him at home with his wife, and brought word to the officer, who came to the house, and beset it with a great company, and so took him in the night, because they durst not do it in the day-time for fear of trouble and tumult, although Mr. Samuel did not withstand them at all, but meekly yielded himself into their hands. When they had thus caught him, they put him into Ipswich jail, where he patiently spent his time among his pious brethren, so long as he was permitted to continue there. However, not long after, he was carried to Norwich, where Dr. Hopton, bishop of that diocese, and Dr. Dunnings,

his chancellor, exercised great cruelty against him. These men were most abhorred instruments of cruelty, exceeding all the rest of their class in tormenting the bodies of the martyrs. For although the others were sharp enough in their generation, yet would they be satisfied with imprisonment and death, and could go no farther.

The bishop therefore, or else his chancellor, thinking that he might as easily prevail with Mr. Samuel, as he had done with several before, kept him in a very close prison at his first coming, where he was chained upright to a great post, in such sort, that standing only on tip-toe, he was fain to stay up the whole poise of his body by the chain. And to this they added a far more grievous torment, keeping him without meat and drink, whereby he was unmercifully vexed through hunger and thirst; saving that he had every day allowed him two or three mouthfuls of bread, and three spoonfuls of water, to the end rather that he might be reserved to farther torment, than that they would nourish his life. O worthy constancy of the martyr! O pitiless hearts of papists, worthy to be complained of, and to be accused before God and nature! O wonderful strength of Christ in his members! Whose heart, though it had been made of adamant stone, would not have relented at the intolerable vexations, and extreme pains above nature!

At last, when he was brought forth to be burned, which was but a trifle in comparison of those pains that he had passed, there were several that heard him declare what strange things had happened to him during the time of his imprisonment: namely, that after he had been famished or pined with hunger two or three days together, he then fell into a delicious slumber, at which time one clad all in white seemed to stand before him, who administered comfort unto him by these words—"Samuel, Samuel, be of good cheer, and take a good heart unto thee; for after this day shalt thou never be either hungry or thirsty!" This came to pass accordingly, for soon after he was burned; and from his dream to his death he felt neither hunger nor thirst. And this he declared, to the end, as he said, that all men might behold the wonderful work of God! Many other matters concerning the great comfort he had of Christ in his afflictions he could utter, he said, besides this, but that modesty would not suffer him to utter it. And yet if it had pleased God, I wish he had been less modest in that behalf, that the love and care that Christ hath of his servants, might have the more appeared thereby unto us by such present arguments, for the more plentiful comfort of the godly, though there be sufficient testimonies of the same in the holy scriptures already.

No less memorable is it, and worthy also to be noted, concerning the three ladders which he said he had seen in his sleep set up towards heaven; of which there was one somewhat longer than the rest, but yet at length they became one, joining, as it were, all three together. This was a forewarning revealed unto him, declaring undoubtedly the martyrdom first of himself, and then of two honest women, who were brought forth and suffered in the same town not long after.

As Mr. Samuel was going to the stake, a certain female came to him, and kissed him, which being marked by them that were present, she was sought for the next day after to be had to prison and burned: how-

ever, as God of his goodness would have it, she escaped their fiery hands, keeping herself secret in the town a good while after. But while this female, called Rose Nottingham, was marvellously preserved by the providence of God, two other honest women did fall into the rage and fury of that time; the one was the wife of a brewer named Potten, the other of a shoemaker named Trunchfield. With these two Rose was very familiar and well acquainted, and advised one of them, that she should convey herself away while she had time and space, seeing she could not bear the queen's proceedings; but her friend answered her, that it is well enough to fly away, which remedy she might use if she pleased. "My case standeth otherwise," she said; "I am tied to a husband, and have besides young children at home; and then I know not how my husband, being a carnal man, will take my departure from him; therefore I am minded, for the love of Christ and his truth, to stand to the extremity of the matter."

The day after that on which Mr. Samuel suffered, these two pious wives, Potten and Trunchfield, were apprehended and imprisoned together. As they were both by sex and nature somewhat tender, so they were at first less able to endure the straitness of the prison, and especially the brewer's wife was cast into great agony and trouble of mind thereby. But Christ beholding the weak infirmity of his servant, did not fail to help her when she was in this necessity. At length they both suffered after Samuel, February 19th, 1556; greatly supported by many things that were said of him as well as by him. It was reported by some who were present at his sufferings, and saw him burn, that his body did shine as bright as new tried silver in the eyes of all that stood by. If, too, these holy women had read or heard of Mr. Samuel's letter left behind him, exhorting the faithful to patience and perseverance in the cause of Christ, it must have contributed much to their final support.

"A man knoweth not his time; but as the fish is taken with the angle, and as the birds are caught with a snare, so are men caught and taken in the perilous time when it cometh upon them. The time cometh; the day draweth near. Better were it to die than to live and see the miserable works which are done under the sun; such sudden and strange mutation, such woeful, heinous, and lamentable divisions so fast approach, and none, or very few, thoroughly repent. Alas, for this sinful nation, a people of great iniquity and seed of ungraciousness, corrupting their ways. They have forsaken the Lord, they have provoked the Holy One of Israel to anger, and are gone backward. Who now liveth not in such security and rest, as though all dangers were clean overpast? Who now blindeth and buffeteth not Christ, and then asketh him to tell the smiter? Yea, who liveth not now in such felicity, worldly pleasures and joys, wholly seeking the world, providing and craftily shifting for the earthly clod and carnal appetite, as though sin were clean forgotten, overthrown, and devoured? Like hoggish Gergesites, we are more afraid and ashamed of Christ our Messiah, fearing the loss of our filthy pigs, I mean our transitory goods, and disquieting our sinful and mortal bodies in this short, uncertain, and miserable life, than of a legion of devils,

seducing and driving us from hearing, reading, and believing in Christ, God's eternal Son, and his word, the power to save our souls, unto vanities, lies, and fables, and to this bewitching world.

"Let us be constant in obeying God rather than men. For although they slay our sinful bodies for God's verity; yet they cannot do it but by God's sufferance and good will, to his praise and honour, and to our eternal joy and felicity. For our blood shed for the gospel, shall preach it with more fruit, and greater furtherance, than did our mouths, lives, and writings; as did the blood of Abel, and Stephen, with many others. What though they laugh Christ and his word to scorn, who sit in the chair of perverse pestilent scoffers; to whom, as to the wise Gentiles of the world, the gospel of Christ is but foolishness, as it was to the Jews a slander and a stumbling stone, whereat they now being fallen, have provoked the wrath and vengeance of God upon them.

"Let us therefore with an earnest faith lay fast hold on the promises in the gospel, and let us not be separated from the same by any temptation, tribulation, or persecution. Let us consider the verity of God to be invincible, inviolable, and immutable, promising and giving us, his faithful soldiers, life eternal. It is he only that hath deserved it for us: it is his only benefit, and of his only mere mercy, and unto him only must we render thanks. Let not therefore the vain fantasies and dreams of men, and foolish gaudy toys of the world, nor the crafty delusions of the devil, drive and separate us from our hope of the last day. O that happy and joyful day, I mean to the faithful, when Christ by his covenant shall grant and give unto them that overcome, and keep his words to the end, that they may ascend and sit with him, as he ascended and sitteth on the throne with his Father. The same body and soul that is now with Christ afflicted, shall then with Christ be glorified: now in the butcher's hands, as sheep appointed to die, then sitting at God's table, with Christ in his kingdom, as God's honourable and dear children; where we shall have heavenly riches for earthly poverty; saturity of the pleasant presence of the glory of God, for hunger and thirst; celestial joys in the company of angels, for sorrows, troubles, and cold irons; and life eternal for bodily death. O happy precious souls! O welcome death, and evermore blessed, right dear in the eyes of God! to you the spring of the Lord shall ever be flourishing. Then, as saith Isaiah, 'The redeemed shall return and come again unto Sion, praising the Lord, and eternal mercies shall be over their heads: and they shall obtain mirth and solace; sorrow and woe shall be utterly vanquished.' 'Yea, I am he,' saith the Lord, 'that in all things giveth you everlasting consolation.' To whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be glory and praise for ever. Amen."

"ROBERT SAMUEL."

After the suffering of Mr. Samuel, about the beginning of September, William Allen, a labouring man, was burnt in Walsingham in the same county of Norfolk. Being brought before the bishop, and asked the cause why he was imprisoned, he answered, That he was put in prison because he would not follow the cross, meaning, that he would

never go in procession after the popish crucifix. Then being willed by the bishop to return again to the catholic church, he answered, that he would turn to the catholic church, but not to the Romish church: adding, that if he saw the king and queen, and all others follow the cross, or kneel down to the cross, he would not. For this, sentence of condemnation was given against him on the 12th of August, to be burnt at the town of his abode and birth. He declared such constancy at his martyrdom, and had such credit with the justices, by reason of his well-tried conversation among them, that he was suffered to go unbound to his execution, and there being fastened with a chain, stood quietly without shrinking until he died.

The next martyr worthy of notice was a venerable patriarch of the name of Roger Coo, who suffered at Yoxford, where he had chiefly lived, about the same time as Mr. Allen at Walsingham, and Mr. Samuel at Ipswich. All these towns being in the diocese of Norwich, the martyrdoms of Suffolk as well as Norfolk must be ascribed to the "tender mercies" of the bishop of that see, Dr. Hopton. Being brought before that cruel prelate, Coo was first asked by him why he was imprisoned; and answered boldly—"At the justice's commandment."

*Bish.* There was some cause why you were imprisoned?

*Coo.* Here is my accuser, who alleges that I would not receive the sacrament. But I thought I had transgressed no law, because there was no law to transgress. I have been in prison a long time, and know not the law that now is.

*Accuser.* No, nor will not. My lord, ask him when he received the sacrament.

*Coo.* I pray you, my lord, let him sit down, and examine me yourself. I will not receive, because the bishop of Rome hath changed God's ordinances, and given the people bread and wine instead of the gospel, and the belief of the same.

*Bish.* Is not the holy church to be believed? It hath charge of your soul.

*Coo.* I believe it, if it be built upon the word of God: but if you have charge of my soul, and you go to the devil for your sins, what shall become of me?

*Bish.* Do you not believe as your father did? Was not he an honest man?

*Coo.* It is written, that after Christ hath suffered, "There shall come a people with the prince that shall destroy both city and sanctuary." I pray you shew me whether this destruction was in my father's time, or now? I will obey the laws of the kingdom as far as they agree with the word of God; but no farther.

*Bish.* Whether they agree with the word of God or not, we are bound to obey them; yea and if the king were an infidel.<sup>1</sup>

*Coo.* If Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego had so done, Nebuchadnezzar had not confessed the living God. I may say the same of Daniel and others.

<sup>1</sup> A modern prelate discovered exactly the same spirit; who said in the House of Lords, that the poor had nothing to do with the laws but to obey them.

*Bish.* These two-and-twenty years we have been governed by such kings.

*Coo.* My lord, why were you then dumb, and did not speak or bark ?

*Bish.* I durst not for fear of death.

This hasty, and to all appearance inadvertent and unintended confession, operated as much against the bishop's cause as even the bold and ingenuous answers of honest Roger Coo. One resource was opened to the baffled bishop, he could report his prisoner to be contumacious and contemptuous to the ecclesiastical court. This was done; on which account Coo says in his narrative—"I recollected and wrote down my railing, as they called it, that light should not be taken for darkness, nor sin for holiness, and the devil for God, who ought to be feared and honoured both now and for ever, Amen." At length, after sundry troubles and conflicts with his adversaries, he was committed to the fire at Yoxford, in the county of Suffolk, where he most blessedly ended his aged years, about Michaelmas 1555.

Our next noble confessor, of ignoble birth and occupation, was one Thomas Cobb, a butcher of Haverhill, who was condemned on the 12th day of August, and executed in the month of September. Being brought and examined by Michael Dunnings, the bloody chancellor of Norwich, whether he believed that Christ is really and substantially in the sacrament of the altar? he answered, That the body of Christ, born of the Virgin, was in heaven, and otherwise he would not answer, because he had read it in the scriptures, that Christ did ascend, and never did descend since; and therefore said, that he had not learned in the scripture, that Christ should be in the sacrament. Then being demanded whether he would obey the laws of the realm of England, made for the unity of the faith, or no? he answered, That his body should be at the king and queen's commandment so far as the law of God would suffer. In fine, being condemned, he was burnt in the town of Thetford.

We must now return from the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, to Kent and the diocese of Canterbury: and here five worthy martyrs, whose lives were forfeited for the true testimony of Christ and his gospel, await our attention. George Catmer, and Robert Streater, were inhabitants of Hythe, a town on the southern coast. Anthony Burward was of Challock; George Brodbridge, of Broomfield; and James Tutty, of Brenchley. These good men were all together brought before Dr. Thornton, suffragan of Dover, and his accomplices, and were jointly and severally examined upon the usual articles, touching the sacrament of the altar, auricular confession, and the other peculiarities of the dominant church. Catmer, who was first examined, made answer thus—"Christ sitteth in heaven on the right hand of God the Father, and therefore I do not believe him to be in the sacrament of the altar; but he is in the worthy receiver spiritually; and the sacrament, as you use it, is an abominable idol." Next to him Robert Streater was asked, Whether he did believe the real presence of Christ in the sacrament of the altar? At once the resolute and honest man said—"I do not so believe, for you do maintain heresy and idolatry, in that you teach to worship a false god in the sacrament, enclosed in a box. It is you that are the malig-

nant of the church: for in your church there are twenty things used against the law of God." Anthony Burward, though more brief, was equally firm and conclusive.

After him it was demanded of George Brodbridge what he said to those articles? He answered, that he would not be confessed by a priest, because no man could forgive his own sins. He further said, that in the sacrament of the altar there is no real body of our Saviour Christ, but bread given in remembrance of him. "Moreover," he said, "as for your holy bread, your holy water, and your holy mass, I do utterly defy them." Last of all, James Tutty made and confirmed the foregoing answers, though in words somewhat different. On this they were condemned as heretics, and were all five burned at Canterbury in one fire, about the middle of July then next following.

Although the rage and vehemency of the terrible persecution in queen Mary's days chiefly existed in London, Essex, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Kent, as hath been partly declared; yet notwithstanding, few parts of the realm were free from this fatal storm, but in almost all places some were put to death for the cause of righteousness. In the diocese of Litchfield and Coventry were two persons, Thomas Hayward and John Goreway, both condemned as heretics, and burnt at Litchfield about the time of the martyrdoms just detailed.

Unto this present time pertaineth also the memorable martyrdom of Mr. Robert Glover, gent., in the diocese of Litchfield and Coventry. He was apprehended, and put to death in September; but his apprehension and troubles cannot well be treated of, without mentioning some things relating to John Glover, for whom the commission was chiefly sent down, although it pleased God that John escaped, and Robert in his stead was apprehended and martyred. In describing some part of their virtuous order of life, we shall begin with John the eldest, who, being heir to his father in the town of Manchester, was endowed with considerable possessions and worldly goods; but much more plentifully was he enriched with God's heavenly grace, which so wrought in him, that he with his brethren, Robert and William, received and embraced the happy light of Christ's holy gospel, and also most zealously professed it, and lived accordingly.

John Glover was a man of a very tender conscience, and seemed to have a deeper sense of heavenly things than the others. His spiritual conflicts were very extraordinary. For a long time he had dwelt under the fearful impression of having committed the sin against the Holy Ghost, as spoken of by the Lord Jesus,<sup>k</sup> which, precluding from his

<sup>k</sup> As the opinions of commentators and learned men, respecting the *sin against the Holy Ghost*, have been swelled into volumes, and as it still remains a mystery in the minds of multitudes, we here present to our readers an extract upon the subject, from an author who has, in our opinion, the clearest views upon it. After having satisfactorily answered all the objections which could reasonably be made to his arguments, he thus proceeds.

"In a word, the conclusion of the whole may again be collected thus—In the days of Moses, and before Moses from the beginning, not to believe the Holy Ghost and what he then witnessed, by whomsoever, or in whatsoever manner he chose to declare the saving truth, was to sin against the Holy Ghost. From Moses down to the coming of the Holy One and the Just, not to believe the doctrine then delivered by the inspiration of the Holy



mind all hope of future happiness, rendered him extremely miserable; so that he could enjoy nothing, but was worn as by a baleful disease. At length it pleased God to give him faith, when his fears were dispersed, and he could cry *Abba*, Father. He now was filled with joy and peace, became dead to the world, and seemed like one in heaven, abhorring in his mind all profane doings. Neither was his talk any thing different from the fruits of his life, never throwing out an idle, vile, or vain word. The most part of his lands he distributed to the use of his brethren, and committed the rest to the management of his servants and officers, whereby he might the more quietly give himself up to his godly study, as to a continual sabbath. This was about the latter end of king Henry's reign, and continued in the time of the young and pious Edward.

After this, in the persecuting days of queen Mary, as soon as the bishop of Coventry heard of his fame, and of his being so ardent and zealous in the gospel of Christ, he immediately wrote a letter to the mayor and officers of Coventry to apprehend him as soon as possible. But by the good providence of God, it happened otherwise: for God disposeth all things after his own pleasure. Therefore, of his divine wisdom, thinking it too much that one man should be so overcharged

Ghost, was the very sin against the Holy Ghost, in those days. When the Messiah, after John the Baptist, his forerunner, came and taught and wrought miracles, the unbelievers sinned against the Holy Ghost still more and more. But when Jesus was declared the Son of God, with power, according to the Spirit of holiness, by the resurrection from the dead; and the gospel, by the Holy Ghost from heaven, was preached to every creature under heaven, whithersoever the apostles with their doctrines were sent, as they now are unto us, at this day,—the sin of blasphemy against the Holy Ghost arrived at the very highest pitch of aggravation. And who, sayest thou, is guilty of it?—Thou, thy very individual self, O reader! art indeed at this present moment of God's long suffering and forbearance, guilty of this most alarming sin and blasphemy against the Holy Ghost; holding him for a liar in his testimony concerning the Son of God, if thou hast not verily set to thy seal that *God is true*, and hast not attained the same precise, honourable, divine faith, as all the apostles themselves had, and which they preached by the Holy Ghost, and have also recorded in their writings, which are our standard: for the faith of all God's elect is one, and their hope one in the Lord. 'Be not deceived—God is not mocked: as a man soweth, so shall he also reap. These things are written, that ye may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing ye may have life through his name.'

Hence it appears, that this dreadful sin is neither more nor less than the resisting and discrediting the word of God; which was written at the inspiration of the Holy Ghost. So that '*Whatsoever is not of faith is sin*. He that believeth on the Son hath everlasting life, and he that believeth not the Son, shall not see life; but the *wrath* of GOD ABIDETH ON HIM.'

Such is the note of Milner, in the edition of 1806. To this the editor of the present edition begs leave to append the following somewhat qualifying remarks from the admirable "Conversations" of the Rev. Richard Watson. "On our Lord's return to Capernaum he cast out a devil which had inflicted both blindness and dumbness upon an unhappy man. This was a case of peculiarly afflictive and notorious possession: and it was the impression made by this miracle in favour of his Messiahship upon the minds of the people, which led the Pharisees to utter the blasphemy—'This fellow doth not cast out devils, but by Beelzebub the prince of the devils!' This was the wretched argument by which they steeled their perverted consciences against all conviction, and which constituted that *sin against the Holy Ghost*, whose power co-operated with Christ in working his miracles, which was declared to be beyond forgiveness. This is the only unpardonable sin. It is not every sin against the Holy Ghost which is unpardonable, though some make awful approaches to that which is so: but this sin, the only one excepted from divine mercy, is defined to be *blasphemy against Him*."

with so many sufferings, did provide, that Robert his brother, being both stronger in body, and also better furnished with helps of learning to answer the adversaries, should sustain that conflict, and even so it came to pass. For as soon as the mayor of Coventry had received the bishop's letters for the apprehending of Mr. John Glover, he forthwith sent private notice to him to convey himself away, who accordingly escaped with his brother William.

But when the officer had searched a long time for him in vain, he went into an upper chamber, where he found Robert lying on his bed, he having been long sick, and brought him immediately before the sheriff. The sheriff, notwithstanding, favouring Robert and his cause, would indeed fain have dismissed him, and wrought what means he could, saying, that he was not the man for whom they were sent: yet, being terrified with the threats of the officer, who insisted on his being detained till the bishop's coming, he was constrained to carry him against his will, and so confined him till the bishop arrived. To enter, however, upon the story and martyrdom of Mr. Robert Glover, as the whole narration of the same by his own record and testimony in writing was sent unto his wife, it seems best, for the more credit of the matter, to exhibit extracts from his own letter:—

“To my entirely beloved wife, Mary Glover,

“The peace of conscience which passeth all understanding, the sweet consolation, comfort, strength, and boldness of the Holy Ghost, be continually increased in your heart, through a fervent, earnest, and steadfast faith in our most dear and only Saviour Jesus Christ. I thank you heartily, for your letters sent to me in my imprisonment. I read them with tears more than once or twice; with tears of joy and gladness, that God had wrought in you so merciful a work; an unfeigned repentance, a humble and hearty reconciliation, a voluntary submission and obedience to the will of God in all things. Which when I read in your letters, and judged them to proceed from your heart, I could not but be thankful to God, rejoicing for you, and these his great mercies poured upon you.

“After I came into prison, and had reposed myself there a while, I wept for joy and gladness, musing much of the great mercies of God, and saying to myself—O Lord, who am I, on whom thou shouldst bestow this great mercy, to be numbered among the saints that suffer for the gospel's sake! Not long after, Mr. William Brasbridge, Mr. Charles Phineas, and Mr. Nicholas Hopkins, came unto me, persuading me to be dismissed upon bonds. But I answered, that as the masters had nothing to burden me withal; if I should enter into bonds, I should in so doing accuse myself; and seeing they had no matter to lay to my charge, they might as well let me pass without bonds as with them.

“They, however, used many worldly persuasions to me to avoid the present peril, and also how to avoid the forfeiture if I brake my promise. I said, I had cast up my pennyworth by God's help. They undertook also to make the bond easy.—Then the second day after the bishop's coming to Coventry, Mr. Warren came to the Guildhall, and ordered the chief jailor to carry me to the bishop. I laid to Mr. Warren's

charge the cruel seeking of my death; and when he would have excused himself, I told him he could not wipe his hands so; for he was as guilty of my blood before God, as though he had murdered me with his own hands. Thus he departed from me, saying, I needed not to fear if I would be of his belief.

“When I came before the bishop in Mr. Denton's house, he began with the protestation, that he was my bishop for lack of a better, and willed me to submit myself. Mr. Chancellor standing by, said I was a master of arts. Then my lord laid to my charge my not coming to the church. Here I might have dallied with him, and put him to his proof, forasmuch as I had not been in his diocese for a long season, neither were any of the citizens able to prove any such matter against me. Notwithstanding I answered him through God's merciful help, that I neither had, nor would come to their church, so long as their mass was used there, to save, if I had them, five hundred lives. I desired him to shew me one jot or tittle in the scriptures for the proof and defence of the mass. To this he answered, he came to teach, and not to be taught. I told him I was content to learn of him, so far as he was able to teach me by the word of God.

“‘Who shall judge the word?’ then asked the bishop. I answered—‘Christ was willing that the people should judge his doctrine by searching the scriptures, and so was Paul; methinks you should claim no further privilege nor pre-eminence than they had.—If you will be believed because you are a bishop, why find you fault with the people that believed bishop Latimer, bishop Ridley, and bishop Hooper?’ ‘Because they were heretics,’ he quickly answered. I then asked—‘And may not you err as well as they?’ I expected my lord to use some learned arguments to persuade me, but instead of that he oppressed me only with his authority. He said, I dissented from the church, and asked me where my church was before king Edward's time? But I desired him to shew me where their church was in Elias's time, and what outward shew it had in Christ's time? To this he answered, ‘Elias's complaint was only of the ten tribes that fell from David's house, whom he called heretics.’ But I said confidently—‘You are not able to shew any prophets that the other two tribes had at that same time.’

“My lord making no answer to that, Mr. Rogers, one of the masters of the city, cometh in the mean season, taking upon him as though he would answer to the text. But my lord forthwith commanded me to be committed to some tower, if they had any besides the common jail, saying, he would at the end of the visitation of his diocese, drive out such wolves. Mr. Rogers willed him to content himself for that night, till they had taken further order for me. ‘Even where it pleaseth you,’ said I to my lord—‘I am content;’ and so I was returned at that time to the common jail again from whence I came.

“Certain serjeants and constables at Coventry being appointed to convey us to Litchfield, to be delivered there to one Jephcot, the chancellor's man, sent from Coventry with us for the same purpose, we were commanded to be on horseback about eleven o'clock on Friday, it being a market day, in order that we might be the more gazed at: and to set

the people's hearts more against us, they exhibited a letter concerning a proclamation made for calling in and disannulling all such books as truly expounded the scriptures. We arrived at Litchfield about four o'clock, and had leave to repose ourselves till supper-time. The house we put up at was the sign of the Swan, where we were entertained friendly and gently.

"I was put into a prison that same night, where I continued till I was condemned, in a place next the dungeon, where was small room, a strong building, and very cold, with little light; and there I was allowed a bundle of straw instead of my bed, without chair, form, or any thing else to rest myself upon. God of his mercy gave me great patience through prayer that night, so that if it had been his pleasure, I could have been contented then to have ended my life: but Jephcot, and one Percy, the bishop's man, who afterwards was my continual keeper for the most part, came to me in the morning, to whom I said—'This is a great extremity, God send us patience.' Upon which they consented that I should have a bed of my own procuring. But I was allowed no help, neither night nor day, nor company of any kind, notwithstanding my great sickness; nor yet paper, pen, ink, or books, except my New Testament in Latin, and a Prayer-book which I brought privily in.

"Within two days after, Mr. Chancellor, and Mr. Temsey, a prebendary there, came into my prison. The first exhorted me to conform myself to my lord and to the church. He wished no more hurt to my soul than he did to his own; perhaps this was because I had laid to his charge at Coventry the seeking of my blood unjustly and wrongfully. I answered, that I refused not to be ruled by that church, which was content to be governed by the word of God. He asked me, 'How know you the word of God, but by the church?' I answered—'The church sheweth which is the word of God, therefore the church is above the word of God! This is no good reason in learning, Mr. Chancellor. For it is like unto this—'John sheweth the people who Christ was; therefore John was above Christ!'

"He said, he came not to reason with me, and so departed. And I remained for the space of eight days without further conference with any man, until the bishop's coming: in which time I gave myself continually to prayer and meditation on the merciful promises of God unto all, without exception of person, that call upon the name of his Son Jesus Christ. I found in myself daily amendment of health of body, increase of peace in conscience, and many consolations from God, by the help of his Holy Spirit, and sometimes as it were a taste and glimmering of the life to come.

"At the bishop's first coming to Litchfield after my imprisonment, I was called into a by-chamber next to my prison to meet him. When I came before him, and saw none but his officers, chaplains, and servants, except it were an old priest, I was partly amazed, and lifted up my heart to God for his merciful help and assistance. He asked me how I liked my imprisonment; but I gave him no answer touching that question. He then proceeded to persuade me to be a member of his church, which had continued so many years. As for my church, he said to me, it was not known but lately in Edward's time. To this I answered, that

I professed myself to be a member of that church which is built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ being the head corner-stone; and so alleged the place of St. Paul to the Ephesians. And this church hath been from the beginning, though it bear no glorious shew before the world, being ever for the most part, under the cross and affliction, contemned, despised, and persecuted. When my lord contended on the other side, that they were the church, I said—‘So cried all the clergy against the prophets of Jerusalem, saying, ‘The church of the Lord, the church of the Lord.’ And always when I was about to speak any thing, my lord cried, ‘Hold thy peace, I command thee by the virtue of thy obedience to hold thy peace,’ calling me a proud arrogant heretic. Upon this contemptuous abuse, I desired him to lay something to my charge in particular, and then to convince me with some scriptures and good learning.

“He began to move certain questions. I refused to answer him in corners, requiring that I might make my answer openly. He said I should answer him there. I stood with him upon that point till he said I should go to prison again, and there have neither meat nor drink till I had answered him. Then I lifted up my heart to God, that I might stand and agree with the doctrine of his most holy word; while he prepared to ask me—How many sacraments Christ instituted to be used in the church? I answered without hesitation—The sacrament of baptism, and the sacrament that he instituted at his last supper. He expressed surprise that I mentioned no other sacraments, and asked me further, Whether I allowed their confession, and absolution? to which I answered, ‘No:’ adding thus—‘To all those who declare a true and unfeigned repentance, a sure hope and trust in the death of Christ; to such the ministers of Christ have authority to pronounce in his name the remission of sins.’ Then the bishop would know my mind, what I thought of the presence of Christ’s body in the sacrament. To which I answered—That their mass was neither sacrifice nor sacrament, because they had taken away the true institution, which, when they restored again, I would tell them my judgment concerning Christ’s body in the sacrament.”

Thus much did this worthy martyr of God leave behind him in his own hand-writing, concerning the manner of his usage in prison, and also of his disputes with the bishop and his chancellor. More examinations he had, no doubt, with the bishop in the public consistory, before he was brought forth to be condemned, which he would also have left unto us, if either length of life or leisure of time had permitted him to finish what he intended; but by reason of the writ of his burning being sent from London, want of time did neither serve him so to do, neither could the records of his last examination be procured.

Only this could be learned by the relation of one Austen Bernher, a minister, and a familiar friend of his. Mr. Robert Glover, after he was condemned by the bishop, and was now to be delivered out of this world, found his heart heavy, and desolate of all spiritual consolation, and felt in himself no willingness, but rather a heaviness and dullness of spirit, to bear the bitter cross of martyrdom. This led to serious and devout self-examination; fearing in himself lest the Lord had

utterly withdrawn his wonted favour from him, he made his moan to this Bernher, his friend, signifying unto him how earnestly he had prayed day and night unto the Lord, and yet could receive no sense of comfort from him. By a faithful friend, but one kind of advice could be given. Bernher desired him patiently to wait the Lord's pleasure, and howsoever his present feeling was, yet seeing his cause was just and true, he exhorted him constantly to adhere to the same, and to play the man, nothing doubting but that the Lord in his good time would visit him, and satisfy his desire with plenty of consolation.

The night before his martyrdom was spent in praying for strength and courage to endure manfully the fiery trial; but strange to say that strength and courage which he sought were delayed till almost the moment that he needed them. When the time came of his martyrdom, as he was going to the place, and was come within sight of the stake, suddenly he was so mightily replenished with God's holy comfort and heavenly joy, that he cried out, clapping his hands to Austen, "Austen, he is come, he is come!" and that with such joy and alacrity as one seeming rather to be risen from some deadly danger to liberty and life, than as one passing out of the world by any pains of death. Such was the change of the marvellous working of the Lord's hand upon that good man. It is impossible to read such a memorial of divine interposition, preceded by a mysterious absence of courage and comfort, without calling to mind several remarkable passages of holy writ. "God is our refuge and strength—a very present help in time of trouble.—The Lord shall judge his people, and repent himself for his servants, when he seeth that their strength is gone, and there is none shut up or left.—It shall come to pass in that day the light shall not be clear nor dark: but it shall be one day which shall be known unto the Lord, not day nor night; and it shall come to pass that *at evening time it shall be light.*"—Psa. xlv. 1; Deut. xxii. 36; Zech. xiv. 6, 7.

In the same fire with Mr. Glover was Cornelius Bungay, of Coventry, likewise burnt. He also was condemned by the bishop of Coventry and Litchfield. It was objected against him, that for three years past, in the cities of Coventry and Litchfield, and places thereabout, he did hold, maintain, argue, and teach, that the priest hath no power to absolve from sins. That by baptism sins are not washed away, because that the washing of the flesh purgeth the flesh outwardly, and not the soul. That there are in the church only two sacraments, baptism and the Lord's supper. That in the sacrament of the altar was not the real body and blood of Christ, but the substance of bread and wine there remaining still, because St. Paul calleth it bread and wine. That the pope is not the head of the visible church here on earth. That all these premises are true, manifest, and notorious, and that upon the same there hath been and is a public voice and fame, as well in the places above rehearsed as in other quarters also about.

To these articles Mr. Bungay answered much in the manner of his suffering brethren preceding him; without fear of the consequence of confessing their general application to himself; at the same time prudently qualifying all points wherein the charge against him was pushed beyond the truth, and he was made responsible for what he did not

believe. His condemnation soon followed, and the citizens of Coventry were excited by the spectacle of two of the worthiest of their fraternity consumed to ashes for no crime, but for their resolute preservation of a good conscience and a pure faith.

John and William Glover, the brothers of Robert Glover, ought not to be omitted in this history: although they were not called to martyrdom, yet they were cast out of the church, and excommunicated even after they were dead, by having christian burial denied them. When the sheriffs, with their under officers and servants, were sent to seek John Glover, they came into his house, where he and his wife were. It chanced as he was in a chamber by himself, the officers bursting into the house, and searching other rooms, came to the very room where John was, who holding the latch softly in his hand, perceived and heard the officers bustle about the door, one of whom having the string in his hand, was ready to draw the same. Meanwhile another coming by, whose voice he heard and knew, bade them come away, saying, they had been there before. Whereupon they departing thence, went to search other corners of the house, till they found Agnes Glover, his wife, who being carried to Litchfield, and examined before the bishop, at length was constrained to give place to their tyranny. Her husband, in the mean time, partly for care of his wife, partly through cold taken in the woods where he lay, caught an ague, of which he lost his life, which the cruel papists so long had sought for.

Six weeks after he was dead and buried in the church-yard, without priest or clerk, Dr. Dracot, then chancellor, sent for the parson of the town, and demanded how it happened that he was buried there. The parson answered that he was sick at the time, and knew not of it. Then the chancellor commanded him to go home, and cause the body to be taken up, and cast over the wall into the highway. The parson answered, that it had been six weeks in the earth, and that in consequence none were able to undertake it. "Well," said Dr. Dracot, "then take this bill and pronounce him in the pulpit a damned soul, and a twelve-month after take up his bones, when the flesh will be consumed, and cast them over the wall, that the horses may tread upon them, and then I will come and hallow again that place in the church-yard where he was buried." This was recorded by the parson of the town, and told to Mr. Robert Glover's wife, by whose credible information we received the same.

Similar usage was practised also by these catholic tyrants upon the body of William, the third brother, whom it had pleased Almighty God about the same season to call out of this vale of misery. The well-disposed people of the town of Wem, in Shropshire, where he died, brought the body into the parish church, intending there to have buried it. But one Bernard, curate of the said church, in order to stop the burial, rode to the bishop to inform him of the matter, and to have his advice therein. In the mean time the body having lain a whole day, in the night time Richard Maurice, a tailor, would have interred him, but he was hindered by John Thorlyne, of Wem, with some others, who would not suffer the body to be buried; expressing the contrary examples of good Tobit; for as he was religious in burying the dead, so this man's religion consisted in not burying it. So that after he had lain there two

days and a night, Bernard, the curate, came with the bishop's letter,<sup>1</sup> which forbade the interment of the body, and which commanded the church-wardens to assist the curate in hindering any persons who should attempt to put it in the ground. Accordingly they who brought the corpse to the church were obliged to carry it back again at their own charges. But as it was corrupted, they were forced to draw it with horses into a broom-field, and there bury it.

The same example of charitable affection was also to be seen and noted in the burying of one Edward Burton, Esq. who in the diocese of Chester, departing this world the day before queen Elizabeth was crowned, required of his friends, as they would answer for it, that his body should be buried in his parish church, which was St. Chad's, in Shrewsbury, and that no Romish priest should be present thereat. This thing being declared to the curate of that parish, John Marshall, and the body being brought to the burial, upon the same day when the queen was crowned, the curate said plainly that it should not be buried in the church there. Whereunto one of the friends of the deceased, named George Torpelley, answering again, said, That God would judge him in the last day. Then said the priest, 'Judge, God, or devil, the body shall not come there!' And so they buried him in his own garden.

In the same county, one Oliver Richardine, of the parish of Whitchurch, was burnt in Haverford-west, Sir John Yonge being sheriff the same time, which seemeth to have been about the last year of king Henry VIII.

William Wolsey and Robert Pygot were the next who followed Robert Glover and Cornelius Bungey to martyrdom. They were both of the town of Wisbeach, and were judged and condemned at Ely, by John Fuller, the bishop's chancellor, Dr. Shaxton, his suffragan, Robert Steward, dean of Ely, and John Christopherson, dean of Norwich, October 9, 1555. William Wolsey was a constable, and was very harshly treated by one Everard, a justice, who caused him to put in sureties for his good behaviour and appearance at the next general sessions held within the isle of Ely. Being called again at the next sessions, he was still constrained to put in new sureties, which at length he refused to do, and in consequence was committed to jail at the assize held at Ely in Lent.

In the Easter week following, Dr. Fuller, the chancellor, with Christopherson, and Dr. Young, came to confer with him, and charged him with being out of the catholic faith, desiring him to meddle no further with the scriptures, than it became such a layman as he was to do. Wolsey stood still a great while, suffering them to speak their pleasure;

<sup>1</sup> "Understanding that one Glover, a heretic, is dead in the parish of Wem, which Glover hath for all the time of my being in this country been known for a rebel against our holy faith and religion, a contemner of the holy sacraments and ceremonies used in the holy church, and hath separated himself from the holy communion of all good Christian men, and never required to be reconciled to our mother holy church, nor in his last days did call for his ghostly father, but died without all rites belonging to a Christian man; I thought it good, not only to command the curate of Wem that he should not be buried with Christian man's burial, but also will and command all the parish of Wem, that no man procure help, nor speak to have him buried in holy ground: but I do charge and command the churchwardens of Wem, in special, and all the parish of the same, that they assist the said curate in defending, and letting, and procuring that he be not buried in the church, or within the walls of the churchyard; and likewise I charge those that brought the body to the place to carry it away again, and that at their charge, as they will answer at their peril.—At Eccleshall, this 6th day of September, anno 1558,

"By your ordinary, RADULPH COVENTRY AND LITCHFIELD."



at last he answered—"Good Mr. Doctor, what did our Saviour Christ mean, when he spake these words—"Woe unto you scribes and pharisees, hypocrites; for ye shut up the kingdom of heaven against men: for ye neither go in yourselves, neither suffer ye them that are entering to go in." To this Dr. Fuller answered that he must understand, that Christ spake to the scribes and pharisees. Nothing daunted, Wolsey made this smart reply—"Nay, Mr. Doctor, Christ spake even to you, and your fellows here present, and to all such as you are." To ward off this charge, Dr. Fuller left him a book to read, of a learned man's writing, that is to say, Dr. Watson's, who was then bishop of Lincoln.

Wolsey receiving the book, diligently read it over, and found it in many places manifestly contrary to God's word. At length, a fortnight or three weeks following, Dr. Fuller resorting again to the prison to converse with Wolsey, asked him how he liked the book. Wolsey replied, that he liked the book no otherwise than he thought before he should find it. Whereupon the chancellor taking his book, departed home. But at night, when Dr. Fuller came to his chamber to look on it, he found in many places, contrary to his mind, the book rased with a pen by Wolsey, and being vexed therewith, called him an obstinate heretic.

The assizes to be held at Wisbeach drawing nigh, Dr. Fuller came again to Wolsey, and spake to him on this manner—"Thou dost much trouble my conscience, wherefore I pray thee depart, and rule thy tongue, so that I hear no more complaint of thee, and come to the church when thou wilt; and if thou be complained upon, so far as I may, I promise thee I will not hear of it." The bold and just answer of Wolsey to this crafty proposal was in admirable keeping with apostolic precedent. When an earthquake had shaken to the foundation the gaol in which Paul and Silas were imprisoned at Philippi, the magistrates issued a permission for them to depart: but Paul said unto the messenger—"They have cast us uncondemned into prison, and now would privily thrust us out: nay, verily; but let them come themselves and fetch us out." In the same spirit of truth and justice, Wolsey said—"Doctor, I was brought hither by a law, and by a law I will be delivered." Being then brought to the sessions, he was laid in the castle at Wisbeach, he and all his friends thinking that he should have suffered there at that present time, but it proved otherwise.

Robert Pygot was a painter, and being at liberty, was presented by some evil disposed persons, sworn men as they called them, for not coming to the church. Being called in the sessions, he would not absent himself, but appeared before Sir Clement Hygham, who was judge, who said unto him—"Ah, are you the holy father the painter? How chance you came not to the church?" Pygot said—"I am not out of the church, I trust in God." The judge, evading the subject, said—"No, Sir, this is no church, this is a hall." To which Pygot answered—"I know very well it is a hall: but he that is in the true faith of Jesus Christ, is never absent, but ever present in the church of God." On this the judge exclaimed—"Ah, sirrah! you are too high for me to talk with, wherefore I will send you to them that are better learned than I am." He

straightway commanded him to the jail where Wolsey lay; and the sessions being ended, they were carried again to Ely prison.

In the mean time some of their neighbours of Wisbeach being at Ely, came to see how they did. There visited them also a chaplain of bishop Goodrike, a Frenchman, named Peter Valentius, who said to Wolsey and Pygot—"My brethren, according to my office I am come to talk with you, for I have been almoner here these twenty years and above. Wherefore I must desire you, to take it in good part that I am come. I promise you not to pull you from your faith. But I both require and desire in the name of Jesus Christ, that you stand to the truth of the gospel and word, and I beseech the Almighty God, for his son Jesus Christ's sake, to preserve both you and me in the same unto the end. For I know not myself how soon I shall be at the same point that you are." Thus with many like words he proceeded, causing all that were there present to water their cheeks with tears, contrary to the expectation they all had of him.

A short time after Pygot and Wolsey were called to judgment, before Dr. Fuller, then chancellor, with old Dr. Shaxton, Christopherson, and others in commission, who laid earnestly to their charge for their belief in divers articles, but especially of the sacrament of the altar. To this their answer was, That the sacrament of the altar was an idol, and that the natural body and blood of Christ were not present really in the sacrament; and to this opinion they said they would keep, perfectly believing the same to be no heresy, but the very truth. On this the doctors said, that they were out of the catholic faith. Shaxton added, "Good brethren, remember yourselves, and become new men, for I myself was in this fond opinion that you are now in, but I am now become a new man." Wolsey answered, "Ah! are you become a new man? Woe be to thee, thou wicked new man, for God shall justly judge thee." "Say nought unto him," Dr. Fuller then said; "this Wolsey is an obstinate fellow, and one that I could never do good upon. But as for the painter, he is a man quiet and indifferent, as far as I perceive, and is soon reformed, and may very well be delivered for an ill opinion I find in him."

In this, however, Fuller was mistaken, for on Christopherson writing a confession for Pygot to sign, the latter refused, on the ground that it was their faith and not his. On this the writer of the confession taunted Fuller, and said—"Lo, Doctor! you would have let this fellow go, who is as much a heretic as the other." And so immediately judgment was given upon them to die. Which done, after the sentence was read, they were sent again to prison. On the day appointed for their execution, one Peacock, a bachelor of divinity, being to preach, took his text out of the first epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, of one that had lived inordinately by abusing his father's wife; comparing the martyrs to the same man, oftentimes saying that such members must be cut off from the congregation; most maliciously reporting Wolsey to be out of the faith, and in many places palpably opposing the very letter of scripture.

His sermon being ended, the prisoners were brought to the place of

execution, and bound to the stake with a chain; thither came Richard Collinson, a priest, who said unto Wolsey—"Brother Wolsey, the preacher hath openly reported in his sermon this day, that you are quite out of the catholic faith, and deny baptism, and that you do err in the holy scripture; wherefore I beseech you, for the certifying of my conscience, with others here present, that you declare in what place of the scripture you do err and find fault." To this Wolsey solemnly answered—"I take the eternal and everlasting God to witness, that I do deny no part or point of God's book, the holy bible, but hold and believe in the same to be most firm and sound doctrine in all points most worthy for my salvation, and for all other christians to the end of the world. Whatsoever mine adversaries report of me, God forgive them there-for." With that came one to the fire with a great sheet full of books to burn, like as they had been New Testaments. Said Wolsey—"O do give me one of them!" Pygot desired another; both of them clapping them close to their breasts, saying the 106th Psalm, desiring all the people to say, Amen! They then were soon enveloped in flames, committing their souls to the Lord Jesus Christ.<sup>n</sup>

Wolsey, while in prison at Ely, was visited by Thomas Hodilo, brewer. To whom he delivered certain money to be distributed, part to his wife, and part to his kinsfolks and friends, and especially six and eight-pence to Richard Denton, a smith at Wellney, Cambridgeshire, with his commendation, that he marvelled he tarried so long behind him, seeing that he was the first who delivered the book of scripture into his hand, and assured him that it was the truth. Hodilo both to avoid the danger of the time, and to have a witness to the transaction, delivered the sum of money to Mr. Lawrence, a preacher, in Essex, to be distributed as Wolsey had appointed; which thing he performed, riding from place to place. When this six shillings and eight-pence were delivered to Richard Denton, with the message, his answer was this, "I confess it is true, but alas! I cannot burn." This was almost a year after Wolsey had suffered. But he that could not burn for the cause of Christ, was afterwards burnt against his will, even after Christ had given peace to his church. For in the year 1564, his house was set on fire, and he endeavouring to save his goods, perished in the flames, with two others—an event interpreted by most as a judgment for his fearfulness. Not much unlike this, was the example of Mr. West, chaplain to bishop Ridley, who refusing to suffer in the cause of Christ, with his master, said mass against his conscience, and died soon after.

<sup>n</sup> Mr. Fox remarks in addition that he received from a friend, from the university of Cambridge, the following comparison of these two excellent martyrs—each excellent in his way. "Pygot was mild, humble, and modest, promising that he would conform to his persecutors, if they could persuade him by the scriptures. Wolsey was stout, strong, and vehement, as one having the fulness of the Spirit, and detested all their doing. Hence he was jealous over his friend, lest his gentle nature should have been overcome by the enticements of his foes; with whom therefore he was unwilling he should converse."

## SECTION XVI.

HISTORY AND MARTYRDOM OF BISHOP RIDLEY AND BISHOP LATIMER, AND CHARACTER OF STEPHEN GARDINER, BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.

On the 16th of October, 1555, those two pillars of Christ's church, Dr. Nicholas Ridley, bishop of London, and Mr. Hugh Latimer, sometime bishop of Worcester, were burnt in one fire at Oxford. Men ever memorable for their piety, learning, and incomparable ornaments and gifts of grace, joined with no less commendable sincerity of life.

Dr. Ridley was born in the county of Northumberland, and was descended from a most respectable family. He received the rudiments of his education at Newcastle; and, when a child, discovered great promptness in learning. From Newcastle he was removed to the university of Cambridge, where in a short time he became so famous, that for his singular aptness, he was called to higher functions and offices of the university, by degrees pertaining thereunto, and was at length placed at the head of Pembroke-hall, and there made doctor of divinity. After this, departing from thence he travelled to Paris, and at his return was made chaplain to king Henry VIII., and promoted afterwards to the bishopric of Rochester, and from thence, in king Edward's days, translated to the more important bishopric of London.

In his several offices he so diligently applied himself by preaching and teaching the true and wholesome doctrine of Christ, that no good child was more singularly loved by his dear parents, than he by his flock and diocese. Every holiday and Sunday he preached in one place or other, except he were otherwise hindered by weighty affairs and business; and to his sermons the people resorted in great numbers, swarming about him like bees; and so faithfully did his life pourtray his doctrines, that even his very enemies could not reprove him in any thing. His learning, moreover, was superior, his memory was great, and he had attained such reading withal, that he deserved to be compared to the best men of his age, as his works, sermons, and sundry disputations in both the universities well testified. He was also wise of counsel, deep of wit, and very politic in all his doings. He was anxious to gain the papists from their erroneous opinions, and sought by gentleness to win them to the truth, as his gentleness and courteous treatment of Dr. Heath, who was prisoner in his house a whole year, sufficiently proved. In fine, he was in all points so good, pious, and spiritual a man, that England never saw his superior.

He was comely in his person, and well proportioned. He took all things in good part, bearing no malice nor rancour against any one, but straightways forgetting all injuries and offences done against him. He was very kind and faithful to his relations; and yet not bearing with them any otherwise than right would require, giving them always for a general rule, yea to his own brother and sister, that they doing evil should look for nothing at his hand, but should be as strangers and aliens to him, and that to be his brother and sister in deed and in truth,

they must be children of God, disciples of Christ, and live towards all men in peace and love.

He used all kinds of ways to mortify himself, and was much given to prayer and contemplation: for duly every morning, as soon as he was dressed, he went to his chamber, and there upon his knees prayed for half an hour; which being done, immediately he went to his study where he continued till ten o'clock, and then came to the common prayer daily used in his house. These being done he went to dinner; where he talked little, except where occasion required, and then it was sober, discreet, and wise, and sometimes merry if reasonable cause allowed and justified it.

The dinner done, which was not very long, he used to sit an hour, or thereabouts, talking, or playing at chess: he then returned to his study, and there would continue, except visitors or business abroad prevented him, until five o'clock, when he would come to common prayer, as in the forenoon; which being finished, he went to supper, behaving himself there as at his dinner before. After supper he recreated himself again at chess, after which he would return again to his study; continuing there till eleven o'clock at night, which was his common hour of going to bed, after saying his prayers upon his knees as in the morning when he rose. When at his manor of Fulham, he used to read daily a lecture to his family at the common prayer, beginning at the Acts of the Apostles, and so going through all the epistles of St. Paul, giving to every man that could read a New Testament, rewarding them also with money, for learning by heart certain principal chapters; being marvelously careful over his family, that they might be a pattern of all virtue and honesty to others. In short, as he was godly and virtuous himself, so nothing but virtue and godliness reigned in his house, feeding them with the food of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

The following is a striking instance of the benevolence of his temper, shewn to Mrs. Bonner, mother of Dr. Bonner, bishop of London. When at his manor of Fulham he always sent for Mrs. Bonner, who dwelt in a house adjoining his own, to dinner and supper, with Bonner's sister. She was always placed in the chair at the head of the table, being as gently treated and welcomed as his own mother, and he would never have her displaced from her seat, although the king's council had been present; saying, when any of them were there, "By your lordship's favour, this place of right and custom is for my mother Bonner." How well he was recompensed for this singular kindness and gentle pity afterwards at the hands of Dr. Bonner, is too well known. For who afterwards was a greater enemy to Dr. Ridley than Dr. Bonner? Who went more about to seek his destruction than he? Recompensing his gentleness with extreme cruelty; as well appeared by the severity against Dr. Ridley's own sister and her husband: whereas the gentleness of the other permitted Bonner's mother, sister, and others of his kindred, not only quietly to enjoy all that which they had from bishop Bonner, but also entertained them in his house, shewing much courtesy and friendship daily unto them; while, on the other side, Bonner being restored again, would not suffer the brother and sister of bishop Ridley, and other of his friends, to enjoy that which they had by their brother,

but also churlishly, without all order of law or honesty, wrested from them all the livings they had in their own right.

Dr. Ridley was first called to the favouring of Christ and his gospel, by the reading of Bertram's book of the sacrament; and the conference with archbishop Cranmer, and with Peter Martyr, did not a little confirm him in that belief. Being now, by the grace of God, thoroughly won and brought to the true way, as he was before blind and zealous in his old ignorance, so was he constant and faithful in the right knowledge which the Lord had opened unto him, and so long he did much good, when power and authority defended the gospel, and supported the peace and happiness of the church. But after it pleased God to bereave us of our stay, in taking from us king Edward, the whole state of the church of England was left desolate and open to the enemy's hand: so that bishop Ridley, after the coming in of queen Mary, was one of the first upon whom they laid their hands, and committed to prison, as hath been sufficiently declared; first in the Tower, and from thence conveyed with archbishop Cranmer and bishop Latimer, to Oxford, and with them inclosed in the common prison of Bocardo; but at length being separated from them, he was committed to custody in the house of one Irish, where he remained till the day of his martyrdom, which was upwards of eight months.

While he continued in prison with his fellow-sufferer Latimer, they would sometimes confer together by letter, when they could not with safety converse with the tongue. The following is a specimen of this kind of prison conversation.

Ridley says, "In writing again you have done me an unspeakable pleasure, and I pray that the Lord may requite it you in that day. For I have received great comfort at your words: but yet I am not so filled withal, but that I thirst much more now than before, to drink more of that cup of yours, wherein you mingle unto me profitable with pleasant. I pray you, good father, let me have one draught more to comfort my stomach. For surely, except the Lord assist me with his gracious aid, in the time of his service, I know I shall play but the part of a white-livered knight. But truly my trust is in him, that in mine infirmity he should try himself strong, and that he can make the coward in his cause to fight like a man. I now begin almost every day to look when Diotrefes with his warriors shall assault me: wherefore I pray you, good father, for that you are an old soldier, and an expert warrior, and God knoweth I am but a young soldier, and as yet of small experience in these feats, help me, I pray you, to buckle my harness. And now I would have you to think, that these darts are cast at my head by some one of Diotrefes' or Antonius' soldiers."

Latimer answers, "'Except the Lord help me,' ye say. Truth it is: 'for without me,' saith he, 'ye can do nothing;' much less suffer death of our adversaries, through the bloody law now prepared against us. But it followeth, 'If you abide in me, and my word abide in you, ask what you will, and it shall be done for you.' What can be more comfortable? Sir, you make answer yourself so well, that I cannot better it. Sir, I begin now to smell what you mean by travelling thus with me; you use me as Bilney did once, when he converted me, pre-

tending as though he would be taught by me, he sought ways and means to teach me, and so do you. I thank you therefore most heartily. For indeed you minister armour unto me, whereas I was unarmed before and unprovided, saving that I give myself to prayer for my refuge.

The objector, whose darts Ridley apprehended, visited both these good men in prison, and thus assailed them.

*Obj.* All men marvel greatly, why you, after the liberty granted unto you, more than the rest, do not go to mass, which is a thing much esteemed by all men, yea, of the queen herself.

*Rid.* Because no man that layeth hand on the plough and looketh back is fit for the kingdom of God, and also for the self-same cause why St. Paul would not suffer Titus to be circumcised, which is, that the truth of the gospel might remain with us incorrupt. And also, "If I build again the things which I destroyed, I make myself a trespasser." This is likewise another cause: lest I should seem by outward fact to allow the thing, which I am persuaded is contrary to sound doctrine, and so should be a stumbling-block unto the weak. But "woe be unto him by whom offence cometh: it were better for him that a mill-stone were hanged about his neck, and he cast into the midst of the sea."

*Obj.* What is it then that offendeth you so greatly in the mass, that you will not vouchsafe once either to hear or see it? And from whence cometh this new religion upon you? Have you not been used in times past to say mass yourself?

*Rid.* I confess my fault and ignorance; but know you that for these matters I have done penance long ago, both at St. Paul's Cross, and also openly in the pulpit at Cambridge, and I trust that God hath forgiven me this mine offence: for I did it ignorantly. But if you be desirous to know, and will vouchsafe to hear what things offend me in the mass, I will rehearse those which be most clear, and seem most manifestly to impugn God's word, and they are these—The strange tongue; the want of the shewing of the Lord's death; the breaking of the Lord's commandment of having a communion; the sacrament is not communicated to all under both kinds, according to the word of the Lord; the sign is servilely worshipped for the thing signified; Christ's passion is injured, forasmuch as this mass-sacrifice is affirmed to remain for the purging of sins; to be short, the manifold superstitions, and trifling fooleries which are in the mass, and about the same.

*Lat.* Better a few things well pondered, than to trouble the memory with too much; you shall prevail more with praying, than with studying, though mixture be best, for so one shall alleviate the tediousness of the other. I intend not to contend much with them in words, after a reasonable account of my faith given: for it will be but in vain. They will say as their fathers said, when they have no more to say—"We have a law, and by our law he ought to die." "Be you steadfast and immoveable, abounding in the work.—Stand fast." How oft is this repeated—"If you abide in me, and in my word." But we shall be called obstinate, sturdy, ignorant, heady, and what not; so that a man hath need of much patience, having to do with such men.

*Obj.* But you know how great a crime it is to separate yourself from the communion or fellowship of the church, and to make a schism, or

division. You have been reported to have hated the sect of the anabaptists, and always to have impugned the same. Moreover, this was the pernicious error of Novatus, and of the heretics called Cathari, that they would not communicate with the church.

*Rid.* I know that the unity of the church is to be retained by all means, and the same is necessary to salvation. But I do not take the mass, as it is at this day, for the communion of the church, but a popish device, whereby both the commandment and the institution of our Saviour, for the oft frequenting of the remembrance of his death, is eluded, and the people of God are miserably deluded. The sect of the anabaptists, and the heresy of the Novatians, ought of right to be condemned, forasmuch as without any just or necessary cause, they wickedly separated themselves from the communion of the congregation; for they did not allege that the sacraments were unduly administered; but turning their eyes from themselves, wherewith, according to St. Paul's rule, they ought to examine themselves, and casting their eyes ever upon others, they always reprov'd something, for which they abstained from the communion, as from an unholy thing.

*Lat.* I remember that Calvin beginneth to confute the *Interim* after this sort, with this saying of Hilary—"The name of peace is beautiful, and the opinion of unity is fair: but who doubteth that to be the true and only peace of the church, which is Christ's?" I would you had that little book, there would you see how much is to be given to unity. St. Paul, when he requireth unity, joineth with it, according to Jesus Christ, no further. Diotrephes now of late, did always harp upon unity. Yea, Sir, said I, but in verity, not popery. Better is diversity, than unity in popery.

*Obj.* But admit there be in the mass what peradventure might be amended, or at least made better; yea, seeing you will have it so, admit there be a fault; if you do not consent thereto, why do you trouble yourself in vain? Do you not know both by Cyprian and Augustine, that communion of sacraments doth not defile a man, but consent of deeds?

*Rid.* If it were any one trifling ceremony, or if it were some one thing of itself indifferent, for the continuance of the common quietness I could be content to bear it. But forasmuch as things done in the mass tend openly to the overthrow of Christ's institution, I judge that by no means either in word or deed I ought to consent unto it. As for that which is objected out of the fathers, I acknowledge it to be well spoken, if it be well understood. But it is meant of them which suppose they are defiled, if any secret vice be either in the ministers, or in them that communicate with them; and is not meant of them which abhor superstition, and wicked traditions of men, and will not suffer the same to be thrust upon themselves, or upon the church, instead of God's word and the truth of the gospel.

*Lat.* The mass is altogether detestable, and by no means to be borne withal; so that of necessity, the mending of it is to abolish it for ever. For if you take away oblation and adoration, which hang upon consecration and transubstantiation, most of the papists will not set a button by the mass, as a thing which they esteem not, but for the gain that



followeth thereon. For if the English communion, which of late was used, were as gainful to them as the mass hath been heretofore, they would strive no more for their mass: from thence groweth the grief.

*Obj.* Consider into what dangers you cast yourself, if you forsake the church; and you cannot but forsake it, if you refuse to go to mass. For the mass is the sacrament of unity; without the ark there is no salvation. The church is the ark and Peter's ship. You know this saying well enough—"He shall not have God to be his Father, which acknowledgeth not the church to be his mother." Moreover, without the church, as Augustine saith, be the life ever so well spent, none shall inherit the kingdom of heaven.

*Rid.* The holy catholic or universal church, which is the communion of saints, the house of God, the city of God, the spouse of Christ, the body of Christ, the pillar and stay of truth; this church I believe according to the creed; this church I do reverence and honour in the Lord. But the rule of this church is the word of God, according to which rule we go forward unto life. "And as many as walk according to this rule," I say with St. Paul, "peace be upon them, and upon Israel, which pertaineth unto God." The guide of this church is the Holy Ghost. The marks whereby this church is known unto me in this dark world, and in the midst of this crooked and froward generation, are—the sincere preaching of God's holy word, the due administration of the sacraments, charity, and faithful observing of ecclesiastical discipline, according to the word of God. And that church or congregation which is garnished with these marks, is in very deed that heavenly Jerusalem, which consisteth of those that be born from above. This is the mother of us all, and by God's grace I will live and die the child of this church. Out of this, I grant, there is no salvation; and I suppose the rest of the places objected are rightly to be understood of this church only. 'In times past, there were many ways to know the church of Christ, that is to say, by good life, by miracles, by chastity, by doctrine, by administering the sacraments. But from the time that heresies took hold of the church, it is only known by the scriptures which is the true church. They have all things in outward show, which the true church hath in truth. They have temples like unto ours.' Wherefore only by the scriptures do we know which is the true church. To that which they say, that the mass is the sacrament of unity, I answer—The bread which we break, according to the institution of the Lord, is the sacrament of the unity of Christ's mystical body. "For we being many, are one bread and one body, forasmuch as we are all partakers of one bread." But in the mass, the Lord's institution is not observed; for we are not all partakers of one bread, but one devoureth all. So that it may seem a sacrament of singularity, and of a certain special privilege for one sect of people, whereby they may be discerned from the rest, rather than a sacrament of unity, wherein our knitting together in one is represented.°

° This passage of Ridley—this definition of the true church, and of the certain marks by which it may be known—this distinction between the method of ascertaining the church before and after it became Roman and papal—merits the utmost attention, and deserves to be written in letters of gold. If Ridley had never written or spoken any thing else, this would have been sufficient to convince the world that, on every thing relating to the evi-

*Lat.* Yea, what fellowship hath Christ with antichrist? Therefore it is not lawful to bear the yoke with papists. "Come forth from among them, and separate yourselves from them," saith the Lord. It is one thing to be the church indeed, another thing to counterfeit it. Would to God it were well known what is the forsaking of the church. In king Edward's days, who was the church of England? The king and his favourers, or mass-mongers in corners? If the king and the favourers of his proceedings, why were we not now the church, abiding in the same proceeding? If private mass-mongers might be of the church, and yet contrary to the king's proceedings, why may we not be of the church contrary to the queen's proceedings? Not all that are covered with the title of the church, are the church indeed. Separate thyself from them that are such, saith St. Paul. From whom? The text hath before—"If any man follow other doctrines, he is puffed up and knoweth nothing." Weigh the whole text, that you may perceive what is the fruit of contentious disputations. But wherefore are such men said to know nothing, when they know so many things? You know the old verses—

*Hoc est nescire, sine Christo plurima scire:  
Si Christum bene scis, satis est, si cetera nescis.*<sup>p</sup>

Therefore would St. Paul know nothing but Jesus Christ and him crucified. As many as are papists and mass-mongers, they may well be said to know nothing. For they know not Christ, forasmuch as in their massing, they take much away from the benefit and merit of Christ.

*Obj.* That church which you have described to me is invisible, but Christ's church is visible and known. For else why should Christ have said, "Tell it unto the church?" For he had commanded in vain to go unto the church, if a man cannot tell which it is.

*Rid.* The church which I have described is visible, it hath members which may be seen; and also I have before declared, by what marks and tokens it may be known; but if either our eyes be so dazzled, that we cannot see, or that Satan hath brought such darkness into the world, that it is hard to discern the church, that is not the fault of the church, but either of our blindness, or of Satan's darkness. But yet in this most deep darkness, there is one most clear lamp, which of itself alone is able to put away all darkness. "Thy word is a lamp unto my feet, and a light unto my steps."

*Obj.* The church of Christ is a catholic or universal church, dispersed throughout the whole world; this church is the great house of God, in which are good men and evil mingled together, goats and sheep,

dences of religious truth and sacred scriptural worship, he would have been equal as a disputant to the most enlightened who ever opened his lips or employed his pen in such a cause.

<sup>p</sup> To give full effect to these admirable lines, we present the reader with the following rather free, but still fair and faithful translation.

To know all things here, and yet not Christ to know,  
Is ignorance deep as the deepest below:  
To know the Lord Jesus, and know nothing more,  
Is knowledge the highest to which we can soar.

corn and chaff: it is the net which gathereth all kinds of fishes. This church cannot err, because Christ hath promised it his Spirit, which shall lead it into all truth, and that the gates of hell shall not prevail against it; that he will be with it unto the end of the world; whatsoever it shall loose or bind upon earth shall be loosed or bound in heaven. This church is the pillar and stay of truth; this is it for which St. Augustine saith, he believeth the gospel. But this universal church alloweth the mass, because the greater part of the same alloweth it.

*Rid.* I grant that the name of the church is taken after three divers manners in the scripture. Sometimes for the whole multitude of them who profess the name of Christ, of which they are also named Christians. But as St. Paul saith of the Jews, not every one is a Jew, that is so outwardly; neither yet all that be of Israel are counted the seed; even so, not every one that is a christian outwardly is a christian indeed. For if any man have not the spirit of Christ, the same is none of his. Therefore that church which is his body, and of which Christ is the head, standeth only on living stones, and true christians, not only outwardly in name and title, but inwardly in heart and in truth. But forasmuch as this church, as touching the outward fellowship, is contained within the great house, and hath with the same outward society of the sacraments and ministry of the word, many things are spoken of that universal church which cannot truly be understood, but only of that pure part of the church. So that the rule of Ticonius concerning the mingled church, may here well take place; where there is attributed unto the whole church that which cannot agree to the same, but by reason of the one part thereof; that is, either for the multitude of good men, which is the very true church indeed; or for the multitude of evil men, which is the malignant church and synagogue of Satan. And there is also a third taking of the church; of which although there be seldom mention in the scriptures in that signification, yet in the world, even in the most famous assemblies of Christendom, this church hath borne the greatest sway. This distinction pre-supposed of the three sorts of churches, it is an easy matter, by a figure called synecdoche, to give to the mingled and universal church that which cannot truly be understood, but only of the one part thereof. But if any man will affirm that universality doth so pertain unto the church, that whatsoever Christ hath promised to the church, it must needs be understood of that, I would gladly know of the same man where that universal church was in the times of the patriarchs and prophets, of Noah, Abraham, and Moses, of Elias, and Jeremiah, of Christ and the apostles, in the time of Arius, when Constantius was emperor, and Felix, bishop of Rome, succeeded Liberius. It is worthy to be noted, what Lyra writeth upon Matthew—"The church doth not stand in men by reason of their power or dignity, whether it be ecclesiastical or secular. For princes and popes, and other inferiors, have been found to have fallen away from God. Therefore the church consisteth in those persons, in whom is true knowledge and confession of the faith, and of the truth. Evil men are in the church in name, and not in deed." And St. Augustine saith—"Whoever is afraid to be deceived by the darkness of this question, let him ask counsel at the same church of it; which church the scripture

doth point out without any doubtfulness." All my notes which I have written and gathered out of such authors as I have read in this matter, and such like, are come into the hands of such as will not let me have the least of all my written books; wherein I am enforced to complain of them unto God: for they spoil me of all my labours, which I have taken in my study these many years. My memory was never good, for help whereof I have used for the most part, to gather out notes of my reading, and so to place them, that thereby I might have had the use of them when the time required. But who knoweth whether this be God's will, that I should be thus ordered, and spoiled of the poor learning I had in store, to the intent that I, now destitute of that, should from henceforth with St. Paul learn only to know Christ and him crucified? The Lord grant me herein to be a good young scholar, and to learn this lesson so well, that neither death nor life, wealth nor woe, make me ever to forget it.

*Lat.* I have no more to say in this matter; for you yourself have said all that is to be said. The strong saying of St. Augustine—*I would not believe the Gospel, but as the church declareth it*—was wont to trouble many men; as I remember, I have read it well qualified by Philip Melancthon. This it is in effect: the church is not a judge but a witness. There were some in his time that lightly esteemed the testimony of the church, and the outward ministry of preaching, and rejected the outward word itself, cleaving only to their inward revelations. Such rash contempt of the word provoked and drove St. Augustine into that excessive vehemency. In which, after the bare sound of the words, he might seem to such as do not attain unto his meaning, that he preferred the church far before the gospel, and that the church hath a free authority over the same; but that pious man never thought so. It were a saying worthy to be brought forth against the Anabaptists, who thought the open ministry to be a thing not necessary, if they any thing esteemed such testimonies. I would not hesitate to affirm, that the most part of the whole universal church may easily err. And again I would not hesitate to affirm, that it is one thing to be gathered together in the name of Christ, and another thing to come together with a mass of the Holy Ghost going before. For in the first, Christ ruleth; in the latter, the devil beareth the sway; and how can any thing be good which they thus go about? From this latter shall our six articles come forth again into the light, they themselves being very darkness. But it is demanded, whether the sounder or better part of the catholic church may be seen of men? St. Paul saith—"The Lord knoweth them that are his." What manner of speaking is this in commendation of the Lord, if we knew as well as he who are his? Well, thus is the text—"the sure foundation of God standeth still, and hath this seal, The Lord knoweth them that are his; and let every man that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity." Now how many are there of the whole catholic church of England who depart from iniquity? How many of the noblemen, how many of the bishops or clergy, how many of the rich men, or merchants, how many of the queen's counsellors, yea, how many of the whole realm? In how small room then, I pray you, is the true

church within the realm of England? And where is it? And in what state?

*Obj.* General councils represent the universal church, and have this promise of Christ—"Where two or three be gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them." If Christ be present with two or three, then much more where there is so great a multitude. But in general councils mass hath been approved and used.

*Rid.* Of the universal church which is mingled of good and bad, thus I think—Whensoever they which be chief in it, which rule and govern the same, and to whom the whole mystical body of Christ doth obey, are the lively members of Christ, and walk after the guiding and rule of his word, and go before the flock to everlasting life, then undoubtedly councils gathered together of such guides and pastors of the christian flock, do indeed represent the christian church; and being so gathered in the name of Christ, they have a promise of the gift and guiding of his Spirit into all truth. But that any such council hath at any time allowed the mass, such an one as ours was of late, in a strange tongue, and stuffed with so many absurdities, errors, and superstitions; that I utterly deny, and affirm it to be impossible. For like as there is no agreement betwixt light and darkness, betwixt Christ and Belial; so surely superstition and the sincere religion of Christ, will-worship and the pure worshipping of God, such as God requireth of his, in spirit and truth, never can agree together. You will say, where so great a company is gathered together it is not credible but there are two or three gathered in the name of Christ. I answer, If there be one hundred good, and two hundred bad, what can the less number of voices avail? It is a known thing, and a common proverb, oftentimes the greater part overcometh the better.

*Lat.* As touching general councils, at this present I have no more to say than you have said. Only I refer you to your own experience, to think of our country parliaments and convocations, how and what you have seen and heard. The greater part in my time did bring forth six articles: for then the king would have it so, being seduced of certain. Afterward the greater part did repel the same, our good Josias willing to have it so. The same articles now again another great but worse part hath restored. O what an uncertainty is this! But after this manner most commonly are men's proceedings. God be merciful unto us! Who shall deliver us from such torments of mind? Therefore is death the best physician unto the faithful, whom he together and at once delivereth from all griefs.

*Obj.* If the matter should go thus, that in general councils men should not stand to the greater number of the multitude, then should no certain rule be left unto the church, by which controversies in weighty matters might be determined; but it is not to be believed, that Christ would leave his church destitute of so necessary a help and safeguard.

*Rid.* Christ, who is the most loving spouse of his church, who also gave himself for it, that he might sanctify it unto himself, did give unto it abundantly all things which are necessary to salvation; but yet so, that the church should declare itself obedient unto him in all things,

and keep itself within the bounds of his commandments, and not to seek any thing which he teacheth not, as necessary unto salvation. Now for determination of all controversies in his religion, Christ himself hath left unto the church not only Moses and the prophets, whom he willeth in all doubts to go unto, and ask counsel at, but also the gospels, and the rest of the body of the New Testament; in which whatsoever is heard of Moses and the prophets, and whatsoever is necessary to be known unto salvation, is revealed and opened. So that now we have no need to say—"Who shall climb up into heaven, or who shall go down into the depth," to tell us what is needful to be done? Christ hath done both, and hath commended to us the word of faith, which also is abundantly declared to us; so that hereafter, if we walk earnestly in this way to the searching out of the truth, it is not to be doubted but through the certain benefit of his Spirit, which he hath promised unto us, we may find it, and obtain everlasting life. Should men ask counsel of the dead for the living? saith Isaiah. Let them go rather to the law and to the testimony. Christ sendeth them that be desirous to know the truth unto the scriptures, saying—"Search the scriptures." I remember a like thing well spoken of St. Jerome—"Ignorance of the scriptures is the mother and cause of all errors." And in another place, as I remember, in the same author—"The knowledge of the scriptures is the food of everlasting life." But now methinks I enter into a very broad sea, in that I begin to shew, either out of the scriptures themselves, or out of the ancient writers, how much the holy scripture is of force to teach the truth of our religion. But this is it that I am now about, that Christ would have the church, his spouse, in all matters of doubt to ask counsel at the word of his Father, written and faithfully left, and commended unto it in both Testaments. Neither do we read, that Christ in any place hath laid so great a burden upon the members of his spouse, that he hath commanded them to go to the universal church. "Whatsoever things are written, are written for our learning." Christ gave unto his church, "some apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some shepherds and teachers, to the edifying of the saints, till we come all to the unity of the faith." But that all men should meet together out of all parts of the world, to define the articles of our faith, I neither find it commanded by Christ, nor written in the word of God.

*Lat.* There is difference between things pertaining to God or faith, and politic and civil matters. For in the first we must stand only to the scriptures, which are able to make us all perfect and instructed unto salvation, if they be well understood. And they offer themselves to be well understood only to them, which have good-wills, and give themselves to study and prayer. Neither are there any men less apt to understand them, than the prudent and wise men of the world. But in the other, that is, in civil and politic matters, oftentimes the magistrates tolerate a less evil for avoiding a greater. And it is the property of a wise man to dissemble many things, and he that cannot dissemble, cannot rule. In which they betrayed themselves, that they do not earnestly weigh what is just, and what is not. Wherefore for as much as man's laws, if they be but in this respect only, that they be devised

by men, are not able to bring any thing to perfection, but are enforced of necessity to suffer many things out of square, and are compelled sometimes to wink at the worst things; seeing they know not how to maintain the common peace and quiet otherwise, they do ordain that the greater part shall take place. You know what these kind of speeches mean; I speak after the manner of men; you walk after the manner of men; all men are liars. St. Augustine well saith—"If ye live after man's reason, ye do not live after the will of God."

*Obj.* If you say that councils have sometimes erred, or may err, how then should we believe the catholic church? since councils are gathered by the authority of the catholic church.

*Rid.* From "may be," to "be indeed," is no good argument; but from "being," to "may be," no man doubteth but it is a most sure argument. That councils have sometimes erred, it is manifest. How many were there in the eastern world, which condemned the Nicene council? and all those who would not forsake the same, they called by a slanderous name, Homousians. Were not Athanasius, Chrysostom, Cyril, and Eustachius, men very well learned, and of godly life, banished and condemned as famous heretics, and that by evil councils? How many things are there in the canons and institutions of the councils, which the papists themselves do much dislike? But here peradventure one man will say unto me, We will grant you this in provincial councils, or councils of some one nation, that they may sometimes err, forso much as they do not represent the universal church; but it is not to be believed, that the general and full councils have erred at any time. I will recite one place only out of St. Augustine which, in my judgment, may suffice in this matter instead of many. "Who knoweth not that the holy scripture is so set before us, that it is not lawful to doubt of it; and that the letters of bishops may be reproved by other men's words, and by councils; and that the councils themselves which are gathered by provinces and countries, do give place to the authority of the general and full councils; and that the former and general councils are amended by the latter, when as by some experience of things, either what was shut up is opened, or that which was hid is known?" Thus much out of St. Augustine. But I will plead our Antonian, upon matter confessed. Here with us as when popery reigned, I pray you how doth that book, which was called, "The bishop's book," composed in the time of king Henry VIII. whereof the bishop of Winchester is thought to be either the first father, or chief gatherer; how doth it sharply reprove the Florentine council, in which was decreed the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, and that with the consent of the emperor of Constantinople, and of the Grecian heads? So that in those days our learned ancient fathers and bishops of England did not hesitate to affirm, that a general council might err. But methinks I hear another man despising all that I have brought forth, and saying—"These which you have called councils, are not worthy to be called councils, but rather assemblies and conventicles of heretics." I pray you, Sir, why do you judge them worthy of so scandalous a name? Because they decreed things heretical, contrary to sound doctrine and true godliness, and against the faith of true religion? The cause must be weighty, for which

they ought of right so to be called. But if it be so that all councils ought to be despised which decree any thing contrary to sound doctrine, and the true word, which is according to godliness, forso much as the mass such as we had here of late, is openly against the word of God; forsooth, it must of necessity follow, that all such councils as have approved such masses, ought to be shunned and despised, as conventicles and assemblies that stray from the truth.

Another man alleged unto me the authority of the bishop of Rome, without which, neither can the councils be lawfully gathered, nor being gathered, determine any thing concerning religion. But this objection is only grounded upon the ambitious and shameless maintenance of the Romish tyranny and usurped dominion over the clergy; which tyranny we Englishmen long ago, by the consent of the whole realm, have expelled and abjured. And how rightly we have done it, a little book set forth of both the powers doth clearly shew. I grant that the Romish ambition hath gone about to challenge to itself, and to usurp such a privilege of old time. But the council of Carthage, in the year of our Lord 457, did openly withstand it, and also the council at Milevite, in which St. Augustine was present, did prohibit any applications to be made to bishops beyond the sea.

*Obj.* St. Augustine saith, the good men are not to be forsaken for the evil; but the evil are to be borne withal for the good. You will not say that in our congregations all be evil.

*Rid.* I speak nothing of the goodness or badness of your congregations; but I fight in Christ's quarrel against the mass, which doth utterly take away and overthrow the ordinance of Christ. Let that be taken quite away, and then the partition wall that made the strife shall be broken down. Now to the place of St. Augustine, for bearing with the evil for the good's sake, there ought to be added other words, which the same writer hath expressed in other places; that is, if those evil men do cast abroad no seeds of false doctrine, nor lead others to destruction by their example.

*Obj.* It is perilous to attempt any new thing in the church, which lacketh example of good men. How much more so is it to commit any act, unto which the examples of the prophets, of Christ, and of the apostles, are contrary? But unto this your fact, in abstaining from the church by reason of the mass, the examples of the prophets, of Christ, and of the apostles, are clean contrary. The first part of the argument is evident, and the second part I prove thus, In the times of the prophets, of Christ, and his apostles, all things were most corrupt. The people were miserably given to superstition, the priests despised the law of God; and yet notwithstanding we read not that the prophets made any schisms or divisions; and Christ himself frequented the temple, and taught in the temple of the Jews. Peter and John went up into the temple at the ninth hour of prayer. Paul after the reading of the law, being desired to say something to the people, did not refuse to do it. Yea further, no man can shew that either the prophets, or Christ, or his apostles, did refuse to pray together with others, to sacrifice, or to be partakers of the sacrament of Moses' law.

*Rid.* I grant the former part of your argument; and to the second



part I say, that although it contain many true things, as of the corrupt state in the times of the prophets, and the apostles; and of the temple being frequented by Christ and his apostles; yet the second part of your argument is not sufficiently proved. For you ought to have proved, that either the prophets, or Christ, or his apostles, did in the temple communicate with the people in any kind of worshipping which is forbidden by the law of God, or repugnant to the word of God. But that can no where be shewed. And as for the church, I am not angry with it, and I never refused to go to it, and to pray with the people, to hear the word of God, and to do all other things whatsoever, that may agree with the word of God. St. Augustine, speaking of the ceremonies of the Jews, although he grants they grievously oppressed that people, both for the number and bondage of the same, yet he calleth them burdens of the law, which were delivered unto them in the word of God; not presumptions of men, which notwithstanding, if they were not contrary to God's word, might in some measure be borne withal. But now, seeing they are contrary to such things as are written in the word of God, whether they ought to be borne by any christian, let him judge who is spiritual, who feareth God more than man, and loveth everlasting life more than this short and transitory one. To that which was said, that my fact lacketh example of the godly fathers that have gone before, the contrary is most evident in the history of Tobit; of whom it is said, that when all others went to the golden calves, which Jeroboam the king of Israel had made, he himself alone fled from their company, and got him to Jerusalem unto the Lord, and there worshipped the Lord God of Israel. Did not the man of God threaten grievous plagues both unto the priests of Bethel, and to the altar which Jeroboam had there made after his own fantasy? Which plagues king Josias, the true minister of God, did execute at the time appointed. And where do we read, that the prophets or the apostles did agree with the people in their idolatry? For what cause, I pray you, did the prophets rebuke the people so much, as for their false worshipping of God after their own minds, and not after God's word? For what was so much war in Israel as for that? Wherefore the false prophets ceased not to accuse the true prophets of God: therefore they beat them, and banished them. How else, I pray you, can you understand what St. Paul allegeth, when he saith—"What concord hath Christ with Belial? or what part hath the believer with the infidel? Or how agreeth the temple of God with idols? For ye are the temple of the living God, as God himself hath said; I will dwell among them, and will be their God, and they shall be my people. Wherefore, come out from among them, and separate yourselves from them, and touch no unclean thing; so will I receive you, and be a Father unto you, and you shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord God Almighty."

Judith, that holy woman, would not suffer herself to be defiled with the meats of the wicked. All the saints of God, which truly feared God, when they have been provoked to do any thing which they knew to be contrary to God's laws, have chose to die rather than forsake the laws of their God. Wherefore the Maccabees put themselves in danger of death for the defence of the law, and at length died manfully in the

defence of the same. If we praise the Maccabees, and that with great admiration, because they did stoutly stand even unto death, for the law of their country; how much more ought we to suffer all things for our baptism, for the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, and for all the points of his truth? As to the supper of the Lord, such a one as Christ commanded us to celebrate, the mass utterly abolisheth, and corrupteth most shamefully.

*Lat.* Who am I, that should add any thing to this which you have spoken? Nay, I rather thank you, you have vouchsafed to minister so plentiful an armour to me, being otherwise altogether unarmed, saving, that he cannot be left destitute of help, who rightly trusteth in the help of God. I only learn to die in reading of the New Testament, and am always praying unto my God, that he will be an helper unto me in time of need.

*Obj.* Seeing you are obstinately set against the mass, as you affirm, because it is done in a tongue not understood by the people, and for other causes, I cannot tell what; therefore it is not the true sacrament ordained of Christ. I begin to suspect you, that you think not catholically of baptism also. Is our baptism which we use in a tongue unknown to the people, the true baptism of Christ, or not? If it be, then the strange tongue doth not hurt the mass. If it be not the baptism of Christ, tell me how you were baptised. Or will you have, as the anabaptists insist, all which were baptised in Latin, baptised again in the English tongue?

*Rid.* Although I would wish baptism to be given in the vulgar tongue, for the people's sake which are present, that they may the better understand their own profession, and also be more able to teach their children the same, yet, notwithstanding, there is not like necessity of the vulgar tongue in baptism, as in the Lord's supper. Baptism is given to children, who, by reason of their age, are not able to understand what is spoken to them, whatsoever it be. The Lord's supper is and ought to be given to them that are at years of maturity. Moreover, in baptism, which is accustomed to be given to children in the Latin tongue, all the substantial points which Christ commanded to be done, are observed. And therefore I judge your baptism to be a true baptism; and that it is not only not needful, but also not lawful, for any man so baptised, to be baptised again. But yet they ought to be taught the catechism of the christian faith, when they come to years of discretion; which catechism whosoever despiseth, or will not desirously embrace and willingly learn, in my judgment he playeth not the part of a christian. But in the popish mass are wanting certain substantials, that is to say, things commanded by the word of God, to be observed in the ministration of the Lord's supper; of which there is sufficient declaration made before.

*Lat.* Where you say, "I would wish," surely I would wish that you had spoken more strongly, and to have said, It is of necessity that all things in the congregation should be done in the vulgar tongue, for the edifying and comfort of them that are present, notwithstanding that the child itself is sufficiently baptized in the Latin tongue.

*Obj.* Forasmuch as I perceive you are so wedded to your opinion,

that no gentle exhortations, no wholesome counsels, can call you home to a better mind, there remaineth that which in like cases was wont to be the only remedy against stubborn persons, that you must be hampered by the laws, and compelled to obey; or else suffer that which a rebel to the laws ought to suffer. Do you not know, that whosoever refuseth to obey the laws of the realm betrayeth himself to be an enemy to his country? Do you not know, this is the readiest way to stir up sedition and civil war? It is better that you should bear your own sin, than through the example of your breach of the common laws, the common quiet should be disturbed. How can you say you will be the queen's true subjects, when you openly profess that you will not keep her laws?

*Rid.* O heavenly Father, the Father of all wisdom, understanding, and true strength, I beseech thee, for thy only Son our Saviour Christ's sake, look mercifully upon me, wretched creature, and send thine Holy Spirit into my breast, that not only I may understand according to thy wisdom how this pestilent and deadly dart is to be borne off, and with what answer it is to be beaten back, but also when I must join to fight in the field for the glory of thy name, that then I, being strengthened with the defence of thy right hand, may manfully stand in the confession of thy faith, and of truth, and continue in the same unto the end of my life, through the same our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

Now to the objection. I grant it to be reasonable, that he, which by words and gentleness cannot be made to yield to that which is right and good, should be bridled by the strait correction of the laws: that is to say, He that will not be subject to God's word, must be punished by the laws. It is true that is commonly said, "He that will not obey the gospel, must be tamed and taught by the rigour of the law." But these things ought to take place against him who refuseth to do that which is right and just according to true godliness, not against him who cannot quietly bear superstitions, but doth hate and detest from his heart such kind of proceedings, and that for the glory of the name of God. To that which you say, a transgressor of the common laws betrayeth himself to be an enemy of his country, surely a man ought to look unto the nature of the laws, what manner of laws they be which are broken: for a faithful christian ought not to think alike of all manner of laws. But that saying ought only truly to be understood of such laws as are not contrary to God's word. Otherwise, whosoever love their country in truth, they will always judge, if at any time the laws of God and man be the one contrary to the other, that a man ought rather to obey God than man. And they that think otherwise, and pretend a love to that country, forasmuch as they make their country to fight as it were against God, in whom consisteth the only stay of their country, surely I think such are to be judged most deadly enemies and traitors to their country. For they that fight against God, who is the safety of their country, what do they else but go about to bring upon their country a present ruin and destruction!

But this is the readiest way, you say, to stir up sedition, to trouble the quiet of the commonwealth; therefore are these things to be repressed in time by force of law. Behold, Satan doth not cease to practise his old guiles and accustomed subtleties. He hath ever his dart in readiness to hurl against his adversaries, to accuse them of sedition, that he may bring them, if he can, in danger of the higher powers.

For so hath he by his ministers always charged the prophets of God. Ahab said unto Elias, "Art thou he that troubleth Israel?" The false prophets also complained to their princes of Jeremy, that his words were seditious, and not to be suffered. Did not the scribes and pharisees falsely accuse Christ as a seditious person, and one that spake against Cæsar? Did they not at last cry, "If thou let this man go, thou art not Cæsar's friend?" The orator Tertullus, how doth he accuse Paul before Felix the high deputy? "We have found this man a pestilent fellow, and stirrer of sedition, unto all the Jews in the whole world." But, I pray you, were these men, as they were called, seditious persons? Christ, Paul, and the prophets? God forbid. But they were by false men falsely accused. And for what, I pray you, but because they reprov'd before the people their guiles, superstition, and deceits? For that which was objected last, that he cannot be a faithful subject to his prince, who professeth openly that he will not observe the laws which the prince hath made; here I would wish that I might have an impartial judge, and one that feareth God, to whose judgment in this cause I promise I will stand. I answer, therefore, a man ought to obey his prince, but in the Lord, and never against the Lord. For he that knowingly obeyeth him against God, doth not a duty to the prince, but is a deceiver, and an helper unto him to work his own destruction. He is also unjust who giveth not to the prince that which is the prince's, and to God that which is God's. Here cometh to my remembrance that notable saying of Valentinian the emperor, for choosing the bishop of Milan—"Set him in the bishop's seat, to whom, if we, as men, do offend at any time, we may submit ourselves." Polycarp the most constant martyr, when he stood before the chief rulers, and was commanded to blaspheme Christ, and to swear by the fortune of Cæsar, answered with a mild spirit—"We are taught to give honour unto princes, and those powers which be of God; but such honour as is not contrary to God's religion."

Thus the answers to the objector appear at present to end: what follows seems to have been addressed by Ridley to Latimer in a more private conference.

"Hitherto you see, good father, how I have in word only made, as it were, a flourish before the fight, which I shortly look for, and how I have begun to prepare certain kinds of weapons to fight against the adversary of Christ, and to muse with myself how the darts of the old enemy may be borne off, and after what manner I may smite him again with the sword of the Spirit. I learn also to accustom myself to armour, and to try how I can go armed. In Tynedale, where I was born, not far from the borders of Scotland, I have known my countrymen to watch night and day in their harness, such as they had, and their spears in their hands, especially when they had any private warning of the coming of the Scots. And so doing, although at every such bickering some of them spent their lives, yet by such means, like valiant men, they defended their country. And those that so died, I think that before God they died in a good quarrel, and their offspring and progeny were loved by all the country the better for their father's sake. And in the quarrel of Christ our Saviour, in the defence

of his own divine ordinances, by which he giveth unto us life and immortality; yea, in the quarrel of faith and the christian religion, wherein resteth our everlasting salvation, shall we not watch? Shall we not go always armed? Always looking when our adversary shall come upon us by reason of our slothfulness? Yea, and woe be unto us if he can oppress us unawares, which undoubtedly he will do, if he find us sleeping. Let us awake, therefore; for if the good man of the house knew at what hour the thief would come, he would surely watch, and not suffer his house to be broken up. Let us awake, therefore, I say: let us not suffer our house to be broken up. 'Resist the devil, and he will fly from you.' Let us resist him manfully, and taking the cross upon our shoulders, let us follow our captain Christ, who, by his own blood, hath dedicated and hallowed the way which leadeth unto the Father, that is, to the light which no man can attain, the fountain of everlasting joys. Let us follow, I say, whither he calleth and inviteth us, that after these afflictions, which last but for a moment, whereby he trieth our faith, as gold by the fire, we may everlastingly reign and triumph with him in the glory of the Father, and that through the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; to whom, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, now and for ever, Amen. Amen.

"Good father, forasmuch as I have determined with myself to pour forth these my cogitations into thy bosom, here, methinks, I see you suddenly lifting up your head towards heaven, after your manner, and then looking upon me with your propheticall countenance, say, 'Trust not, my son, to these word-weapons; for the kingdom of God is not in word, but in power.' And remember always the words of the Lord: 'Do not imagine beforehand, what and how you will speak; for it shall be given you in the same hour what ye shall speak. For it is not you that speak, but the Spirit of your Father which speaketh in you.' I pray you, therefore, father, pray for me, that I may cast my whole care upon him, and trust upon him in all perils. For I know, and am surely persuaded, that whatsoever I can imagine or think beforehand it is nothing, except he assist me with his Spirit when the time is. I beseech you therefore father, pray for me, that such a complete harness of the Spirit, such a boldness of mind, may be given unto me, that I may out of a true faith say with David, 'I will not trust in my bow, and it is not my sword that shall save me. For he hath no pleasure in the strength of an horse: but the Lord's delight is in them that fear him, and put their trust in his mercy.' I beseech you pray, pray that I may enter this fight only in the name of God, and that when all is past, I being not overcome, through his gracious aid, may remain and stand fast in him till that day of the Lord, in which to them that obtain the victory shall be given the lively manna to eat, and a triumphant crown for evermore. Now, father, I pray you to help me to buckle on this harness a little better. For you know the deepness of Satan, being an old soldier, and you have collared with him ere now; blessed be God, who hath ever aided you so well. I suppose he may well hold you at the bay. But truly he will not be so willing, I think, to join with you as

with us youngsters. Sir, I beseech you, let your servant read this unto you, and now and then, as it shall seem unto you best, let your pen run on my book : spare not to blot my paper ; I give you good leave."

To this admirable communication of Ridley, Latimer returned the following characteristic answer. "Sir, I have caused my man not only to read your armour unto me, but also to write it out, for it is not only solid armour, but also well buckled armour. I see not how it could be better. I thank you even from the bottom of my heart for it, and my prayers you shall not lack, trusting that you do the like for me ; for indeed there is the 'help in time of need.' And if I were learned as well as St. Paul, I would not bestow much amongst them, further than gall them, and spur-gall too, when and where occasion were given, and matter came to mind ; for the law shall be our sheet-anchor, stay, and refuge. Therefore there is no remedy, now when they have the master-bowl in their hand, but patience. Better is it to suffer what cruelly they will put upon us, than to incur God's high indignation. Wherefore, my good lord, be of good cheer in the Lord, with due consideration what he requireth of you, and what he doth promise you. Our common enemy shall do no more than God will permit him. God is faithful, who will not suffer us to be tempted above our strength. Be at a point what you will stand unto ; stick unto that, and let them both say and do what they list. They can but kill the body, which otherwise is of itself mortal. Neither yet shall they do that when they list, but as God will suffer them, when the hour appointed is come. It will be but in vain to use many words with them, now they have a bloody and deadly law prepared for you.

"The number of the criers under the altar must needs be fulfilled : if we be separated thereunto, happy be we. That is the greatest promotion that God giveth in this world, to be such Philippians, 'to whom it is given not only to believe, but also to suffer for the sake of Christ.' But who is able to do these things ? Surely all our ability, all our sufficiency is of God. He requireth and promiseth. Let us declare our obedience to his will when it shall be requisite in the time of trouble, yea, in the midst of the fire. When the number that cry under the altar is fulfilled which I suppose will be shortly, then have at the papists, when they shall say, Peace, all things are safe, when Christ shall come to keep his great parliament to redress all things that are amiss. But he shall not come as the papists feign him, to hide himself, and to play bo-peep as it were under a piece of bread ; but he shall come gloriously, to the terror and fear of all his enemies and to the great consolation and comfort of all that will here suffer for him. Comfort yourselves and one another with these words.

"Lo, Sir, here have I blotted your paper vainly, and played the fool egregiously ; but so I thought better than not to fulfil your request at this time. Pardon me, and pray for me ; pray for me I say, pray for me. For I am sometimes so fearful, that I would creep into a mouse-hole ; sometimes God doth visit me again with his comfort. So he cometh and goeth, to teach me to feel and to know mine infirmity, to the intent to give thanks to him that is worthy, lest I should rob him of his due, as so many do, and almost all the world. What belief is to be given to papists

may appear by their racking, writing, wrenching, and monstrously injuring of God's holy scripture, as appeareth in the pope's law. But I dwell here now in a school of forgetfulness. Fare you well once again, and be you steadfast and unmoveable in the Lord. Paul loved Timothy marvellously well, notwithstanding he saith unto him—'Be thou partaker of the afflictions of the gospel;' and again, 'Harden thyself to suffer afflictions. Be faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life.'

The following letter is an interesting communication from Ridley to Bradford and his prison-fellows in the King's Bench, Southwark, 1554.

"Well beloved in Christ our Saviour, we all with one heart wish to you, with all those that love God in deed and truth, grace and health, and especially to our dearly beloved companions which are in Christ's cause, and the cause both of their brethren and of their own salvation, to put their neck willingly under the yoke of Christ's cross. How joyful it was to us to hear the report of Dr. Taylor, and of his godly confession, I assure you it is hard for me to express. Blessed be God, which was and is the giver of that, and of all godly strength and support in the time of adversity. As for the rumours that have or do go abroad, either of our relenting or massing, we trust, that they which know God and their duty towards their brethren in Christ, will not be too easy of belief. For it is not the slanderer's evil tongue, but a man's evil deed that can with God defile a man; and, therefore, with God's grace, you shall never have cause to do otherwise than you say you do, that is, not to doubt but that we will by God's grace continue steadfast and unmoveable. Like rumours as you have heard of our coming to London, have been here spread of the coming of certain learned men prisoners hither from London; but as yet we know no certainty which of these rumours is or shall be more true. Know you that we have you in our daily remembrance, and wish you and all the rest of our foresaid companions well in Christ.

"It would much comfort us, if we might have knowledge of the state of the rest of our most dearly beloved, which in this troublesome time do stand in Christ's cause, and in the defence of the truth thereof. We have heard somewhat of Mr. Hooper's matter, but nothing of the rest. We long to hear of father Crome, Dr. Sands, Mr. Saunders, Veron, Beacon, Rogers, and others. We are in good health, thanks be to God, and yet the manner of using us doth change as sour ale in summer. It is reported to us by our keepers, that the university beareth us heavily. A coal happened to fall in the night out of the chimney, and burnt a hole in the floor, and no more harm was done, the bailiff's servant sitting by the fire. Another night there chanced, as the bailiffs told us, a drunken fellow to multiply words, and for the same he was set in Bocardo. Upon these things, as is reported, there is a rumour risen in the town and country about, that we would have broke the prison with such violence, as that if the bailiffs had not played the pretty men, we should have made an escape. We had out of our prison a wall that we might have walked upon, and our servants had liberty to go abroad in the town or fields, but now both they and we are restrained from both.

“ My lord of Worcester passed through Oxford, but he did not visit us. The same day our restraint began to be more close, and the book of the communion was taken from us by the bailiffs at the mayor’s command, as the bailiffs did report to us. No man is licensed to come unto us; before they might, that would see us upon the wall, but that is so grudged at, and so evil reported, that we are now restrained. Blessed be God, with all our evil reports, grudges, and restraints, we are merry in God, all our care is and shall be, by God’s grace, to please and serve him, of whom we look and hope, after these temporal and momentary miseries, to have eternal joy and perpetual felicity with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, Peter, and Paul, and all the heavenly company of the angels in heaven, through Jesus Christ our Lord. As yet there has no learned man, nor any scholar, been to visit us since we came into Bocardo, which now in Oxford may be called a college of Quondams. For as you know we are no fewer than three,<sup>s</sup> and I dare say every one well contented with his portion, which I do reckon to be our heavenly Father’s good and gracious gift. Thus fare you well. We shall, by God’s grace, one day meet together, and be merry. The day assuredly approacheth apace; the Lord grant that it may shortly come. For before that day come, I fear the world will wax worse and worse. But then all our enemies shall be overthrown and trodden under foot: righteousness and truth then shall have the victory, and bear the bell away, whereof the Lord grant us to be partakers, and all that love truly the truth.

“ We all pray you, as we can, to cause all our commendations to be made unto all such as you know did visit us and you when we were in the Tower, with their friendly remembrances and benefits. Mrs. Wilkerson and Mrs. Warcup<sup>t</sup> have not forgotten us, but ever since we came to Bocardo, with their charitable and friendly benevolence have comforted us: not that else we did lack, (for God be blessed, he hath always sufficiently provided for us) but that is a great comfort, and an occasion for us to bless God, when we see that he maketh them so friendly to tender us, whom some of us were never familiarly acquainted withal.”

A selection only of the letters of Ridley can be made. The next deserving special attention is one addressed generally to all his suffering brethren through the country.

“ Grace, peace, and mercy, be multiplied among you. What worthy thanks can we render unto the Lord for you, my brethren; namely, for the great consolation which, through you, we have received in the Lord, who, notwithstanding the rage of Satan, that goeth about by all manner of subtle means to beguile the world, and also busily laboureth to restore and set up his kingdom again, that of late began to decay and fall to ruin; you remain yet still immoveable, as men surely grounded upon a

<sup>s</sup> Cranmer was the other individual of the three; and though nothing is hinted of his taking a share in the correspondence of these illustrious prisoners, it is evident, by the incidental mention of him in this place, that he had not yet become shaken, nor that he yet thought of recanting.

<sup>t</sup> Two excellent women to whom some of Bradford’s best letters were addressed. It would appear from their ministrations to the Oxford as well as London prisoners, that they devoted themselves to a general attention to the wants of the martyrs of that day.



strong rock. And now, albeit that Satan by his soldiers and wicked ministers, daily draweth numbers unto him, so that it is said of him, that he plucketh the very stars out of heaven, while he driveth into some men the fear of death, and loss of all their goods, and sheweth to others the pleasant baits of the world; namely, riches, wealth, and all kinds of delights and pleasures, fair houses, great revenues, fat benefices, and what not; and all to the intent that they should fall down and worship, not the Lord, but the dragon, the old serpent, which is the devil, that great beast and his image, and should be enticed to commit fornication with the strumpet of Babylon, together with the kings of the earth, with the lesser beast, and with the false prophets, and so to rejoice and be pleasant with her, and to get drunk with the wine of her fornication: yet blessed be God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, which hath given unto you a manly courage, and hath so strengthened you in the inward man, by the power of his Spirit, that you can contemn so well all the allurements of the world, esteeming them as vanities, mere trifles, and things of nought; who hath also wrought, planted, and surely established in your hearts, so steadfast a faith and love of the Lord Jesus Christ, joined with such constancy, that by no engines of antichrist, be they ever so terrible or plausible, you will suffer any other Jesus, or any other Christ, to be forced upon you, besides him whom the prophets have spoken of before, the apostles have preached, the holy martyrs of God have confessed and testified with the effusion of their blood.

“In this faith stand you fast, my brethren, and suffer not yourselves to be brought under the yoke of bondage and superstition any more. For you know, brethren, how our Saviour warned us before hand, that such should come as would point unto the world another Christ, and would set him out with so many false miracles, and with such deceivable and subtle practices, that even the very elect, if it were possible, should thereby be deceived: such strong delusion to come did our Saviour give warning of before. But continue you faithful and constant, and be of good comfort, and remember that our great captain hath overcome the world: for he that is in us is stronger than he that is in the world, and the Lord promiseth us, that for the elect's sake, the days of wickedness shall be shortened. In the mean season abide you and endure with patience as you have begun: ‘Endure,’ I say, and ‘reserve yourselves unto better times,’ as one of the heathen poets said; cease not to shew yourselves valiant soldiers of the Lord, and help to maintain the travailing faith of the gospel.

“‘You have need of patience, that after you have done the will of God you may receive the promises. For yet a very little, and he that shall come, will come, and will not tarry; and the just shall live by faith: but if any withdraw himself, my soul shall have no pleasure in him.’ These are the words of the living God. ‘But we are not they which do withdraw ourselves unto damnation, but they which believe unto the salvation of the soul.’ Let us not suffer these words of Christ to fall out of our hearts by any manner of terror, or threatenings of the world. ‘Fear not them which kill the body,’ the rest you know. For I write not unto you, as men which are ignorant of the truth, but who know the truth; and to this end only, that we agreeing together in one faith,

may comfort one another, and be more confirmed and strengthened thereby. We never had a better, or more just cause either to contemn our life, or shed our blood; we cannot take in hand the defence of a more certain, clear, and manifest truth. For it is not any ceremony for which we contend; but it toucheth the very substance of our whole religion, yea, even Christ himself. Shall we, or can we receive any other Christ instead of him, who is alone the everlasting Son of the everlasting Father, and is the brightness of the glory, and a lively image of the substance of the Father, in whom only dwelleth corporeally the fulness of the Godhead, who is the only way, the truth, and the life? Let such wickedness, let such horrible wickedness be far from us. For although there be that be called gods, whether in heaven or in earth, as there may be many gods, and many lords, yet unto us there is but one God, who is the Father, of whom are all things, and we by him; but every man hath not knowledge. This is life eternal, that they know thee to be the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent. If any therefore would force upon us any other God, besides him whom Paul and the apostles have taught, let us not hear him, but let us fly from, and hold him accursed.

“Brethren, you are not ignorant of the deep and profound subtleties of Satan; for he will not cease to range about you, seeking by all means possible whom he may devour: but play you the men, and be of good comfort in the Lord. And although your enemies and the adversaries of the truth, armed with all worldly force and power that may be, do set upon you: yet be you not faint-hearted, and shrink not therefore, but trust unto your captain Christ, trust unto the Spirit of truth, and trust to the truth of your cause; which as it may by the malice of Satan be darkened, so can it never be clean put out. For we have most plainly, evidently, and clearly on our side, all the prophets, all the apostles, and undoubtedly all the ancient ecclesiastical writers which have written, until of late years past.

“Let us be hearty and of good courage therefore, and thoroughly comfort ourselves in the Lord. Be in no wise afraid of your adversaries; for that which is to them an occasion of perdition, is to you a sure token of salvation, and that of God. For unto you it is given, that not only you should believe on him, but also suffer for his sake. And when you are railed upon for the name of Christ, remember that by the voice of Peter, yea, and of Christ our Saviour also, ye are counted with the prophets, with the apostles, and with the holy martyrs of Christ, happy and blessed for ever: for the glory and Spirit of God resteth upon you. On their part our Saviour Christ is evil spoken of, but on your part he is glorified. For what can they else do unto you by persecuting you, and working all cruelty and villany against you, but make your crowns more glorious, yea beautify and multiply the same, and heap upon themselves the horrible plagues and heavy wrath of God? and therefore, good brethren, though they rage ever so fiercely against us, yet let us not wish evil unto them again, knowing that while for Christ's cause they vex and persecute us, they are like mad-men, most outrageous and cruel against themselves, heaping hot burning coals upon their own heads: but rather wish well unto them, knowing that we are thereunto called in Christ

Jesus, that we should be heirs of the blessing. Let us pray therefore unto God, that he would drive out of their hearts this darkness of errors, and make the light of his truth to shine unto them, that they acknowledging their blindness, may with all humble repentance be converted unto the Lord, and with us confess him to be the only true God, which is the Father of light, and his only Son Jesus Christ, worshipping him in spirit and truth. The Spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ comfort your hearts in the love of God, and patience of Christ, Amen. Your brother in the Lord, whose name this bearer shall signify unto you, ready always by the grace of God to live and die with you."

Grindal, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, was at this time an exile in the city of Frankfort. Thence he addressed a letter to bishop Ridley, lamenting his sufferings, and entreating him to be constant and valiant for the truth. In the course of the letter he desires to know the mind of Ridley in regard to printing a manuscript of his on the subject of transubstantiation. Ridley answers that he does not think it worth while to translate or print the work till it is seen how he, the author, is likely to be disposed. There is nothing in the other parts of his answer to Grindal that is remarkable, unless it be the following paragraph, which shews him to have been a man of humour and wit as well as true wisdom and virtue: "Of us three prisoners at Oxford, I am kept most strict; because the man in whose house I am a prisoner is governed by his wife—a morose superstitious old woman, who thinks she shall merit by having me closely confined. The man himself, whose name is Irish, is civil enough to all, but too much ruled by his wife. Though I never had a wife, yet from this daily usage I begin to understand how great and intolerable a burden it is to have a bad one. The wise man says rightly—a good wife is the gift of God, and he who has a good wife is a blessed man."

Having commenced this chapter with a sketch of the life of Ridley, it will now be proper to review the leading incidents in the history of Latimer. He was the son of Hugh Latimer, of Thurcaster, in the county of Leicester, a husbandman in good repute, with whom he was brought up till he was about four years old: when his parents, seeing him to be of a ready, prompt, and sharp wit, purposed to train him up to literature; wherein he so profited in the common schools of his own country, that at fourteen years of age he was sent to the university of Cambridge: where, after some continuance in the exercise of other things, he devoted himself to the school divinity of that age. Zealous he was then in the popish religion, and therewith so scrupulous, as himself confessed, that being a priest, and officiating at the mass, he was so servile an observer of the Romish decrees, that he thought he had never sufficiently mingled his massing wine with water; and moreover, that he should never be damned, if he were once a professed friar, with many such superstitious fantasies. And in this blind zeal he was a great enemy to the professors of Christ's gospel; as both his oration, when he commenced bachelor of divinity, against Melancthon, and his other works, plainly declared. He also was strongly excited against

Mr. Stafford, reader of the divinity lectures in Cambridge, at whom he most spitefully railed, and persuaded the youth of Cambridge in no wise to believe him.

Notwithstanding, such was the purpose of God, that when he saw his good time, by which he thought utterly to have defaced the professors of the gospel, and true church of Christ, he was himself by a member of the same caught in the blessed net of God's word. For Mr. Thomas Bilney, seeing Mr. Latimer to have a zeal, although not according to knowledge, felt a brotherly pity towards him, and began to consider by what means he might win this zealous ignorant brother to the truth. Wherefore, after a short time, he came to Mr. Latimer's study, and desired him to hear his confession, which he willingly did; when he was, by the good Spirit of God, so touched, that immediately he forsook the study of the school-doctors, and other such fopperies, and became an earnest student in true divinity. So that whereas before he was an enemy, and almost a persecutor of Christ, he was now a zealous seeker after him, changing his old manner of cavilling and railing, into a diligent kind of conferring, both with Mr. Bilney and others, and went also to Mr. Stafford before he died, and desired his forgiveness.

After his own conversion, he was not satisfied without endeavouring to bring about that of others. He therefore became both a public preacher, and a private instructor to the rest of his brethren within the university, for the space of three years, spending his time partly in the Latin tongue among the learned, and partly amongst the simple people in his native language. But the Prince of darkness soon found a means to disturb this happy state. There was an Augustine friar, who took occasion upon certain sermons of Mr. Latimer, which he preached about Christmas, 1529, as well in the church of St. Edward, as also in that of St. Augustine, within the university of Cambridge, to inveigh against him, because Mr. Latimer in the said sermons, according to the common usage of the season, gave the people certain cards out of the 5th, 6th, and 7th chapters of St. Matthew, whereupon they might, not only then, but at all other times, occupy their time. For the chief triumph in the cards he limited the heart, as the principal thing they should serve God withal, whereby he quite overthrew all hypocritical and external ceremonies, not tending to the necessary furtherance of God's holy word and sacraments. For the better attaining hereof, he wished the scriptures to be in English, in order that the common people might be better enabled to learn their duty to God and to their neighbours. His treatment of this subject was so apt for the time, and so pleasantly applied by him, that it not only declared the wit and dexterity of the preacher, but also wrought in the hearers much fruit, to the overthrow of popish superstition.

This happened on the Sunday before Christmas-day; on which day coming to the church, he entered the pulpit, taking for his text the words of the gospel aforesaid, "Who art thou?" &c. And in delivering the cards as above mentioned, he made the heart to be Triumph,<sup>u</sup> exhorting and inviting all men thereby to serve the Lord with inward

<sup>u</sup> The word *trump*, as now used, is a corruption from *triumph*—the triumph card.

heart and true affection, and not with outward ceremonies: adding moreover, to the praise of that Triumph, that though it were ever so small, yet it would take up the best court card beside in the bunch, yea, though it were the king of clubs: meaning thereby how the Lord would be worshipped and served in simplicity of heart and verity, wherein consisteth true christian religion, and not in the outward deeds of the letter only, or in the glittering shew of man's traditions, or pardons, pilgrimages, ceremonies, vows, devotions, voluntary works, and works of supererogation, foundations, oblations, the pope's supremacy, &c. so that all these either were needless, where the other is present; or else were of small estimation, in comparison of the other. As these sermons were so important in their consequences, we here present the reader with the following beautiful extract from one of them, written in Cambridge about the year of our Lord 1529:—

“*Tu quis es?* Which words are as much as to say in English, ‘Who art thou?’ These be the words of the Pharisees, which were sent by the Jews unto John the Baptist in the wilderness, to have knowledge of him who he was; which words they spake unto him of an evil intent, thinking that he would have taken on him to be Christ, and so they would have had him done by their good wills, because they knew that he was more carnal and given to their laws, than Christ indeed should be, as they perceived by their old prophecies: and also, because they marvelled much at his great doctrine, preaching, and baptising, they were in doubt whether he was Christ or not: wherefore they said unto him, “Who art thou?” Then answered John, and confessed that he was not Christ. Now here is to be noted the great and prudent answer of John the Baptist unto the Pharisees, that when they required of him who he was, he would not directly answer of himself, what he was himself; but he said he was not Christ, by which saying he thought to put the Jews and Pharisees out of their false opinion and belief towards him, in that they would have had him to exercise the office of Christ, and so declared further unto them of Christ saying—“He is in the midst of you, and amongst you, whom ye know not, the latchet of whose shoe I am not worthy to unloose.” By this you may perceive that St. John spake much in the praise of his master Christ, professing himself to be in no wise like unto him. So likewise it shall be necessary unto all men and women of this world, not to ascribe unto themselves any goodness of themselves, but all unto our Lord God, as shall appear hereafter, when this question Who art thou? shall be moved unto them: not as the Pharisees did unto John, from an evil purpose, but of a good and simple mind, as may appear hereafter.

“Now then, according to the preacher, let every man and woman, of a good and simple mind, contrary to the Pharisees’ intent, ask this question—Who art thou? This question must be moved to themselves, what they be of themselves, on this fashion—What art thou of thy only and natural generation between father and mother, when thou camest into the world? What substance, what virtue, what goodness art thou of thyself? Which question, if thou rehearse oftentimes to thyself, thou shalt well perceive and understand, how thou shalt make answer to it:

which must be made in this wise: I am of myself, and by myself, coming from my natural father and mother, the child of the anger and indignation of God, the true inheritor of hell, a lump of sin, and working nothing of myself, but all towards hell, except I have better help of another, than I have of myself. Now we may see in what state we enter into this world, that we be of ourselves the true and just inheritors of hell, the children of the ire and indignation of Christ, working all towards hell, whereby we deserve of ourselves perpetual damnation, by the right judgment of God, and the true claim of ourselves: which unthrifty state that we be born unto is come unto us for our own deserts, as proveth well this example following.

“Let it be admitted for the probation of this, that it might please the king’s grace now being, to accept into his favour a mean man, of simple degree and birth, not born to any possessions; whom the king’s grace favoureth, not because this person hath of himself deserved any such favour, but that the king casteth his favour unto him of his own mere motion and fancy: and because the king’s grace will more declare his favour unto him, he giveth unto this said man a thousand pounds in lands, to him and his heirs, on this condition, that he shall take upon him to be the chief captain and defender of his town of Calais, and to be true and faithful to him in the custody of the same, against the Frenchmen especially above all other enemies. This man then taketh on him this charge, promising this fidelity thereunto; it chanceth in process of time, that by the singular acquaintance and frequent familiarity of this captain with the Frenchmen, these Frenchmen give unto the said captain of Calais a great sum of money, so that he will be but content and agreeable, that they may enter into the said town of Calais by force of arms, and so thereby possess the same unto the crown of France. Upon this agreement the Frenchmen do invade the said town of Calais, only by the negligence of this captain.

“Now the king hearing of this invasion, cometh with a great puissance to defend this his said town, and so by good policy of war overcometh the said Frenchmen, and entereth again into his town of Calais. Then he being desirous to know how these enemies of his came thither, maketh strict search and inquiry by whom this treason was conspired; by this search it was known and found his own captain to be the very author and the beginner of the betraying it. The king seeing the great infidelity of this person, dischargeth this man of his office, and taketh from him and his heirs this thousand pounds’ possessions. Think you not that the king doth use justice unto him, and all his posterity and heirs? Yes truly, the said captain cannot deny himself but that he had true justice, considering how unfaithfully he behaved himself to his prince, contrary to his own fidelity and promise: so likewise it was of our first father Adam. He had given unto him the spirit and science of knowledge, to work all goodness therewith; this said spirit was not given only to him, but unto all his heirs and posterity. He had also delivered him the town of Calais, that is to say, paradise in earth, the most strong and fairest town in the world, to be in his custody: he nevertheless, by the instigation of these Frenchmen, that is, the temptation of the fiend, did

consent unto their desire, and so he broke his promise and fidelity, the commandment of the everlasting King his master.

“Now then, the king seeing this great treason in his captain, dispossessed him of the thousand pounds' of lands, that is to say, from everlasting life and glory, and all his heirs and posterity: for likewise as he had the spirit of science and knowledge for him and his heirs; so in like manner when he lost the same, his heirs also lost it by him, and in him. So now this example proveth, that by our father Adam we had once in him the very inheritance of everlasting joy; and by him, and in him again we lost the same. The heirs of the captain of Calais could not by any manner of claim ask of the king the right and title of their father in the thousand pounds, by reason the king might answer and say unto them, that although their father deserved not of himself to enjoy so great possessions, yet he deserved by himself to lose them, and greater, committing so high treason as he did, against his prince's commandment; whereby he had no wrong to lose his title, but was unworthy to have the same, and had therein true justice; let not you think, which be his heirs, that if he had justice to lose his possessions, you have wrong to lose the same.

“In the same manner it may be answered unto all men and women now in being, that if our father Adam had true justice to be excluded from his possessions of everlasting glory in paradise, let us not think the contrary that be his heirs, but that we have no wrong in losing also the same; yea, we have true justice and right. Then in what miserable estate we are, that of the right and just title of our own deserts have lost the everlasting joy, and claim of ourselves to be true inheritors of hell! For he that committeth deadly sin willingly, bindeth himself to be an inheritor of everlasting pain: and so did our forefather Adam willingly eat of the apple forbidden. Wherefore he was cast out of the everlasting joy in paradise, into this corrupt world among all vileness, whereby of himself he was not worthy to do any thing laudable or pleasant to God, evermore bound to corrupt affections and beastly appetites, transformed into the uncleanest and most variable nature that was made under heaven, of whose seed and disposition all the world is lineally descended; insomuch that this evil nature is so much diffused and shed from one into another, that at this day there is no man or woman living, who can of themselves wash away this abominable vileness: and so we must needs grant ourselves to be in like displeasure unto God, as our father Adam was; by reason hereof, as I said, we are of ourselves the very children of the indignation of God, the true inheritors of hell, and working all towards hell, which is the answer to this question, made to every man and woman by themselves—Who art thou?

“And now the world standing in this damnable state, cometh in the occasion of the incarnation of Christ; the Father in heaven perceiving the frail nature of man, that he by himself and of himself could do nothing for himself, by his prudent wisdom sent down the second person in the Trinity, his Son Jesus Christ, to declare unto man his pleasure and commandment: and so at the Father's will, Christ took on him human nature, being willing to deliver man out of this miserable way, and was content to suffer cruel passion in shedding his blood for all

mankind, and so left behind for our safeguard, laws and ordinances, to keep us always in the right path unto everlasting life, as the gospels, the sacraments, the commandments; which if we do keep and observe according to our profession, we shall answer better unto this question—‘Who art thou?’ than we did before: for before thou didst enter into the sacrament of baptism, thou wert but a natural man or a natural woman; as I might say, a man, a woman; but after thou takest on thee Christ’s religion, thou hast a longer name; for then thou art a christian man, a christian woman. Now then, seeing thou art a christian man, what shall be the answer of this question—‘Who art thou?’

“The answer of this question is, when I ask it unto myself, I must say that I am a christian man, a christian woman, the child of everlasting joy, through the merits of the bitter passion of Christ. This is a joyful answer. Here we may see how much we are bound and indebted unto God, that hath revived us from death to life, and saved us that were condemned; which great benefit we cannot well consider unless we remember what we were of ourselves before we meddled with him or his laws: and the more we know our feeble nature, and set less by it, the more we shall conceive and know in our hearts what God hath done for us: and the more we know what God hath done for us, the less we shall set by ourselves, and the more we shall love and please God; so that in no condition we shall either know ourselves or God, except we utterly confess ourselves to be mere vileness and corruption. Well now it is come unto this point, that we are christian men, christian women, I pray you, what doth Christ require of a christian man, or of a christian woman? Christ requireth nothing else of a christian man or woman, but that they will observe his rules.”

To relate at full the alarm the preaching of this and the other sermons occasioned at Cambridge, would require too much time and space. A prior of Black Friars, named Buckenham, attempted to prove that it was not expedient for the scriptures to be in English, lest the ignorant and vulgar sort, through the occasion thereof, might be brought in danger of leaving their vocations, or else of running into some inconvenience. As an example he said, “The ploughman, when he heareth this in the gospel, ‘No man that layeth his hand on the plough and looketh back, is meet for the kingdom of God,’ might peradventure cease from his plough. Likewise the baker, when he hears that a little leaven corrupteth a whole lump of dough, may perchance leave our bread unleavened, and so our bodies shall be unseasoned. Also the simple man, when he heareth in the gospel, ‘If thine eye offend thee, pluck it out and cast it from thee,’ may make himself blind, and so fill the world with beggars.” These, with some others, this clerkly friar brought out, to prove his purpose of keeping scripture in a strange tongue, and from the common people!

Mr. Latimer hearing the sermon of Buckenham, came shortly after to the church to answer him. To hear him came a multitude, as well of the university as of the town, both doctors and other graduates, with great expectation to learn what he could say: among whom also, directly in the face of Latimer, underneath the pulpit, sat Buckenham, with his black friar’s cowl about his shoulders. Then Latimer, first



repeating the reasons of Buckenham, whereby he would prove it a dangerous thing for the vulgar to have the scriptures in their own tongue, so refuted the friar, so answered to his objections, so ridiculed his bald reason of the ploughman looking back, of the baker leaving his bread unleavened, and of the simple man plucking out his eye, that the vanity of the friar might to all men appear, well proving and declaring to the people, that there was no such danger from the scriptures being in English. And proceeding moreover in his sermon, he began to discourse of the mystical speeches and figurative phrases of the scriptures; which he said were not so diffuse and difficult as pretended.

Besides this Buckenham, there was also another railing friar, a doctor and a foreigner, named Venetus, who likewise in his sermons railed and raged against Mr. Latimer, calling him a mad and brainless man, and persuading the people not to believe him. To whom Mr. Latimer answering again, took for his ground the words of our Saviour Christ, "Thou shalt not kill, and whosoever shall kill shall be in danger of the judgment. But I say unto you, Whosoever is angry with his neighbour shall be in danger of judgment; and whosoever shall say unto his neighbour Raca, shall be in danger of the council: and whosoever shall say to his neighbour, Fool, shall be in danger of hell-fire." The discussing of which, first he divided the offence of killing into three branches, one to be with hand, the other with heart, the third with word. With hand, when we use any weapon drawn, to spill the blood of our neighbour. With heart, when we be angry with him. With word, when we disdainfully rebuke our neighbour, or spitefully revile him.

But why should we here decipher the names of his adversaries, when whole swarms of friars and doctors flocked against him on every side, almost through the whole university, preaching against and abusing him? Amongst whom was Dr. Watson, master of Christ's college, whose scholar Latimer had been. In short, almost as many as were heads of houses, so many were the enemies of this worthy standard-bearer of Christ's gospel. At last came Dr. West, bishop of Ely, who preaching against him at Barnwell-abbey, forbad him within the churches of that university to preach any more. Notwithstanding, so the Lord provided, that Dr. Barnes, prior of the Augustine friars, did license Mr. Latimer to preach in his church of the Augustines, and he himself preached at St. Edward's church, which was the first sermon of the gospel that Dr. Barnes preached, being Sunday and Christmas Eve. Whereupon certain articles were gathered out of his sermon, and brought against him by Mr. Tyrell fellow of the King's-hall, and so by the vice-chancellor they were presented to the cardinal.

Thus Mr. Latimer being baited by the friars, doctors, and masters of that university, about the year 1529, notwithstanding the malice of these malignant adversaries, continued yet in Cambridge preaching for about three years together, with favour and applause of the godly, also with such admiration of his enemies who heard him, that the bishop himself coming in, and witnessing his merit, wished himself to have the like, and was compelled to commend him upon it. After this, Mr. Latimer and Mr. Bilney continued in Cambridge for some time, where they so frequently conferred together, that the field wherein they usually walked

was long after called the heretics' hill. As their intimacy was much noted by many of the university, so was it full of many good examples, to all who would follow them, both in visiting the prisoners, and relieving the needy. The following interesting story will exemplify the benevolence of Mr. Latimer. It happened that, with Mr. Bilney, he went to visit the prisoners in the tower of Cambridge, and being there, among others was a woman who was accused of having killed her own child, which act she plainly and steadfastly denied. Whereby it gave them occasion to search for the matter, and at length they found that her husband loved her not, and therefore sought all means to destroy her. The particulars were thus:—

A child of hers had been sick a whole year, and at length died in harvest time, as it were in a consumption: which when it was gone, she sought her neighbours to help her at the burial, but all being abroad in the harvest, she was forced with heaviness of heart, to prepare the child alone for the burial. Her husband coming home, accused her of murdering the child. This was the cause of her trouble; and Mr. Latimer, by earnest inquisition of conscience, thought the woman not guilty. Immediately after this he was called to preach before king Henry VIII. at Windsor, and after his sermon the king sent for him, and talked familiarly with him. At which time Mr. Latimer, finding an opportunity, kneeled down, opened the whole matter to the king, and desired her pardon, which he granted, and gave it to him at his return home. In the mean time the woman was delivered of a child in the prison, to which Mr. Latimer stood godfather. But all the while he would not tell her of the pardon, but laboured to have her confess the truth of the matter. At length the time came when she expected to suffer, and Mr. Latimer came as he was wont, to instruct her; when she made great lamentations, to be purified before her suffering, for she thought she must be damned if she died without purification. Mr. Bilney being with Mr. Latimer, told her, that law was made for the Jews, and not for us, and that women were as well in the favour of God before they be purified as after; and that it was appointed for a civil and politic law. They then argued with her till they had better instructed her, and at length shewed her the king's pardon, and liberated her.

Besides this, many other actions equally benevolent, were known to originate from this zealous christian; insomuch, that the enemies of truth, instigated by envy, soon sought a means to interrupt the harmony of him and his friend. So much virtue provoked envy in many. Among the rest of this number was Dr. Redman, a man favouring more of superstition than of true religion, after the zeal of the Pharisees, yet not so malignant or hurtful, but of a mild disposition, and also liberal in well doing, so that few poor scholars were in that university who fared not the better by his purse. He was a man of great authority in the university of Cambridge, and perceiving the boldness of Mr. Latimer, in publishing in sincerity the genuine truths of the gospel, endeavoured by a letter to persuade him from his manner of preaching. To this Mr. Latimer wrote the following laconic answer.

“Reverend Mr. Redman, it is even enough for me, that Christ’s sheep hear no man’s voice but Christ’s: and as for you, you have no voice of Christ against me; whereas for my part, I have a heart that is ready to hearken to any voice of Christ that you can bring me. Thus fare you well, and trouble me no more from talking with the Lord my God.”

Mr. Latimer having thus laboured in preaching and teaching in Cambridge about three years, was at length called up to Cardinal Wolsey for heresy, by the procurement of some of the university, where he was content to subscribe and grant to such articles as they then propounded to him. After that he again returned to the university, where shortly after, by the means of Dr. Butts, the king’s physician, a singular good man, he was placed in the number of those who laboured in the cause of the king’s supremacy. On this he went to the court, where he remained a certain time in Dr. Butts’s chamber, and preached very often in London. At last being weary of the court, and having a benefice offered by the king, at the suit of the lord Cromwell and Dr. Butts, he gladly accepted it, and withdrew from the court, wherewith in no case he could agree.

The royal gift was at West Kingston, in Wiltshire, in the diocese of Sarum. Here this good preacher exercised himself with much diligence, teaching his flock and all the country about. In fine, his diligence was so great, his preaching so powerful, the manner of his teaching so zealous, that there also he could not escape enemies. So true it is what St. Paul foretelleth us—“Whosoever will live godly in Christ shall suffer persecution.” It so happened, that as he was preaching upon the Virgin Mary, and reserving all honour to Christ our only Saviour, certain popish priests being therewith offended, sought and created much trouble against him, drawing out articles and impositions which they falsely and uncharitably imputed unto him—That he should preach against our Lady, for that he reproved in a sermon the superstitious rudeness of certain blind priests, who taught that she never had any sin, and that she was not saved by Christ—that he should say, that saints were not to be worshipped—that Ave Maria was a salutation only, and no prayer—that there was no material fire in hell—and that there was no purgatory, trifling with the subject and saying, that he had rather be in purgatory than in Lollard’s Tower.

The chief enemies and molesters of him, besides these country priests, were Dr. Powel, of Salisbury, Dr. Wilson, sometime of Cambridge, a Mr. Hubberdin, and Dr. Sherwood. Of whom some preached and some wrote against him; insomuch that by their procurement he was cited up, and called to appear before Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, and Stokesly, bishop of London, January 29th, 1531. Against which citation, although Mr. Latimer did appeal to his own ordinary, yet notwithstanding that, he was brought to London before Warham and Stokesly, where he was greatly molested, and detained a long time from his cure at home, being called thrice every week before the bishops, to make answer for his preaching, and had certain articles or propositions drawn out and laid to him, whereunto they required him to subscribe. At length he not only perceiving their practical proceedings, but being

also much grieved with their troublesome unquietness, who neither would preach themselves, not yet suffer him; he wrote to the archbishop, partly excusing his infirmity, whereby he could not appear at their commandment, partly expostulating with them for so troubling and detaining him from doing his duty, and that for no just cause, but only for preaching the truth against certain vain abuses crept into religion, much needful to be spoken against. The letter is as follows.

“ MOST REVEREND GOVERNOR,

“ Had not sickness prevented me, I had myself waited on you at your palace; but these fresh troubles have brought on me a sharp return of an old distemper, so that I can't be able to wait on you to-day without great pain; but that your lordship might no longer in vain expect my coming, I have sent these lines scribbled with mine own hand to your grace, as to a most upright judge, of my excuse, in which I wish I had more time or more judgment to frame a just expostulation with your grace for detaining me so long against my will from my cure, and that so unseasonably, at a time when it most behoves every pastor to be with his flock. But what shall I say, if it is lawful for so mean a prisoner to plead with so great a father? If we esteem a priest good for doing his duty, who, while he remains in this earthly tabernacle, never ceaseth to teach and admonish his congregation, and so much the more as he draws nearer his last home, what must we think of those who neither preach themselves now, nor permit those who are desirous to do it, unless they are bound to do and say nothing but what they please. At first I thought it safe to submit myself entirely to your clemency, but now it seems as safe to justify myself a little, since one thing was pretended in the beginning, but now another, and what will be the end I have great room to doubt; but I hope truth only will be used. First I was sent to London, where I was before the court of Canterbury; then all was stopped that had been done, and the matter had bounds and limits set to it by him who sent me; but so the business was handled and brought into doubt, that at length there seemed no end of it, but that it must be infinitely prolonged. For while, without either method or design, I was questioned of one thing after another, whether pertinent or impertinent, now by one and then by another, if I gave them no answer, or if I answered them to the purpose—which I thought was not imprudent sometimes to put an end to the dispute—I was equally uncivil; while one answers to many and of many things, he may inadvertently say something that may prejudice the most righteous cause. None ought to judge me wicked for what at most they can call but an error of conscience; and to remember all things, it behoves a man to remember the foundation of the other world. When a man acts against conscience, he doth it to gain, to maintain, or defend his own; but what they charge me with is far different, and I believe without example, wickedly requesting to know the cause of my confinement. If any person is disposed to attack my sermons, that they are obscure, or not cautiously enough worded, I am prepared either to explain or vindicate them, for I never preached any thing against the truth, against the councils of the fathers, or the catholic faith. All that my adversaries or detractors truly charge me with, is what I have long desired, and do

desire, namely, the improving the common people's judgment. I heartily desire that all men might know and comprehend the disagreement of things, the worth, place, time, degrees, and order proper for each, and how much they are concerned in those things which God has prepared for them to walk in: every man ought to be very diligent in doing the works of his calling; after which, many things indifferent may be done with equal diligence, amongst which are all things which no law has forbid, unless we forbid them to ourselves. It is lawful to use images, to go on pilgrimages, to invoke saints, to remember the souls in purgatory, but these which are voluntary acts are to be so restrained, that they diminish not the just esteem of the precepts of God, which bestow eternal life on those who follow them: they who use them otherwise, are so far from gaining the love of God, that they rather incur his hatred. The true love of God is to keep his commandments, as our Saviour says, 'He who heareth my words and doeth them, he it is who loveth me.' Let no man then have so mean an opinion of the laws of God, as to make them equal to the fancies of men, since by those at the last day before the tribunal of Christ we shall all be judged, and not by these; as Christ says, 'The word that I speak, that shall judge you at the last day:' and what man is able to make amends for the breach of one of those commands, by any or all of these specious additions? O that we would be but as ready, as diligent, as devoted to do his will, as we are to follow our own empty notions! Many things done with an upright heart God accepts of, making allowance for our infirmities, though he has not commanded or required them; but these things ought to be taken away when they begin to have the force of commands, lest while we do these we omit those that are absolutely necessary; and what can be more absurd than to revere as ordinances of God, the idle fancies of men, whilst his true ordinances are neglected: whence I in behalf of the commandments of God stand hitherto immoveable, not seeking my own but Christ's gain, not my own but God's glory: and whilst I live I will stand steadfast.

"Thus all the German divines have hitherto complained of the intolerable abuse of these things, that no man desirous of the glory of Christ can accept of the ministry without doing what is against his conscience, and if some have submitted to this hardship purely to do good, yet what doth the christian religion suffer by it? unless we are so miserably blinded as to think that these things are to be dispensed with for our own filthy gain, though they are not for the honour of God. Now who can justify the constant practice of such things which in themselves are highly criminal? Some things are constantly performed which ought never, while others are omitted which ought always to be done: now who cannot see this manifest abuse? And who sees, and does not grieve? And who grieves, that would not labour to remove it? And when shall it be removed, while it is constantly preached and commended? Why, it is hardly possible for it not to be universal. It is one thing barely to permit, and another to enforce as law. 'Go,' says Christ, 'and teach the people whatsoever I have commanded you.' Let us therefore, by the help of God, go and do this; let us employ our whole strength to preach the sincere word of God, not to flatter or cook up our sermons

to men's depraved taste, then shall we be true preachers of God's word. Careless as men are in what relates to God, they are diligent enough in what relates to themselves, to this they want no spurs; but they are miserably deceived by an unjust esteem of things, and an early superstition received in their tender years from their forefathers, which we are hardly able to remember by any preaching, how frequent, how earnest, how sincere and pure soever, which God doth now permit; for in these evil days they who ought to preach themselves, forbid them to preach who are willing and able, and on the contrary, compel time-servers, who damnably detain the miserable people in superstition and false confidence; but the Lord have mercy upon us, and grant we may know his way upon earth, not to be found amongst those to whom he says, 'My ways are not your ways, neither are my thoughts your thoughts.' Hence I dare not subscribe to these propositions, most honoured father, because I would no ways be accessory to the longer continuance of these popular superstitions, lest I should be the author of my own damnation. Were I worthy, I would even give you some advice, but that impertinent thing, the heart, can do little else than guess, none knowing the things of a man but the spirit of a man which is in him. It is not any pride that hinders me from subscribing to these propositions; on the contrary, I am very sorry I cannot wholly perform your request. I know how great a crime it is to disobey the fathers and governors of the church, but then regard is to be had to what they command, in which case we ought always to obey God rather than man.

"My head aches so much; and my body is so weak, that I can neither come, nor write over again and correct these lines; but your lordship I hope, will approve, if not the judgment, yet the endeavours of your lordship's devoted servant."

The several articles which he was required by the bishops to subscribe were these—"I believe that there is a purgatory to purge the souls of the dead after this life; that the souls in purgatory are holpen with the masses, prayers, and alms of the living; that the saints do pray as mediators now for us in heaven; that they are to be honoured by us in heaven; that it is profitable for Christians to call upon the saints, that they may pray as mediators for us unto God; that pilgrimages and oblations done to the sepulchres and relics of saints are meritorious; that they which have vowed perpetual chastity may not marry, nor break their vow, without the dispensation of the pope; that the keys of binding and loosing, delivered to Peter, do still remain with the bishops of Rome his successors, although they live wickedly, and are by no means, nor at any time, committed to laymen; that men may merit and deserve at God's hand by fasting, prayer, and other good works of piety; that they which are forbidden by the bishop to preach, as suspected persons, ought to cease until they have purged themselves before the said bishop, or their superiors, and be restored again; that the fast which is used in Lent and other fasts prescribed by the canons, and by custom received of the Christians, are to be observed and kept; that God in every one of the seven sacraments giveth grace to a man, rightly receiving the same; that consecrations, sanctifyings, and blessings, by use and custom received in the church, are laudable and profitable; that it is laudable and pro-

fitable, that the venerable images of the crucifix and other saints should be had in the churches as a remembrance, and to the honour and worship of Jesus Christ and his saints; that it is laudable and profitable to deck and to clothe those images, and set up burning lights before them to the honour of the said saints."

To these articles, whether he did subscribe or not, it is uncertain. It appears by his letter above, that he durst not consent to them; for he says—"I dare not subscribe to these propositions, because I would no ways be accessory to the longer continuance of these popular superstitions, lest I be the author of my own damnation." But whether he was compelled afterwards to agree, through the cruel dealings of the bishops, remains a doubt. By the words and the title in Tonsal's register prefixed before the articles, it may seem that he did subscribe. The words of the register are these—"Hugh Latimer, bachelor of divinity, of the university of Cambridge, in a convocation held at Westminster before the lord archbishop of Canterbury, the lord bishop of London, and the rest of the clergy, has acknowledged and made the following confession of his faith, as in these articles, March 21st, 1531." If these words be true, it may be thought that he subscribed. But it ought to be received with great doubt, considering the subtlety, artifice, and want of candour, that prevailed amongst the Romish party. The following curious incident was related by himself in a sermon preached at Stamford, October 9th, 1550.

"I was once in examination before five or six bishops; where I had much trouble: thrice every week I came to examinations, and many snares and traps were laid to get something. Now God knoweth I was ignorant of the law, but that God gave me wisdom what I should speak; it was God indeed, or else I had never escaped them. At last I was brought forth to be examined into a chamber hung with arras, where I was wont to be examined: but now at this time the chamber was somewhat altered. For whereas before there was wont always to be a fire in the chimney, now the fire was taken away, and an arras hung over the chimney, and the table stood near the fire-place. There was amongst the bishops who examined me, one with whom I had been very familiar, and took him for my great friend, an aged man, and he sat next to the table's end. Then amongst other questions he put forth a very subtle and crafty one, and such an one indeed, as I could not think so great danger in. And when I should make answer, one said, 'I pray you, Mr. Latimer, speak out, I am very thick of hearing, and here may be many that sit far off.' I marvelled at this that I was bid to speak out, and begun to suspect, and give an ear to the chimney; and there I heard a pen writing in the chimney behind the cloth. They had appointed one there to write all mine answers, for they made sure that I should not start from them: there was no starting from them. God was my good Lord, and gave me answer, I could never else have escaped it."

The question then and there objected to him was—Whether he thought in his conscience that he had been suspected of heresy? This was a captious question. There was no holding of peace; for that was to grant himself faulty. To answer it was every way full of danger. But God,

who always giveth in need what to answer, helped him, or else he had never escaped their bloody hands. Although what was his answer he doth not there express.

Amongst these hard and dangerous straits, it had been hard for him, and almost impossible to have escaped and continued so long, had not the almighty helping hand of the Highest preserved him through the power of his prince; who with much favour embraced him, and with his mere power sometimes rescued and delivered him out of the crooked claws of his enemies. Moreover, at length, also through the interest of Dr. Butts and lord Cromwell, he advanced him to the dignity of a bishop, namely, bishop of Worcester. It were too long to stand particularly upon such things as might be brought to the commendation of this pious prelate; but the days then were so dangerous and variable, that he could not in all things do what he would. Yet what he could do, that he performed to the utmost of his strength, so that although he was not utterly able to extinguish all the sparkling relics of superstition, yet he so wrought that they were, in a great measure, lessened of their evil. As for example, in this thing, and divers others, it appeared that when it could not be avoided, but that holy water and holy bread must needs be received, yet so he prepared and instructed them of his diocese, with such informations and lessons, that in receiving thereof superstition should be excluded, and some remembrance taken thereby, teaching and charging the ministers of his diocese, in delivering the holy water and the holy bread, to use these forms. On giving the water, which had been blessed, they were to say to the people—

“Remember your promise in baptizing;  
Christ, his mercy and blood-shedding,  
By whose most holy sprinkling,  
Of all your sins you have free pardoning.”

And on giving the people the consecrated bread, they were to say—

“Of Christ’s body this is a token,  
Which on the cross for our sins was broken:  
Wherefore of your sins you must be forsakers,  
If of Christ’s death you will be partakers.”

Thus this good man behaved himself in his diocese. But still, both in the university and at his benefice, he was tossed and troubled by wicked and evil disposed persons; so in his bishopric also, he was not free from some that sought his trouble. As among many other evil willers, one especially there was, and he no small person, who accused him then to the king for his sermons. He thus explained himself in another discourse—“In the king’s days that is dead, a great many of us were called together before him, to speak our minds in certain matters. In the end one kneeleth down and accuseth me of having preached seditious doctrine. A heavy salutation, and a hard point of such a man’s doing, as if I should name you would not think. The king turned to me and said—‘What say you to that, Sir?’ Then I kneeled down, and turned first to my accuser, and asked him—‘Sir, what form of preaching would you appoint me in preaching before a king? Would you



have me preach nothing as concerning a king in a king's sermon? Have you any commission to appoint me what I shall preach?" Besides this, I asked him divers other questions, and he would make no answer to any of them all; he had nothing to say.

"Then I turned to the king, and submitted myself to his grace, and said—'I never thought myself worthy, nor did I ever sue to be a preacher before your grace, but I was called to it, and would be willing to give place to my betters; for I grant that there be a great many more worthy of the room than I am. And if it be your grace's pleasure so to allow them for preachers, I could be content to carry their books after them. But if your grace allow me for a preacher, I would desire you to give me leave to discharge my conscience, and thus to frame my doctrine according to my audience. I had been a very blockhead to have preached so at the borders of your realm, as I preach before your grace.' And I thank Almighty God that my sayings were well accepted of the king; for like a gracious lord he turned into another communication. It is even as the scripture saith—'The Lord directeth the king's heart.' Some of my friends came to me with tears in their eyes, and told me, they expected I should have been in the Tower the same night."

Besides this, divers other conflicts and combats this godly bishop sustained in his own country and diocese, in taking the cause of right and equity against oppression and wrong. Thus he continued in his laborious function of a bishop till the coming in of the six articles. Then being distressed through the straitness of time, he must either sacrifice a good conscience, or else forsake his bishopric; the latter of which he freely did, and Dr. Shaxton, bishop of Salisbury, resigned likewise with him. At which time he threw off his rochet in his chamber among his friends, and suddenly gave a leap for joy, on being discharged of such a heavy burden. However, he was not so lightened, but that troubles and labours followed him wheresoever he went. For a little after he renounced his bishopric, he was much bruised by the fall of a tree: then coming up to London for remedy, he was molested and troubled by the bishops, and was at length sent to the Tower, where he remained prisoner till king Edward came to the crown, by which means the golden mouth of this preacher, long shut up before, was now opened again. He continued all the reign of Edward labouring in the Lord's harvest most fruitfully, discharging his talent at Stamford, and before the duchess of Suffolk, and many other places in this realm, as at London in the Convocation-house, and especially before the king at the court. In the inner garden, which had been applied to lascivious and courtly pastimes, there he dispensed the fruitful word of the glorious gospel of Jesus Christ, preaching before the king and his whole court, to the edification of many; for the most part twice every Sunday, although being so bruised by the fall of a tree, and above sixty-seven years of age.

As the diligence of this man of God never ceased all the time of king Edward, to profit the church both publicly and privately, so it is likewise to be observed, that the same good Spirit of God who assisted and comforted him in preaching the gospel, did also enable him to foretell

all those plagues which afterwards ensued; if England ever had a prophet, he seemed to be one. And for himself, he ever affirmed that the preaching of the gospel would cost him his life, to which he no less cheerfully prepared himself; for after the death of king Edward, and not long after Mary was proclaimed queen, a pursuivant was sent down into the country to call him up, of whose coming, although Mr. Latimer lacked no forewarning, being informed thereof about six hours before by one John Careless, yet he was so far from endeavouring to escape, that he prepared himself for his journey before the officer came to his house.

At this the pursuivant marvelled, when Mr. Latimer said unto him—“My friend, you are a welcome messenger unto me. And be it known unto you and to all the world, that I go as willingly to London at this present, being called by my prince to render a reckoning of my doctrine, as ever I was at any place in the world. I doubt not but that God, as he hath made me worthy to preach his word before two excellent princes, so will he able me to witness the same unto the third, either to her comfort or discomfort eternally.” When the pursuivant had delivered his letters, he departed, affirming that he had command not to wait for him. By this it was manifest that they would not have had him appear, but rather to have fled out of the realm, knowing that his constancy would deface them in their popery, and confirm the godly in the truth.

Coming up to London, and entering by Smithfield he merrily said, that Smithfield had long groaned for him. He was then brought before the council, where he patiently bearing all the mocks and taunts given him by the scornful papists, was again sent to the Tower: there being assisted by the heavenly grace of Christ, he meekly endured imprisonment a long time, notwithstanding the cruel and unmerciful usage of his enemies, who then thought their kingdom would never fall; yet he shewed himself not only patient, but also merry and cheerful, above all that they could work against him: yea, such a valiant spirit the Lord gave him, that he was able not only to despise the terrors of prisons and torments, but also to deride and laugh to scorn even the cruel proceedings of his enemies. It is well known to many what answer he made to the lieutenant when he was in the Tower. For when the lieutenant's man upon a time came to him, the aged father, kept without fire in the frosty winter, and well nigh starved with cold, bade the man tell his master, that if he did not look better after him, perchance he might deceive him—meaning by a premature death.

The lieutenant hearing this, and not knowing what to make of so odd a speech, and fearing that he would in earnest make his escape, began to look more strictly to his prisoner, and so coming to him, charged him with his words, at the same time reciting them. His answer was—“So I said, for I suppose you expect that I should burn; but except you let me have some fire, I am like to deceive your expectation, for I am in danger of starving here with cold.” Thus this good man passing a long time in the Tower, with as much patience as a man in his case could do, from thence was carried to Oxford, with Cranmer and Ridley, there to dispute upon articles sent down from Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, as before mentioned: the manner and order of which disputations be-

tween them and the university doctors, having been sufficiently expressed. Where also is declared, how and by whom Mr. Latimer, with his fellow-prisoners, were condemned after disputations, and so committed again to the prison, where they continued from the month of April till October, occupied either with brotherly conference, fervent prayer, or fruitful writing.

Mr. Latimer, by reason of the feebleness of his age, wrote least of all the distinguished martyrs of the day, especially in the latter time of his imprisonment; but in prayer he was fervently occupied, earnestly sending up to the throne of grace the following among numerous other petitions—That as God had appointed him to be a preacher of his word, so also he would give him grace to stand to his doctrine until his death. That God of his great mercy would restore his gospel to England once again. That of his good providence he would preserve the lady Elizabeth, whom in his prayer he used to name, and even with tears desiring God to make her a comfort to England. The answer to this prayer especially reminds us that “the prayer of a righteous man availeth much.” So it appeared in the present case: indeed all the requests of this faithful servant were fully granted. His letters were equal to his prayers. Many of them were written in Latin; and they are so numerous and so long, that our limits will not admit of their insertion.

The following is a letter of Master Latimer to Master Morrice, concerning the articles which were falsely and untruly laid against him:—

“Right worshipful and mine own good master Morrice, health in Christ Jesus. And I thank you, for all hearty kindness, not only heretofore shewed unto me, but also that now of late you would vouchsafe to write unto me, so poor a wretch, to my great comfort among all these my troubles, I trust and doubt nothing in it, but God will reward you for me, and abundantly supply my inability. Mr. Morrice, you would wonder to know how I have been treated at Bristol, I mean by some of the priests, who first desired me, welcomed me, made me cheer, heard what I said, and allowed my saying in all things while I was with them; but when I was gone home to my benefice, perceiving that the people favoured me so greatly, and that the mayor had appointed me to preach at Easter, privily they procured an inhibition for all them that had not the bishop's license, which they knew well enough I had not, and so craftily defeated master mayor's appointment, pretending they were sorry for it, procuring also certain preachers to rail against me, as Hubberdin and Powel, with others; whom when I had brought before the mayor, and the wise council of the town, to know what they could lay to my charge, wherefore they so declaimed against me, they said they spake as they were informed. However no man could be brought forth that could stand to any thing: so that they had place and time to belie me shamefully, but they had no place or time to lay to my charge when I was present and ready to make them answer. God amend them, and assuage their malice, that they have against the truth and me.

“They did belie me to have said that our Lady was a sinner, when I

had said nothing of the sort; but to reprove certain, both priests and benefited men, which do give so much to our Lady, as though she had not been saved by Christ, a whole Saviour, both of her, and of all that be or shall be saved. I did reason after this manner, that either she was a sinner, or no sinner; if a sinner, then she was delivered from sin by Christ; so that he saved her, either by delivering or preserving her from sin, so that without him neither she nor any other could be saved.<sup>v</sup> And to avoid all offence, I shewed how it might be answered, both to certain scriptures, which maketh all generally sinners, and also unto Chrysostom and Theophylact, who make her namely and specially a sinner. But all would not serve, their malice was so great; notwithstanding that 500 honest men can and will bear record. When they cannot reprove that thing that I do say, then will they belie me to say that thing which they can reprove; for they will needs appear to be against me.”

This was not the only subject of calumny which Latimer's enemies took up. He proceeds thus to describe them.

“So they lied when I had shewn certain divers significations of this word ‘saints’ among the vulgar people: First, images of saints are called saints, and so they are not to be worshipped: take worshipping of them for praying to them; for they are neither mediators by way of redemption, nor yet by way of intercession. And yet they may be well used when they be applied to the uses for which they were ordained, to be laymen's books for remembrance of heavenly things, exciting the living to ‘follow them who through faith and patience inherit the promises.’ Take saints for inhabitants of heaven, and worshipping of them, for praying to them; I never denied, but that they might be worshipped, and be our mediators, though not by way of redemption, in which Christ alone is a whole Mediator, both for them and for us; yet by the way of intercession.<sup>w</sup>

“Although they have charged me with denying pilgrimage, I never denied it. And yet I have said that much scurf must be pared away, ere ever it can be well done: superstition, idolatry, false faith, and trust in the pilgrimage, unjust estimation of the thing, setting aside God's ordinances for doing of the thing; debts must be paid, restitution made, wife and children must be provided for, duty to our neighbours discharged. And when it is at the best, before it be vowed, it need not be done, for it is neither under the command of God nor man to be done.

<sup>v</sup> Mary was indeed, according to the salutation of Elizabeth, highly blessed among women in bearing that sacred body wherein her God became incarnate; but still she was a daughter of Adam, and consequently not without sin, and needing the atoning blood of Christ and his righteousness, as much as any of her fellow creatures—a fact indirectly conveyed by the words of Christ himself, who, when a certain woman exclaimed—“Blessed is the womb that bare thee, and the paps which thou hast sucked!”—answered “Yea, rather, blessed are they who hear the word of God and keep it.” Nothing can be clearer than that a humble believer in Christ is superior to the virgin *as such*, and that her chief excellence consists in her own humble and holy faith in his salvation.

<sup>w</sup> This may seem a harmless opinion; but no warrant for it can be drawn from scripture. We see neither in the Prophets nor the Apostles any examples of praying to saints. All requests are to be made known unto God through Christ, *Psa. xlv. 17; lxxii. 15; Acts iv. 12; Phil. ii. 9—11; 1 Tim. ii. 5, 6; Heb. ix. 14, 15.*

And wives must advise with their husbands, and husbands and wives with curates, before it be vowed to be done, etc.

“As for the Ave Maria,<sup>a</sup> who can think that I would deny it? I said it was a heavenly greeting or saluting of our blessed Lady, wherein the angel Gabriel, sent from the Father of heaven, did annunciate and shew unto her the good-will of God towards her, what he would with her, and to what he had chosen her. But I said it was not properly a prayer as the Pater Noster, which our Saviour Christ himself made for a proper prayer, and bid us to say it for a prayer, not adding that we should say ten or twenty Ave Marias withal: and I denied not but that we may well say Ave Maria also, but not so that we shall think that the Pater Noster is not good, a whole and perfect prayer, and cannot be well said without Ave Maria: so that I did not speak against the well saying of it, but against the superstitious saying of it, and of the Pater Noster too; and yet I put a difference betwixt it, and that which Christ made to be said for a prayer.

“Whoever could think or say that I alleged that there was no fire whatever in hell? However, good authors do make a difference betwixt suffering in the fire with bodies, and without bodies. The soul without the body is a spiritual substance, which they say cannot receive a corporeal quality; and some make it a spiritual fire, and some a corporeal fire. And as it is called a fire, so it is called a worm, and it is thought of some not to be a material worm, that is, a living reptile, but it is a metaphor, but that is nothing to the purpose; for a fire it is, a worm it is, pain it is, torment it is, anguish it is, a grief, a misery, a sorrow, a heaviness inexplicable and intolerable, whose nature and condition in every point, who can tell, but he that is of God’s privy council? God give us grace rather to be diligent to keep us out of it, than to be curious to discuss the property of it; for certain we be, that there is little ease, yea, none at all, but weeping, wailing, and gnashing of teeth, which be the effects of extreme pain, rather certain token what pain there is, than what manner of pain there is.”

The subject of Purgatory has already been before the reader in reference to Latimer. He writes thus—

“He that sheweth the state and condition of it, doth not deny it. But I had rather be in it than Lollard’s Tower, the bishop’s prison, for divers reasons. In this I might die bodily for lack of meat and drink; in that I could not. In this I might die spiritually for fear of pain, or lack of good counsel; there I could not. In this I might be in extreme necessity; in that I could not, if it be peril of perishing. In this I might lack charity; there I could not. In this I might lose my patience; in that I could not. In this I might be in danger of death; in that I could not. In this I might be without surety of salvation; in that I could not. In this I might dishonour God; in that I could not. In this I might murmur and grudge against God; in that I could not.

<sup>a</sup> To speak with the least harshness of this, it was certainly a work of supererogation and of will worship. Mr. Latimer, in these answers, doubtless discovers an apprehension of speaking the simple truth, which many of his brother martyrs were quite free from. This, however, was in an early part of his career; as he advanced he became more firm and clear, until all obscurity vanished.

In this I might displease God; in that I could not. In this I might be displeased with God; in that I could not. In this I might be judged to perpetual prison, as they call it; in that I could not. In this I might be craftily handled; in that I could not. In this I might be brought to bear a fagot; in that I could not. In this I might be discontented with God; in that I could not. In this I might be separated and dissevered from Christ; in that I could not. In this I might be a member of the devil; in that I could not. In this I might be an inheritor of hell; in that I could not. In this I might pray out of charity, and in vain; in that I could not. In this my lord and his chaplains might manacle me by night; in that they could not. In this they might strangle me, and say that I hanged myself; in that they could not. In this they might have me to the consistory, and judge me after their fashion; from thence they could not. Therefore I had rather to be there than here. For though the fire be called ever so hot, yet if the bishop's two fingers can shake away a piece, a friar's cowl another part, and 'scali cœli' altogether, I will never found abbey, college, nor chauntry, for that purpose. For seeing there is no pain that can break my charity, break my patience, cause me to dishonour God, to displease God, to be displeased with God, cause me not to joy in God, nor that can bring me to danger of death, or to danger of desperation, or from surety of salvation, that can separate us from Christ, or Christ from us, I care the less for it. Chrysostom saith, the greatest pain that damned souls have, is to be separate and cut off from Christ for ever: which pain the souls in purgatory neither have nor can have.

"Consider, Mr. Morrice, whether provision for purgatory hath not brought thousands to hell. Debts have not been paid; restitution of evil-gotten lands and goods hath not been made; christian people whose necessities we see, to whom whatsoever we do Christ reputeth done to himself, to whom we are bound under pain of condemnation to do for, as we would be done for ourselves, are neglected and suffered to perish; last wills unfulfilled and broken; God's ordinance set aside; and also for purgatory, foundations have been taken for sufficient satisfaction; so we have trifled away the ordinances of God and restitutions. Thus we have gone to hell with masses, dirges, and ringing of many a bell. And who can pill pilgrimages from idolatry, and purge purgatory from robbery, but he shall be in peril to come in suspicion of heresy with them? so that they may fleece one with pilgrimage, and spoil with purgatory. And verily the abuse of them cannot be taken away, but great lucre and advantage shall fall away from them, who had rather have profit with abuse, than lack the same with use; and that is the wasp that doth sting them, and maketh them to swell. And if purgatory were purged of all that it hath gotten, by setting aside restitution, and robbing of Christ, it would be but a poor purgatory; so poor, that it should not be able to feed so fat, and trick up so many idle and slothful lubbers.

"I take God to witness, I would hurt no man, but it grieveth me to see such abuse continue without remedy. I cannot understand what they mean by the pope's pardoning of purgatory, but by way of suffrage; and as for suffrage, unless he do his duty, and seek not his own,

but Christ's glory, I had rather have the suffrage of Jack of the scullery, who in his calling doth exercise both faith and charity; but for his mass. And that is as good of another simple priest as of him. For, as for authority of keys, it is to loose from guiltiness of sin and eternal pain, due to the same, according to Christ's word, and not to his own private will. And as for pilgrimage, you would wonder what juggling there is to get money withal. I dwell within half a mile of the Foss-way; and you would wonder to see how they come by flocks out of the west country to many images, but chiefly to the blood of Hayles. And they believe verily that it is the very blood that was in Christ's body, shed upon the mount of Calvary for our salvation; and that the sight of it with their bodily eye doth certify them, and putteth them out of doubt, that they be clean in life, and in state of salvation without spot of sin, which doth bolden them to do many things. For you would wonder if you should commune with them both coming and going what faith they have: for, as for forgiving their enemies, and reconciling their Christian brethren, they cannot away withal; for the sight of that blood doth requite them for a time.

"I read in Scripture of two certifications; one to the Romans: 'We being justified by faith have peace with God.' If I see the blood of Christ with the eye of my soul, that is true faith, that his blood was shed for me, etc. Another in the epistle of St. John: 'We know that we are translated from death to life, because we love the brethren.'" But I read not that I have peace with God, or that I am translated from death to life, because I see with my bodily eye the blood of Hayles. It is very probable, that all the blood that was in the body of Christ, was united and knit to his Divinity, and then no part thereof shall return to his corruption. And I marvel that Christ shall have two resurrections. And if it were that they did violently and injuriously pluck it out of his body when they scourged him and nailed him to the cross, did see it with their bodily eye, yet they were not in clean life. And we see the self-same blood in form of wine, when we have consecrated, and may both see it, feel it, and receive it to our damnation, as touching bodily receiving. And many do see it at Hayles without confession, as they say. God knoweth all, and the devil in our time is not dead.

"Christ hath left a doctrine behind him, wherein we be taught how to believe, and what to believe; he doth suffer the devil to use his craftiness, for our trial and probation. It were little thank-worthy to believe well and rightly, if nothing should move us to false faith, and to believe superstitiously. It was not in vain that Christ said, "Beware of false prophets." But we are secure and careless as though false prophets could not meddle with us, and as if the warning of Christ were no more earnest and effectual, than is the warning of mothers when they trifle with their children. Lo, Sir, how I run at riot beyond measure. When I began, I was minded to have written but half a dozen lines; but thus I forget myself, whenever I write to a trusty friend, who will take in worth my folly, and keep it from mine enemy.

"As for Dr. Wilson, I know not what I should say: but I pray God endue him with charity. Neither he nor any of his countrymen did ever love me, since I did inveigh against their factions, and partiality in Cambridge. Before that, who was more favoured of him than I? That

is the bile that may not be touched. A certain friend showed me, that Dr. Wilson is gone now into his country, about Beverley in Holderness, and from thence he will go a journey through Yorkshire, Lancashire, Cheshire, and so from thence to Bristol. What he intendeth by this progress God knoweth, and not I. If he come to Bristol, I shall hear.

“As for Hubberdin he is a man of no great learning, nor yet of stable wit. He is here *servus hominum*; for he will preach whatsoever the bishops will bid him. Verily in my mind they are more to be blamed than he. He doth magnify the pope more than enough. As for our Saviour Christ and christian kings, they are little beholden to him. No doubt he did miss the cushion in many things. Howbeit, they that did send him, men think, will defend him; I pray God amend him and them both. They would fain make matter against me, intending so either to deliver him by me, or else to rid us both together, and so they would think him well bestowed.

“As touching Dr. Powel, how highly he took upon him in Bristol, and how little he regarded the sword, which representeth the king’s person, many can tell you. I think there is never an earl in this realm that knoweth his obedience by Christ’s commandment to his prince, and knoweth what the sword doth signify, that would have taken upon him so stoutly. However, master mayor, as he is a profound wise man, did flout him prettily; it were too long to write all. Our pilgrimages are not a little beholden to him, in favour of which he alleged this text: “Whoever leaveth father, house, wife, kindred, and his own life also for me, shall be my disciple.” But that you may perceive his hot zeal and crooked judgment. Because I am so belied, I could wish that it would please the king’s grace to command me to preach before his highness a whole year together every Sunday, that he himself might perceive how they belie me, saying, that I have neither learning nor utterance worthy thereunto. I pray you pardon me, I cannot make an end.”

Besides his letter to master Morrice, and two epistles in Latin, he also wrote other letters, as two to sir Edward Baynton, which contain much fruitful matter and worthy to be known, albeit space can here be had only for a few extracts. The letter from which these are given was an answer to one from Baynton, the purport of which is shown in Latimer’s reply:

“Either I am certain or uncertain that it is truth that I preach. If it be truth, why may not I say so, to courage my hearers to receive the same more ardently, and ensue it more studiously? If I be uncertain, why dare I be so bold to preach it? And if your friends, in whom ye trust so greatly, be preachers themselves, after their sermon I pray you to ask them whether they be certain and sure that they taught you the truth or no; and send me word what they say, that I may learn to speak after them. If they say they be sure, ye know what followeth: if they say they be unsure, when shall you be sure, that have so doubtful teachers and unsure? And you yourselves, whether are you certain or uncertain that Christ is your Saviour? And so forth of other articles that ye be bounden to believe.

“Our knowledge here, you say, is but ‘per speculum in ænigmate:’ what then? ergo, it is not certain and sure. I deny your argument; yea, if it be by faith, it is much sure, ‘because the certainty of faith is the most surest certainty;’ there is a great discrepance between certain knowledge and clear



knowledge, for that may be of things absent that appear not, this requireth the presence of the object, I mean of the thing known; so that I certainly and surely know the thing which I perfectly believe, though I do not clearly and evidently know it. I know your school subtleties as well as you, which dispute as though enigmatical knowledge, that is to say, dark and obscure knowledge, might not be certain and sure knowledge, because it is not clear, manifest, and evident knowledge; and yet there have been which have had a zeal, but not after knowledge. True it is there have been such, and yet are too many to the great hindrance of Christ's glory, which nothing doth more obscure, than a hot zeal accompanied with great authority without right judgment. There have been also, which have had knowledge without any zeal of God, who holding the verity of God in unrighteousness, shall be beaten with many stripes, while they knowing the will of God do nothing thereafter. I mean not among Turks and Saracens that be unchristened, but of them that be christened. And there have been also, they that have lost the spiritual knowledge of God's word which they had before, because they have not followed after it, nor promoted the same, but rather with their mother's wits have impugned the wisdom of the Father, and hindered the knowledge thereof, which therefore hath been taken away from them; that Christ may be justified in his sayings, and overcome when he is judged: threatening to him that hath not, that also which he hath (that is, that which he seemeth to have) shall be taken from him: because to abuse that which a man hath, or not use it well, is as not to have it; and also seeing it is true, that God's wisdom will not dwell in a body subject to sin, albeit it abound in carnal wisdom too much: for the mere carnal and philosophical understanding of God's Scriptures is not the wisdom of God, which is hid from the wise, and is revealed to little ones. And if to call this or that truth requireth a deep and profound knowledge, then every man hath either a deep and profound knowledge, or else no man can call this or that truth; and it behoveth every preacher to have this deep and profound knowledge, that he may call this or that truth, which this or that he taketh in hand to preach for the truth; and yet he may be ignorant and uncertain in many things, as Apollos was; but which things he will not attempt to preach for the truth. As for myself, I trust in God I have my senses well enough exercised to discern good and evil in those things, which (being without deep and profound knowledge in many things) I preach not: yea, there be many things in Scripture in the which I cannot certainly discern 'bonum et malum'—I mean, 'verum et falsum'—not with all the exercise that I have in Scripture, nor yet with help of all interpreters that I have, to content myself and others in all scrupulosity that may arise; but in such I am wont to wade no further into the stream, than that I may either go over or else return back again, having ever respect, not to the ostentation of my little wit, but to the edification of them that hear me, as far forth as I can, neither passing mine own nor yet their capacity.

“And such manner of argumentations might well serve the devil contra pusillanimes, to occasion them to wander and waver in the faith, and to be uncertain in things in which they ought to be certain: or else it may

appear to make and serve against such preachers as will define great subtleties and high matters in the pulpit, which no man can be certain and sure of by God's word to be truth, unless a man had a superlative sense to discern good and evil.—Such arguments might appear to make well against such preachers, not against me, which simply and plainly utter true faith and the fruits of the same, which be the good works of God, that he hath prepared for us to walk in, every man to do the thing that pertaineth to his office and duty in his degree and calling, as the word appointeth, which thing a man may do with soberness, having a sense but indifferently exercised to discern good and evil. For it is but foolish humility, willingly to continue always an infant in Christ and in infirmity. In reproof of which it was said—“Ye have need of milk and not of strong meat.” For St. Paul saith not—“Be ye humble, so as to deceive yourselves by ignorance.” For though he would not that we should think arrogantly of ourselves, and above what it becometh us to think of ourselves, but so to think of ourselves that we may be sober and modest; yet he biddeth us so to think of ourselves, as God hath distributed to every one the measure of faith. For he that may not with meekness think in himself *what* God hath done for him, and of himself *as* God hath done for him, how shall he, or when shall he give due thanks to God for his gifts? And if your friends will not allow the same, I pray you inquire of them, whether they may with sobriety and modesty follow St. Paul's advice, where he saith unto us all—“Be not children in understanding, but in maliciousness be ye infants.” God give us all grace to keep the mean, and to think of ourselves neither too high nor too low, but so that we may restore unto him who hath sent abroad his gifts again, with good use of the same, so that we do our part with the same, to the glory of God.

“I pray you what mean your friends by a Christian congregation? All those who have been baptised? But many of those be in a worse condition, and shall have greater damnation, than many unbaptised. For it is not enough to a christian congregation that is of God, to have been baptised: but it is to be considered what we promise when we are baptised, to renounce satan, his works, his pomps. Which things if we busy not ourselves to do, let us not boast that we profess Christ's name in a Christian congregation in one baptism. And whereas they add, ‘in one Lord,’ I read in Matt. xvii., ‘Not every one that saith Lord, Lord,’ etc. And in Luke the Lord himself complaineth and rebuketh such professors and confessors, saying to them, ‘Why call you me Lord, Lord, and do not that I bid you?’ Even as though it were enough to a Christian man, or to a Christian congregation, to say every day, ‘Domine, dominus noster,’ and to salute Christ with a double ‘domine.’ But I would your friends would take the pains to read over Chrysostome, super Mattheum, hom. 49. cap. 24, to learn to know a Christian congregation, if it will please them to learn at him. And whereas they add, ‘in one faith.’ St. James saith boldly, ‘Show me thy faith by thy works.’ And St. Jerome, ‘If we believe, we show the truth in working.’ And the Scripture saith, ‘He that believeth God, attendeth to his commandments:’ and the devils do believe to their little comfort. I pray God to save you and your friends from that believing congregation, and from that faithful company!

“ But now your friends have learned of St. John, that ‘ every one that confesseth Jesus Christ in flesh, is of God : ’ and I have learned of St. Paul, that there have been, not among the heathen, but among the Christians, which confess Christ with their mouth, and deny him with their acts : so that St. Paul should appear to expound St. John, saying that I will not affirm anything as of myself, but leave it to your friends to show you, ‘ *utrum qui factis negant Christum et vita sint ex Deo necne per solam oris confessionem :* ’ for your friends know well enough by the same St. John, ‘ *qui ex Deo est, non peccat :* ’ and there both have been and be now too many, ‘ which with mouth only confess Christ to be come in the flesh ; ’ but will not effectually hear the word of God, by consenting to the same, notwithstanding that St. John saith—‘ He who is of God, heareth God’s word ; you hear not, because you are not of God.’ And many shall hear, ‘ I never knew you,’ which shall not alonely be christened, but also shall ‘ prophetare,’ and do puissant things in the name of Christ. St. Paul said, there would come ravening wolves, which would not spare the flock : meaning of them who should with their lips confess Christ in the flesh, and yet usurp the office ; which Christ biddeth us beware of, saying, ‘ They shall come in sheep’s clothing ; ’ not feeding, but smiting their fellows, eating and drinking with the drunken, which shall have their portion with hypocrites. They are called servants, I suppose, because they confess Christ in the flesh ; and naughty they are called, because they deny him in their deeds, not giving meat in due season, and exercising mastership over the flock. And yet your friends reason as though there could none bark and bite at true preachers, but they that be unchristened, notwithstanding that St. Augustine, upon the same epistle of St. John, calleth such confessors of Christ, antichrist ; and so making division, not between christened and unchristened, but between christians and antichristians, when neither tongue nor pen can divide the antichristian from their blind folly.

“ Sir, I have had more business in my little cure since I spake with you, what with sick folks, and what with matrimonies, than I have had since I came to it, or than I would have thought a man should have in a great cure. I wonder how men can go quietly to bed, who have great and many cures, and yet peradventure are in none of them all. But I pray you to tell none of your friends that I spake so foolishly, lest I make a dissension in a christian congregation, and divide a sweet and peaceable union, or as many as may rest with this in such an age. Sir, I had just made an end of this scribbling, and was beginning to transcribe it more correctly, but there came a man of my lord of Farley’s, with a citation to appear before my lord of London in haste, to be punished for such excesses as I committed at my last being there, so that I could not perform my purpose ; I doubt whether you can read it as it is. If you can, well be it ; if not, I pray you send it me again, and that you so do, whether you can read it or not. Jesus, mercy, what a world is this, that I should be put to so great labour and pains, besides great charges, above my power, for preaching a poor simple sermon ! But I think our Saviour Christ said true, I must needs suffer : so dangerous a thing it is to live virtuously with Christ, yea, in a christian congregation. God make us all Christians, after the right fashion, Amen.”

Master Latimer growing in some favour with the king, and seeing the great decay of Christ's religion by reason of proclamations forbidding the reading of God's holy Scriptures, and touched therefore with the zeal of conscience, directed unto king Henry a long letter, thereby intending by all means possible to persuade the king's mind to set open again the freedom of God's holy word amongst his subjects. The whole letter would well repay perusal, but space will only serve to exhibit the following extracts :

“ To the most mighty prince, king of England, Henry the Eighth, grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father, by our Lord Jesus Christ. The holy doctor, St. Augustine, in an epistle which he wrote to Casalandus, saith, that he which for fear of any power hideth the truth, provoketh the wrath of God to come upon him, for he feareth men more than God. And according to the same, the holy St. John Chrysostom saith, that he is not only a traitor to the truth, which openly for truth teacheth a lie ; but he also which doth not freely pronounce and show the truth that he knoweth. These sentences, most redoubted king, when I read now of late, and marked them earnestly in the inward parts of mine heart, they made me sore afraid, troubled, and vexed me grievously in my conscience ; and at the last drave me to this strait, that either I must show forth such things as I have read and learned in Scripture, or else be of that sort who provoke the wrath of God upon them, and be traitors unto the truth : the which thing, rather than it should happen, I had rather suffer extreme punishment.

“ First, and before all things, I will exhort your grace to mark the life and process of our Saviour Christ, and his apostles, in preaching and setting-forth of the gospel ; and to note also the words of our master Christ, which he said to his disciples when he sent them forth to preach his gospel ; and to these have ever in your mind the golden rule of our master Christ, ‘ The tree is known by the fruit : ’ for by the diligent marking of these, your grace shall clearly know and perceive who be the true followers of Christ, and teachers of his gospel, and who be not. And concerning the first, all Scripture showeth plainly, that our Saviour Jesus Christ's life was very poor.

“ But this he did to show us, that his followers and vicars should not regard and set by the riches and treasures of this world, but after the saying of David we ought to take them, which saith thus : “ If riches, promotions, and dignity happen to a man, let him not set his affiance, pleasure, trust, and heart upon them.’ So that it is not against the poverty in spirit, which Christ preacheth in the gospel of St. Matthew, chapter v., to be rich, to be in dignity and in honour, so that their hearts be not fixed and set upon them so much, that they neither care for God nor good men. But they be enemies to this poverty in spirit, have they never so little, that have greedy and desirous minds to the goods of this world, only because they would live after their own pleasures and lusts. And they also be privy enemies (and so much the worse) which have professed, as they say, wilful poverty, and will not be called worldly men ; and they have lords' lands, and kings' riches. Yea, rather than they would lose one jot of that which they have, they will set debate between king and king, realm and realm, yea, between the king and his subjects, and cause rebellion against the temporal power, to the which our Saviour Christ himself obeyed, and paid tribute, as the gospel declareth ; unto whom the holy apostle St. Paul

teacheth every Christian man to obey : yea, and beside all this, they will curse and ban, as much as in them lieth, even into the deep pit of hell, all that gainsay their appetite, whereby they think their goods, promotions, or dignities should decay.—And although I named the spirituality to be corrupt with this unthrifty ambition, yet I mean not all to be faulty therein, for there be some good of them : neither will I that your grace should take away the goods due to the church, but take away such evil persons from the goods, and set better in their stead.

“The holy apostle St. Paul saith, that ‘every man that will live godly in Christ Jesus, should suffer persecution.’ And also he saith further, in the Epistle written to the Philippians, in the first chapter, that ‘it is not only given to you to believe in the Lord, but also to suffer persecution for his sake.’ Wherefore take this for a sure conclusion, that there, where the word of God is truly preached, there is persecution, as well of the hearers as of the teachers : and where is quietness and rest in worldly pleasure, there is not the truth. For the world loveth all that are of the world, and hateth all things that are contrary to it. And, to be short, St. Paul calleth the gospel the word of the cross, the word of punishment. And the holy Scripture doth promise nothing to the favourers and followers of it in this world, but trouble, vexation, and persecution, which these worldly men cannot suffer, nor away withal. Therefore pleaseth it your good grace to return to this golden rule of our Master and Saviour Jesus Christ, which is this, ‘By their fruits you shall know them.’

“But as concerning this matter, other men have showed your grace their minds, how necessary it is to have the Scripture in English. The which thing also your grace hath promised by your last proclamation : the which promise I pray God that your gracious highness may shortly perform, even to-day, before to-morrow.—Seeing that our Saviour Christ hath sent his servants, that is to say, his true preachers, and his own word also, to comfort our weak and sick souls, let not these worldly men make your grace believe that they will cause insurrections and heresies, and such mischiefs as they madly imagine, lest that he be avenged upon you and your realm, as he hath ever upon them which have obstinately withstood his word.

“Wherefore, gracious king, remember yourself, have pity upon your soul ; and think that the day is even at hand, when you shall give account of your office, and of the blood that hath been shed with your sword. In the which day that your grace may stand steadfastly, and not be ashamed, but be clear and ready in your reckoning, and to have (as they say) your ‘quietus est’ sealed with the blood of our Saviour Christ, which only serveth at that day, is my daily prayer to him that suffered death for our sins, which also prayeth to his Father for grace for us continually. To whom be all honour and praise for ever, Amen. The Spirit of God preserve your grace.—Anno Domini 1530. Prim. die Decembris.”

In this letter of master Latimer we have to consider his good conscience to God, his good-will to the king, the duty of a right pastor unto truth, and his tender care to the church of Christ. Further, we may note the subtle practices of prelates in abusing the name and authority of kings, to set forth their own malignant proceedings ; and also the great boldness of this man, who durst, in defence of Christ's gospel, so freely and plainly counsel

that which no other durst once speak of. And yet God so wrought with his servant's bold adventure that no danger nor displeasure rose to him thereby, but rather thanks and good-will of his prince, who soon after advanced him to the bishopric of Worcester.

During the time that the said master Latimer was prisoner in Oxford, we read not of much that he did write besides his conference with Dr. Ridley, and his protestation at the time of his disputation. Otherwise of letters we find very few, or none, save only these few lines, which he wrote to one Mrs. Wilkinson of London, a godly matron, and an exile afterward for the gospel's sake: who, so long as she remained in England, was a singular patroness to the good saints of God, and learned bishops, as to Hooper, to the bishop of Hereford, to Coverdale, to Latimer, to Cranmer, and many others. The copy of his letter to Mrs. Wilkinson here followeth:

“If the gift of a pot of cold water shall not be in oblivion with God, how can God forget your manifold and bountiful gifts, when he shall say to you, ‘I was in prison, and you visited me?’ God grant us all to do and suffer, while we be here, as may be his will and pleasure.—Yours, Hugh Latimer.”

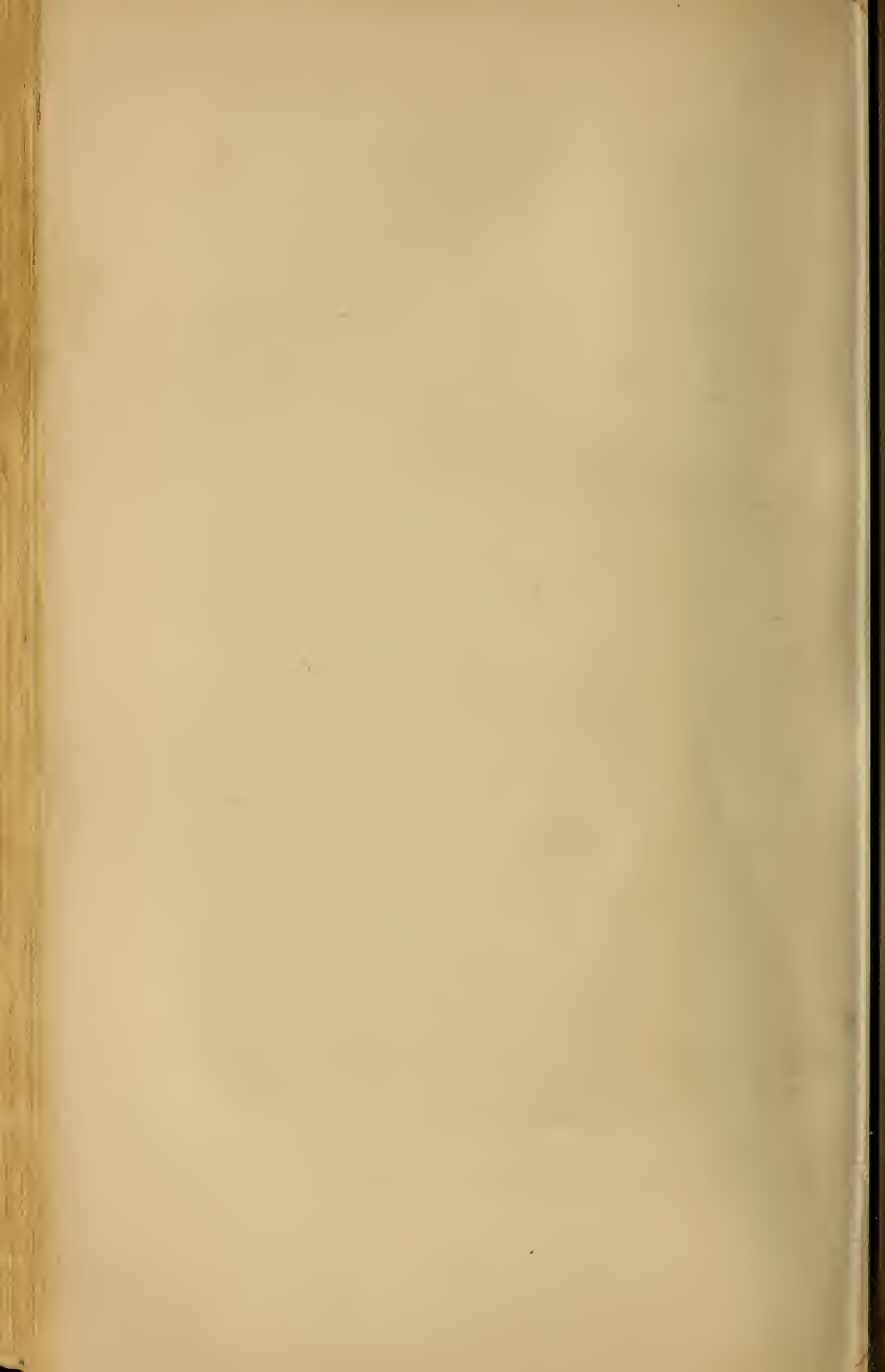
Touching the memorable acts and doings of this worthy man, among many others this is not to be neglected, what a bold enterprise he attempted in sending to king Henry a present, the manner whereof is this. There was then, and remaineth still, an ancient custom received from the old Romans, that upon New-year's day, every bishop with some handsome New-year's gift should gratify the king; and so they did, some with gold; some with silver, some with a purse full of money, and some one thing, some another. But master Latimer, being bishop of Worcester then, among the rest, presented a New Testament for his New-year's gift, with a napkin having this posy about it, “*Fornicadores et adulteros judicabit Dominus.*”

And thus thou hast, gentle reader, a sketch of the life both of master Ridley and of master Latimer severally by themselves set forth and described, with their chief proceedings from time to time until this present month of October 1555: in the which month they were brought forth together to their final examination and execution. Wherefore as they were together joined both in one cause and martyrdom, we will, by the grace of Christ, so prosecute the rest that remaineth concerning their latter examination, degrading, and constant suffering.

First, after the appearing of Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, before the pope's delegate, and the queen's commissioners, in St. Mary's church at Oxford, about the 12th of September, (whereof more shall be said, by God's grace, when we come to the death of the said archbishop;) shortly after, on the 28th of the said month, was sent down to Oxford another commission from cardinal Pole, legate à latere, to John White, bishop of Lincoln, to Dr. Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, and Dr. Holyman, bishop of Bristol. The contents and virtue of which commission were, that the said bishops should have full power and authority to cite, examine, and judge master Latimer and Dr. Ridley, for divers and sundry erroneous opinions, which the said Hugh Latimer and Nicholas Ridley did hold and maintain in open disputations had in Oxford, in the months of May, June, and July, in the year of our Lord 1554, as long before, in the time of perdition, and since. Which opinions, if they would now recant,



RIDLEY BEFORE THE CONVOCATION AT OXFORD.—PAGE 843.





giving and yielding themselves to the determination of the universal and catholic church planted by Peter in the blessed see of Rome, that then the deputed judges, by the authority of their commission, should have power to receive the penitent persons, and forthwith administer unto them the reconciliation of the holy father the pope. But if they would stoutly and stubbornly maintain their erroneous opinions, then the said lords by their commission should proceed in form of judgment, according to the law of heretics; that is, degrade them from their promotion and dignity of bishops, priests, and all other ecclesiastical orders, pronounce them as heretics, cut them off from the church, and deliver them up to receive the punishment due to such heresy and schism.

Wherefore, the last of September, Nicholas Ridley and Hugh Latimer were cited to appear before the said lords, in the divinity school at Oxford, at eight of the clock. At which time thither repaired the lords, placing themselves in the high seat made for public lectures and disputations, according to the usage of that school. And after the said lords were placed and set, the said Latimer and Ridley were sent for; and first appeared Dr. Ridley, and anon master Latimer. But because it seemed good severally to examine them, Latimer was kept back until master Ridley was thoroughly examined. Therefore, soon after the coming of Ridley into the school, the commission was published by an appointed notary, and openly read. Ridley at first stood bareheaded, but as soon as he had heard the cardinal named, and the pope's holiness, he put on his cap. Wherefore after the commission was published, the conference thus proceeded.

*Lincoln.* Mr. Ridley, although neither I, nor yet my lords here, in respect of our own persons, look for cap or knee, yet because we bear and represent such persons as we do, that is, my lord cardinal's grace, legate *à latere* to the pope's holiness, as well in that he is of a noble parentage (here Dr. Ridley moved his cap with low obeisance) descending from the royal blood, as in that he is a man worthy to be revered with all humility, for his great knowledge and learning, noble virtues and godly life, it would have become you at this name to have uncovered your head. Wherefore except you will of your ownself take the pains to put your hand to your head, and at the nomination, as well of the said cardinal, as of the pope's holiness, uncover the same, you will cause us to oblige some man to pluck off your cap.

*Rid.* Respecting what you said, my lord, that you of your own persons desire no cap or knee, but only require it in consideration of your representing the cardinal's grace, I would have you know, that I put on my cap at the naming of him, not for any contumacy that I bear towards your own persons, nor for any derogation of honour towards the lord cardinal. For I know him to be a man worthy of all humility, reverence, and honour, in that he came of the most regal blood, and in that he is a man endued with manifold graces of learning and virtue; and as touching these virtues and points, I, with all humility (here he put off his cap and bowed his knee) and obeisance, reverence, and honour his grace. But as he is a legate to the bishop of Rome (and therewith put on his cap) whose usurped supremacy and abused authority I utterly refuse and renounce, I may in no wise give obeisance or

honour unto him, lest my so doing might be prejudicial to mine oath, and a derogation to the verity of God's words: therefore that I might not only by confession profess the truth, in not reverencing the renounced authority, contrary to God's word, but also in gesture, in behaviour, and all my doings, express the same, I have put on my cap, and for this consideration only, and not for any contumacy to your lordships, neither contempt of this worshipful audience, or derogation of honour due to the cardinal's grace.

*Lin.* Mr. Ridley, you excuse yourself of that with which we pressed you not, in that you protest you keep on your cap, neither for any contumacy towards us, nor for any contempt of this audience; which although justly they may, yet in this case do not require any such obeisance of you; neither in derogation of any honour due to my lord cardinal for his regal descent (at which word Dr. Ridley moved his cap) and excellent qualities; for although in all the premises honour be due, yet in these respects we require none of you, but only in that my lord cardinal's grace is here in England, deputy of the pope's holiness, (at which word the lords and others put off their caps, and Dr. Ridley put on his) and therefore we say unto you the second time, that except you take the pains yourself, to put your hand to your head, and put off your cap, you shall put us to the pains to cause some man to take it from you, except you allege some infirmity and sickness, or other more reasonable cause, upon the consideration whereof we may do as we think good.

*Rid.* The premises I said only for this end, that it might as well appear to your lordships, as to this worshipful audience, why and for what consideration I used such kind of behaviour, in not humbling myself to your lordships with cap and knee: and as for my sickness, I thank my Lord God, that I am as well at ease as I have been this long time; and therefore I do not pretend that which is not, but only this, that it might appear by this my behaviour, that I acknowledge in no point that usurped supremacy of Rome, and therefore contemn and utterly despise all authority coming from him.

Then the bishop of Lincoln, after the third admonition, commanded one of the beadles to take his cap from his head. Dr. Ridley bowing his head to the officer, gently permitted him to take it away. After this the bishop of Lincoln, in a long oration, exhorted Ridley to recant, and submit himself to the universal faith of Christ, endeavouring to prove the right of supremacy in the church of Rome, charging him also, with having formerly been favourable to their doctrines and ceremonies. Ridley heard him patiently, and when he had concluded, desired his patience to suffer him to speak somewhat of the premises, lest the multitude of things might confound his memory; and having leave granted him, he thus spake:

"I most heartily thank your lordship, as well for your gentleness, as for your good and favourable zeal in this learned exhortation, in which I have marked especially three points, by which you sought to persuade me to leave my doctrine and religion, (which I perfectly know to be grounded, not upon man's imaginations and decrees, but upon the infallible truth of Christ's gospel,) and to return to the Romish see. First, the first

point is this, that the see of Rome taking its beginning from Peter, upon whom you say Christ hath builded his church, hath in all ages lineally, from bishop to bishop, been brought to this time. Second, that even the holy fathers have in their writings confessed the same. Third, that I myself was of the same opinion, and together with you I did acknowledge the same.

“First, as touching the saying of Christ, from whence your lordship gathereth the foundation of the church upon Peter, truly the place is not to be understood as you take it, as the circumstance of the place will declare. For after Christ had asked his disciples whom men judged him to be, and they answered, that some had said he was a prophet, some Elias, some one thing, some another; then he said, ‘Whom say ye that I am?’ Then Peter answered, ‘I say that thou art Christ the Son of God.’ To whom Christ answered, ‘I say thou art Peter, and upon this stone I will build my church;’ that is to say, Upon this stone, not meaning Peter himself, as though he would have constituted a mortal man, so frail and brittle a foundation of his stable and infallible church: but upon this rock-stone, that is, this confession of thine, that I am the Son of the living God, I will build my church. For this is the foundation and beginning of all christianity, with word, heart, and mind, to confess that Christ is the Son of God. Here we see upon what foundation Christ’s church is built, not upon the frailty of man, but upon the stable and infallible word of God.

“As touching the lineal descent of the bishops in the see of Rome, true it is, that the patriarchs of Rome in the apostles’ time, and long after, were great maintainers of Christ’s glory, in which, above all other countries and regions, there especially was preached the true gospel, the sacraments were most duly administered; and as, before Christ’s coming, it was a city so valiant in prowess, and martial affairs, that all the world was in a manner subject to it; and after Christ’s passion divers of the apostles there suffered persecution for the gospel’s sake: so after that the emperors, their hearts being illuminated, received the gospel, and became christians, the gospel there, as well for the fame of the place, flourished most, whereby the bishops of that place were had in more reverence and honour, most esteemed in all councils and assemblies, not because they acknowledged them to be their head, but because the place was most revered and spoken of, for the great power and strength of the same. As now here in England, the bishop of Lincoln, in sessions and sittings, hath the pre-eminence of other bishops, not that he is the head and ruler of them; but for the dignity of the bishopric. Wherefore the doctors in their writings have spoken most reverently of this see of Rome, and in their writings preferred it; and this is the prerogative which your lordship did rehearse the ancient doctors to give to the see of Rome. In the same manner I cannot nor dare but commend, reverence, and honour the see of Rome, so long as it continued in the promotion and setting forth of God’s glory, and in due preaching of the gospel, as it did many years after Christ. But after that the bishops of that see, seeking their own pride, and not God’s honour, began to set themselves above kings and emperors, challenging to them the title of God’s vicars, the dominion and supremacy over all the world, I cannot but with St. Gregory, a bishop of Rome also,

confess that place is the very true Antichrist, whereof St. John speaketh by name of the whore of Babylon; and say, with Gregory, 'He that maketh himself a bishop over all the world, is worse than Antichrist.'

"Whereas you say St. Augustine should seem not only to give such a prerogative, but also supremacy to the see of Rome, in that he saith all the christian world is subject to the church of Rome, and therefore should give to that see a certain kind of subjection; I am sure that your lordship knoweth, that in Augustine's time there were four patriarchs, of Alexandria, Constantinople, Antioch, and Rome, which patriarchs had under them certain countries; as in England the archbishop of Canterbury hath under him certain bishoprics in England and Wales, to whom he may be said to be their patriarch. Also your lordship knoweth right well, that at the time Augustine wrote that book he was then bishop in Africa. Farther, you are not ignorant, that between Europe and Africa lieth the sea called the Mediterranean sea, so that all the countries in Europe to him which is in Africa, may be called countries beyond the sea. Hereof Augustine saith, 'All the christian countries beyond the seas and remote regions, are subject to the see of Rome.' If I should say all countries beyond the sea, I do except England, which to me now, being in England, is not beyond the sea. In this sense, Augustine saith, 'All the countries beyond the sea are subject to the see of Rome;' declaring thereby that Rome was one of the sees of the four patriarchs, and under it Europe. By what subjection I pray you? only for a pre-eminence; as we here in England say, that all the bishoprics are subject to the archbishoprics.

"For this pre-eminence also the other doctors say, that Rome is the mother of churches, as the bishopric of Lincoln is mother to the bishopric of Oxford, because the bishopric of Oxford came from the bishopric of Lincoln, and they were once both one; and so is the archbishopric of Canterbury mother to the other bishoprics which are in her province. In like manner the archbishopric of York, is mother to the north bishoprics; and yet no man will say, that Lincoln, Canterbury, or York, is supreme head to the other bishoprics; neither then ought we to confess the see of Rome to be supreme head, because the doctors, in their writings, confess the see of Rome to be mother of churches.

"Where you say, I was once of the same religion as you are of, the truth is, I cannot but confess the same. Yet so was St. Paul a persecutor of Christ. But in that you say, I was one of you not long ago, in that I, in doing my message to my lord of Winchester, should desire him to stand stout in that gross opinion of the supper of the Lord: in very deed I was sent, as your lordship said, from the council to my lord of Winchester, to exhort him also to receive the true confession of justification; and because he was very refractory, I said to him, 'What make you so great a matter herein? you see many anabaptists rise against the sacrament of the altar; I pray you, my lord, be diligent in confounding of them!' for at that time my lord of Winchester and I had to do with two anabaptists in Kent. In this sense I willed my lord to be stiff in the defence of the sacraments against the detestable errors of anabaptists, and not in the confirmation of that gross and carnal opinion now maintained.

“ In like manner, respecting the sermon which I made at St. Paul’s Cross, you shall understand, that there were at St. Paul’s, and divers other places, fixed railing bills against the sacrament, terming it Jack of the Box, the Sacrament of the Halter, round Robin, with other unseemly terms; for which causes, to rebuke irreverent behaviour of certain evil-disposed persons, I preached as reverently of that matter as I might, declaring what estimation and reverence ought to be given to it, what danger ensued the mishandling thereof; affirming in that sacrament to be truly and verily the body and blood of Christ, effectually by grace and spirit; which words the unlearned understanding not, supposed that I had meant of the gross and carnal being which the Romish decrees set forth, that a body having life and motion should be indeed under the shapes of bread and wine.”

*Lin.* Well, Dr. Ridley, thus you wrest places to your own pleasure. I could bring many more places of the fathers for a confirmation of what I have advanced; but we came not hither to dispute with you, but only to take your answers to certain articles; and used this in the way of disputation, in which you interrupted me; wherefore I will return thither again. You must, first of all, consider that the church of Christ lieth not hid, but is a city on the mountain, and a candle in the candlestick. The church of Christ is catholic, and universally spread throughout the world. Wherefore, for God’s love, be you not singular; acknowledge with all the realm the truth, it shall not be prejudicial to the crown; for their majesties the king and queen have renounced that usurped power taken of their predecessors, and justly have renounced it. I am sure you know there are two powers, the one declared by the sword, the other by the keys. The sword is given to kings and rulers of countries; the keys were delivered by Christ to Peter, and of him left to all the successors.

Consider your state, remember your former degrees, spare your body; especially consider your soul, which Christ so dearly bought with his precious blood. Do not rashly cast away that which was precious in God’s sight; enforce us not to do all that we may do, which is not only to publish you to be none of us, but to cut you off from the church. We do not, nor can we condemn you to die, (as most untruly hath been reported of us) but that is the office of the temporal judges; we only declare you to be not of the church, and then you must, according to the tenor of them, and pleasure of the rulers, abide their determination, so that we, after we have given you up to the temporal rulers, have no further to do with you. But I cannot help to hope and trust, Dr. Ridley, we shall not have occasion to do what we may. I trust you will suffer us to rest in that point of our commission, which we most heartily desire, that is, upon recantation and repentance to receive, to reconcile you, and again to join you to the unity of the church.

*Rid.* My lord, I acknowledge an unspotted church of Christ, in which no man can err, without which no man can be saved, which is the congregation of the faithful; neither do I bind the same to any one place as you said, but confess the same to be universal; and where Christ’s sacraments are duly administered, his gospel truly preached and followed there doth Christ’s church shine as a city upon a hill, and as a candle

in the candlestick: but rather it is such as you that would have the church of Christ bound to a place, who appoint the same to Rome, that there and no where else is the foundation of Christ's church. But I am fully persuaded that Christ's church is every where founded, in every place where his gospel is truly received, and effectually followed. And in that the church of God is in doubt, I use herein the counsel of Vincencius Lyrinensis, whom I am sure you will allow, who giving precepts how the catholic church may be in all schisms and heresies known, writeth in this manner, "When one part is corrupted with heresies, then prefer the whole world before that one part; but if the greatest part be infected, then prefer antiquity." In like manner now, when I perceive the greatest part of christianity to be infected with the poison of the see of Rome, I repair to the usage of the primitive church, which I find quite contrary to the pope's decrees: as in that the priest receiveth alone, that it is made unlawful to the laity to receive in both kinds, and such like: wherefore it requireth, that I prefer the antiquity of the primitive church before the novelty of the Romish.

*Lin.* Dr. Ridley, these faults which you charge the see of Rome withal, are indeed no faults. For first, it was never forbid the laity, but that they might, if they demanded, receive under both kinds. You know also, that Christ after his resurrection, at the time he went with his apostles to Galilee, opened himself by breaking of bread.—So that the church seemeth to have authority by the Holy Ghost, whom Christ said he would send after his ascension, which should teach the apostles all truth, to have power to alter such points of the scripture, ever reserving the foundation. But we came not, as I said before, to reason the matter with you, but we have certain instructions ministered unto us, according to which we must proceed, proposing certain articles, unto which we require your answer directly, either denying or granting them, without further disputations, which articles you shall hear now; and to-morrow we will require and take your answers, and then according to the same proceed. If you require a copy of them, you shall have it, pen, ink, and paper; also such books as you shall demand, if they be to be gotten.

The articles referred to were then jointly and severally ministered to Dr. Ridley and master Latimer, by the pope's deputy: they were these—"In the name of God, Amen. We John Lincoln, James Gloucester, and John Bristol, bishops: (1.) We do object to thee, Nicholas Ridley, and to thee, Hugh Latimer, jointly and severally; first, that thou Nicholas Ridley, in this high university of Oxford, anno 1554, in the months of April, May, June, and July, or in some one or more of them, hast affirmed and openly defended and maintained, and in many other times and places besides, that the true and natural body of Christ, after the consecration of the priest, is not really present in the sacrament of the altar. (2.) That in the said year and months aforesaid, thou hast publicly affirmed and defended, that in the sacrament of the altar remaineth still the substance of bread and wine. (3.) That in the said year and months thou hast openly affirmed and obstinately maintained, that in the mass is no propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead. (4.) That in the year, place, and months aforesaid, these thy foresaid assertions solemnly have been condemned by the scholastical censure of this school, as heretical and contrary to the catholic

faith, by the worshipful Dr. Weston, prolocutor then of the convocation-house, as also by other learned men of both the universities. (5.) That all and singular the premises be true, notorious, famous, and openly known by public fame, as well to them near hand, as also to them far off."

All these articles I thought good here to place together, that, as often as hereafter rehearsal shall be of any of them, the reader may have recourse hither, and so not trouble the story with several repetitions thereof. After these articles were read, the bishops took counsel together. At the last the bishop of Lincoln said, "These are the very same articles which you, in open disputation here in the university, did maintain and defend. What say you unto the first? I pray you answer affirmatively, or negatively."

*Rid.* Why, my lord, I supposed that you would have given me until to-morrow, that upon good advice I might bring a determinate answer.

*Lin.* Yea, master Ridley, I mean not that your answers now shall be prejudicial to your answers to-morrow. I will take your answers at this time, and yet notwithstanding it shall be lawful for you to add, diminish, alter, and change these answers to-morrow what you will.

*Rid.* Seeing you appoint me a time to answer to-morrow, and yet would take mine answers out of hand, I require the notaries to take and write my protestation, that in no point I acknowledge your authority, or admit you to be my judges, in that point that you are authorized from the pope. Therefore, whatsoever I shall say or do, I protest I neither say nor do it willingly, thereby to admit the authority of the pope; and if your lordship will give me leave, I will show the causes which move me thereunto.

*Lin.* No, we have instructions to the contrary. We may not suffer you.

*Rid.* I will be short: I pray you suffer me to speak but three words.

*Lin.* To-morrow you shall speak forty. The time is far past; therefore we require your answer determinately. What say you to the first article?

*Rid.* I answer, that in the sacrament is the very true and natural body and blood of Christ, even that which was born of the Virgin Mary, which ascended into heaven, which sitteth on the right hand of God the Father, which shall come from thence to judge the quick and the dead, only we differ *in modo*, in the way and manner of being: we confess all one thing to be in the sacrament, and dissent in the manner of being there. I, being fully by God's word persuaded, confess Christ's natural body to be in the sacrament indeed by spirit and grace, because that whosoever receiveth worthily that bread and wine, receiveth effectuously Christ's body, and drinketh his blood, (that is, he is made effectually partaker of his passion;) and you make a grosser kind of being, enclosing a natural, a lively, and a moving body, under the shape or form of bread and wine. Now, this difference considered, to the question thus I answer, that in the sacrament of the altar is the natural body and blood of Christ *verè et realiter*, indeed and really, for spiritually, by grace and efficacy; for so every worthy receiver receiveth the very true body of Christ. But, if you mean really and indeed, so as to include a lively and a movable body under the forms of bread and wine, then, in that sense, is not Christ's body in the sacrament.

This answer taken, the bishop of Lincoln proposed the second article.

*Rid.* In the sacrament is a certain change, in that, that bread, which was before common bread, is now made a lively presentation of Christ's body. Notwithstanding this sacramental mutation, the true substance and

nature of bread and wine remaineth : with the which the body is in like sort nourished, as the soul is by grace and Spirit with the body of Christ.

Then the notaries penned that he answered affirmatively to the second article ; and the bishop recited the third, and required a direct answer.

*Rid.* Christ, as St. Paul writeth, made one perfect sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, neither can any man reiterate that sacrifice of his, and yet is the communion an acceptable sacrifice to God of praise and thanksgiving. But to say that thereby sins are taken away (which wholly and perfectly was done by Christ's passion, of the which the communion is only a memory) that is a great derogation of the merits of Christ's passion : for the sacrament was instituted, that we, receiving it, and thereby recognising and remembering his passion, should be partakers of the merits of the same. For otherwise doth this sacrament take upon it the office of Christ's passion, whereby it might follow that Christ died in vain.

The notaries penned this his answer to be affirmatively. And then the bishop of Lincoln recited the fourth article ; to the which Ridley answered, that in some part it was true, and in some part false : true, in that those his assertions were condemned as heresies, although unjustly ; false, in that it was said they were condemned *scientiâ scholasticâ*, in that the disputations were in such sort ordered, that it was far from any school act. This answer penned of the notaries, the bishop of Lincoln rehearsed the fifth article. To the which Ridley answered, that the premises were in such sort true, as in these his answers he had declared. Whether that all men spake evil of them he knew not, in that he came not much abroad. This answer also written, the bishop said : " To-morrow you shall appear before us in St. Mary's church ; and because we cannot well agree upon your answer to the first article, you may, if it please you, write your answer."

Now master Latimer, being also brought to the divinity school, there tarried till they called him ; and after that Ridley was committed to the mayor, the bishop of Lincoln commanded the bailiffs to bring him in, who eftsoons as he was placed said to the lords : " My lords, if I appear again, I pray you not to send for me until you be ready : for I am an old man, and it is great hurt to mine old age to tarry so long gazing upon the cold walls." Then said the bishop of Lincoln, " Master Latimer, I am sorry you are brought so soon, although it is the bailiff's fault, and not mine : but it shall be amended." Then Latimer bowed his knee down to the ground, holding his hat in his hand, having a kerchief on his head, and upon it a night-cap or two, and a great cap, (such as townsmen use, with two broad flaps to button under the chin,) wearing an old threadbare Bristol frieze-gown girded to his body with a penny leather girdle, at the which hanged by a string of leather his Testament, and his spectacles without case, depending about his neck upon his breast. After this the bishop of Lincoln began a long oration, in the which, as he had by Dr. Ridley, he declared their commission, charged him with his errors ; spake of the unity and infallibility of their church, entreated him back to the same, and if stubbornly perverse, threatened him with the consequences. After the bishop had somewhat paused, Latimer lifted up his head, (for before he leaned on his elbow ; ) and asking whether his lordship had done, said, " Then will you give me leave to speak a word or two ?"

*Lin.* Yea, so you use a modest kind of talk, without railing or taunts.



*Lat.* I beseech your lordship, license me to sit down.

*Lin.* At your pleasure, Mr. Latimer, take as much ease as you will.

*Lat.* Your lordship gently exhorted me in many words to come to the unity of the church. I confess, my lord, a catholic church, spread throughout all the world, in which no man may err, without which unity of the church no man can be saved; but I know perfectly by God's word, that this church is in all the world, and hath not its foundation in Rome only, as you say; and methought your lordship brought a place out of the scriptures to confirm the same, that there was a jurisdiction given to Peter, in that Christ bade him govern his people. Indeed, my lord, St. Peter did his office well and truly, in that he was bid to govern; but since, the bishops of Rome have taken a new kind of government. Indeed they ought to govern, but how, my lord? not as they will themselves; but this government must be hedged and ditched in. They must rule, only according to the word of God. But the bishops of Rome have turned the rule according to the word of God into the rule according to their own pleasures, and as it pleaseth them best; as there is a book set forth which hath divers points in it, and, amongst others, this point is one, which your lordship went about to prove; and the argument which he bringeth forth for the proof of that matter is taken out of Deuteronomy, where it is said, "If there ariseth any controversy among the people, the priests of the order of Levi shall decide the matter according to the law of God, so it must be taken." This book, perceiving this authority to be given to the priests of the old law, taketh occasion to prove the same to be given to the bishops and others the clergy of the new law: but, in proving this matter, whereas it was said there, as the priests of the order of Levi should determine the matter "according to God's law," that "according to God's law" is left out, and only is recited, as the priests of the order of Levi shall decide the matter so it ought to be taken of the people; a large authority I assure you. What gelding of Scripture is this? what clipping of God's coin? This is much like the "ruling" which your lordship talked of. Nay, nay, my lords, we may not give such authority to the clergy, to rule all things as they will. Let them keep themselves within their commission. I trust, my lord, I do not rail yet.

*Lin.* No, master Latimer, your talk is more like taunting than railing; but in that I have not read nor know the book, I can say nothing therein.

*Lat.* The book is open to be read, my lord; it is by one who is bishop of Gloucester, whom I never knew, neither did see to my knowledge.

With that the people laughed, because the bishop of Gloucester sat there in commission. Then the bishop stood up, and said it was his book.

*Lat.* Was it yours, my lord? Indeed I knew not your lordship, neither ever did I see you before, nor yet now, through the brightness of the sun shining betwixt you and me. (Then the audience laughed again.) Why, my masters, this is no laughing matter: I answer upon life and death.

The bishop of Lincoln commanded silence, and then said, "Master Latimer, if you had kept yourself within your bounds, if you had not used such scoffs and taunts, this had not been done." After this Gloucester said, in excusing his book, "Hereby every man may see what learning you have."

*Lat.* Lo, you look for learning at my hands who have gone so long to the school of oblivion, making the bare walls my library, keeping

me so long in prison without book, or pen and ink; and now you let me loose to come and answer to articles. You deal with me as though two were appointed to fight for life and death, and over night the one through friends and favour, is cherished, and hath good counsel given him how to encounter with his enemy. The other, for envy or lack of friends, all the whole night is set in the stocks. In the morning when they shall meet, the one is in strength and lusty; the other is stiff in his limbs, and almost dead for feebleness. Think you, that to run through this man with a spear is not a goodly victory?

*Glou.* I went not about to recite any places of scripture in that place of my book; for then if I had not recited faithfully, you might have had just occasion of reprehension: but I only in that place formed an argument *à majore*, in this sense; that if in the old law the priests had power to decide matters of controversy, much more then ought the authority to be given to the clergy in the new law: and I pray you, in this point what availeth their rehearsal, according to the law of God?

*Lat.* Yes, my lord, very much. For I acknowledge authority to be given to the spirituality to decide matters of religion; and as my lord said even now, to rule; but they must do it according to the word and law of God, and not after their own wills, imaginations, and fantasies.

Then Lincoln said they came not to dispute, but to take his answers; and so began to propose to master Latimer the same articles as proposed to Ridley, requiring his answer to the first. Then Latimer, making his protestation that notwithstanding his answers it should not be taken that thereby he would acknowledge any authority of the bishop of Rome, saying that he was their majesties' subject, and not the pope's, neither could serve two masters at one time; required the notaries to take his protestation, that whatsoever he should say or do, it should not be taken as though he did thereby agree to any authority that came from the bishop of Rome.

*Lin.* Your protestation shall be so taken; and I require you to answer briefly, affirmatively or negatively, to the first article.

*Lat.* I do not deny, my lord, that in the sacrament by spirit and grace is the very body and blood of Christ; because that every man by receiving bodily that bread and wine, spiritually receiveth the body and blood of Christ, and is made partaker thereby of the merits of Christ's passion: but I deny that the body and blood of Christ is in such manner in the sacrament as you would have it.

*Lin.* Then you answer affirmatively; and what say you, Mr. Latimer to the second article?

*Lat.* There is, my lord, a change in the bread and wine, and such a change as no power, but the omnipotency of God can make, in that that which before was bread, should now have the dignity to exhibit Christ's body; and yet the bread is still bread, and the wine still wine; for the change is not in the nature, but the dignity, because now that which was common bread hath the dignity to exhibit Christ's body: for whereas it was common bread, it is now no more common bread, neither ought it to be so taken, but as holy bread sanctified by God's word.

*Lin.* Lo, Mr. Latimer, see what steadfastness is in your doctrine. That which you abhorred and despised most, you now most establish: for whereas you most railed at holy bread, you now make your commu-

nion holy bread. Is not this your answer, that the substance of bread and wine remaineth after the words of consecration?

*Lat.* Yes, verily, it must needs be so. For Christ himself calleth it bread; St. Paul calleth it bread; the doctors confess the same; the nature of a sacrament confirmeth the same; and I call it holy bread: not in that I make no difference between your holy bread and this, but for the holy office which it beareth, that is, to be a figure of Christ's body, and not only a bare figure but effectually to represent the same.

*Lin.* What say you to the third question?

*Lat.* Christ made one perfect sacrifice for all the whole world, neither can any man offer him again, neither can the priest offer up Christ again for the sins of man, which he took away by offering himself once for all upon the cross: neither is there any propitiation for our sins saving his cross only.

*Lin.* What say you to the fourth? Do you not hear me?

*Lat.* Yes, but I do not understand what you mean thereby.

*Lin.* Marry, only this, that these your assertions were condemned by Dr. Weston as heresies; is it not so, master Latimer?

*Lat.* Yes, I think they were condemned. But how unjustly, he that shall be Judge of all knoweth.

So the notaries took his answer to this article to be affirmatively, as they did also to the other three before recited.

*Lin.* What say you, master Latimer, to the fifth article?

*Lat.* I know not what you mean by these terms. I am no lawyer; I wish you would propose the matter plainly.

*Lin.* In that we proceed according to the law, we must use their terms also. The meaning only is this, that these your assertions are notorious, evil spoken of, and yet common and frequent in the mouths of the people.

*Lat.* I cannot tell how much, nor what men talk of them. I come not so much among them, for I have been secluded a long time. What men report of them I know not, and care not.

*Lin.* Mr. Latimer, we mean not that these your answers shall be prejudicial to you. To-morrow you shall appear before us again, and then it shall be lawful for you to alter and change what you will. We give you respite till then, trusting that after you have pondered well all things against that time, you will not be ashamed to confess the truth.

*Lat.* Now, my lord, I pray you give me license in three words to declare the causes why I refused the authority of the pope.

*Lin.* Nay, Mr. Latimer, to-morrow you shall have license to speak forty words.

*Lat.* Nay, my lords, I beseech you to do with me now as it shall please your lordships. I require no respite, for I am at a point; you shall give me respite in vain: therefore I pray you let me not trouble you to-morrow.

*Lin.* Yes, for we trust God will work with you against to-morrow. There is no remedy, you must needs appear again to-morrow at eight o'clock in St. Mary's church.

And forthwith the bishop charged the mayor with master Latimer, and dismissed him: he then brake up their sessions for that day, at one o'clock.

The next day (the first of October) the said lords repaired to St. Mary's;

and after they were set in a high throne, then appeared Ridley, who was set at a framed table a good space from the bishop's feet, and the place was encompassed about in a quadrate form, partly for gentlemen who repaired thither, and for the heads of the university to sit, and partly to keep off the press of the audience: for the whole body, as well of the university as of the town, came to see the end of these two persons. After Dr. Ridley's appearance, and the silence of the audience, the bishop of Lincoln commenced speaking.

*Lin.* Mr. Ridley, yesterday we took your answers to certain articles, which we then proposed unto you: but because we could not be thoroughly satisfied with your answer then to the first article, neither could the notaries take any determinate answer of you, we granted you license to bring your answer in writing, and thereupon commanded the mayor that you should have pen, paper, and ink, yea, any books also that you would require, if they were to be got: we licensed you then also to alter your former answers this day at your pleasure: therefore we are now come hither, to see if you are in the same mind now, that you were yesterday, or contrary, contented to revoke your former assertions, and in all points consent to submit yourself to the determination of the universal church; and I for my part most earnestly exhort you, not because my conscience pricketh me, as you said yesterday, but because I see you a rotten member, and in the way of perdition. Now, Dr. Ridley, what say you to the first article? If you have brought your answer in writing, we will receive it: but if you have written any other matter, we will not receive it.

Then Ridley took a sheet of paper out of his bosom, and began to read that he had written: but Lincoln ordered the beadle to take it from him.

*Rid.* Why, my lord, will you require my answer, and not suffer me to publish it? I beseech you, let the audience bear witness in this matter.

*Lin.* Well, Dr. Ridley, we will first see what you have written, and then if we shall think it good to be read, you shall have it published; but, except you will deliver it first, we will take none at all from you.

With that, master Ridley, seeing no remedy, delivered it to an officer, who immediately delivered it to the bishop of Lincoln; who, after he had secretly communicated it to the other two bishops, declared the sense, but would not read it as it was written, saying, that it contained words of blasphemy; therefore he would not fill the ears of the audience therewithal, and so abuse their patience. Notwithstanding, Ridley desired very instantly to have it published; saying that, except a line or two, there was nothing contained but the ancient doctors' sayings, for the confirmation of his assertions. After the said bishops had secretly perused the whole, then the bishop of Lincoln said, "In the first part, master Ridley, is nothing contained but your protestation, that you would not have these your answers so to be taken as though you seemed thereby to consent to the authority or jurisdiction of the pope's holiness."

*Rid.* No, my lord: pray read it out, that the audience may hear it.

This the bishop of Lincoln would in no wise grant; but recited the first article, and required Ridley's answer to it. Then Ridley said his answer was there in writing, and desired it might be published: but the bishop would not read the whole, but here and there a piece of it. And when he had

read what he pleased, he recited the second article, and required an answer. Dr. Ridley again referred him to his answer in writing exhibited now, and also before at the time of disputation: and like answers were taken to all the rest of the articles. The bishop of Gloucester then addressed him thus.

“ If you would once empty your stomach, captivate your senses, subdue your reason, and, together with us, consider what a feeble ground of your religion you have, I do not doubt but you might easily be brought to acknowledge one church with us, to confess one faith with us, and to believe one religion with us. For what a weak and feeble stay in religion is this, I pray you? Latimer leaneth to Cranmer, Cranmer to Ridley, and Ridley to the singularity of his own wit: so that if you overthrow the singularity of Ridley's wit, then must needs the religion of Cranmer and Latimer fall also. You remember well, Dr. Ridley, that the prophet speaketh most truly, saying— ‘ Woe be to them which are singular and wise in their own conceits.’

“ But you will say here, it is true that the prophet saith; but how know you that I am wise in mine own conceit? Yes, Dr. Ridley, you refuse the determination of the catholic church; you must needs be singular and wise in your own conceit, for you bring scripture for the proof of your assertions, and we also bring scripture: you understand them in one sense, and we in another. How will you know the truth herein? If you stand to your own interpretation, then you are singular in your own conceit: but if you say you will follow the minds of the doctors and ancient fathers, likely you understand them in one meaning, and we take them in another: how then will you know the truth herein? If you stand to your own judgment, then are you singular in your own conceit—then cannot you avoid the woe which the prophet speaketh of.

“ Wherefore if you have no stay but the catholic church in matters of controversy, except you will rest upon the singularity and wisdom of your own brain, if the prophet most truly saith, ‘ Woe, woe be to them that are wise in their own conceit:’ then for God's love, Dr. Ridley, stand not singular, be not you wise in your own conceit, please not yourself overmuch. How were the Arians, the Manichees, Eutychians, with other heretics suppressed and convinced? By reasoning and disputations? No, truly, the Arians had no more places of Scripture for confirming their heresy than the catholics for the defence of the truth. How, then, were they convinced? Only by the determination of the church. And indeed, except we do constitute the church our foundation, stay, and judge, we can have no end of controversies, no end of disputations. For in that we all bring scriptures and doctors for the proof of our assertions, who should be judge of this our controversy? If we ourselves be singular and wise in our own conceits, then cannot we avoid the woe that the prophet speaketh of.”

To this oration of the bishop of Gloucester, by which he endeavoured to persuade Dr. Ridley to turn and forsake his religion, the latter answered, That he said most truly with the prophet, “ Woe be to him that is wise in his own conceit;” but that he acknowledged no such singularity, nor knew any cause why he should attribute so much to himself. And whereas he said that archbishop Cranmer leaned to him,

that was most untrue, in that he was but a young scholar in comparison of Dr. Cranmer; for when he was but a novice, Mr. Cranmer was then a doctor; so that he confessed he might have been his schoolmaster for many years. He would have spoke more, but the bishop of Gloucester interrupted him, saying: "Why, Dr. Ridley, it is your own confession, for Mr. Latimer, at the time of his disputation, confessed his learning to lie in Dr. Cranmer's books, and Dr. Cranmer also said that it was your doing."

The bishop of Lincoln likewise with many words, and holding his cap in his hand, desired him to turn. But Dr. Ridley made a determinate answer—That he was fully persuaded the religion which he defended was grounded upon God's word, and therefore without great offence towards God, great peril and damage of his soul, he could not forsake his God; but desired the bishop to perform his grant, in that his lordship said the day before, that he should have license to shew his cause, why he could not with a safe conscience admit the authority of the pope. But the bishop of Lincoln said, that whereas then he had demanded license to speak three words, he was contented then that he should speak forty, and that grant he would perform. Then Dr. Weston, who sat by, stepped forth and said, "Why, my lord, he hath spoken four hundred already." Dr. Ridley confessed he had, but they were not of his prescribed number, neither of that matter. The bishop of Lincoln bade him take his license: but he should speak but forty, and he would tell them upon his fingers. And so before Ridley had ended half a sentence, the doctors said that his number was out: and with that he was put to silence.

*Lin.* You will not suffer us to stay in that point of our commission which we most desired: for indeed (I take God to witness) I am sorry for you.

*Rid.* I believe it, my lord, for one day it will be burdenous to your soul.

*Lin.* Nay, not so, master Ridley, but because I am sorry to see such stubbornness in you, that by no means you may be persuaded to acknowledge your errors, and receive the truth. But seeing it is so, because you will not suffer us to persist in the first, we must of necessity proceed to the other part of our commission. Therefore I pray you hearken to what I say.

And forthwith he did read the sentence of condemnation, which was written in a long process. The effect of it was as this: "That forasmuch as the said Nicholas Ridley did affirm, maintain, and stubbornly defend certain opinions, assertions, and heresies, contrary to the word of God and the received faith of the church, as in denying the true and natural body of Christ, and his natural blood to be in the sacrament of the altar; secondarily, in affirming the substance of bread and wine to remain after the words of consecration; thirdly, in denying the mass to be a lively sacrifice of the church for the quick and the dead, and by no means would be induced and brought from these his heresies: they therefore (the said John of Lincoln, James of Gloucester, John of Bristol) did judge and condemn the said Nicholas Ridley as a heretic, and so adjudged him presently both by word and also in deed, to be degraded from the degree of a bishop, from priesthood, and all ecclesiastical order; declaring, moreover, the said Nicholas Ridley to be no member of the church: and therefore committed him to the secular powers, of them to receive due punishment; and further excommunicating him by the great excommunication."

This sentence being published by the bishop of Lincoln, Ridley was committed to the mayor, and Latimer was sent for; who so soon as he appeared laid his hat, which was an old felt, under his elbows, and spake immediately to the commissioners, saying :

*Lat.* My lords, I beseech you to set a better order here at your entrance: for I am an old man, and have a very evil back, so that the press of the multitude doth me much harm.

*Lin.* I am sorry for your hurt: at your going, we will see to better order.

With that Latimer thanked his lordship, making a very low courtesy. After this the bishop of Lincoln began on this manner :

*Lin.* Although yesterday, after we had taken your answers to those articles which we proposed, we might have justly proceeded to judgment against you, especially in that you required the same; yet having a good hope of your returning, desiring not your destruction, but rather that you would recant, revoke your errors, and turn to the catholic church, deferred farther process till this day; and now according to the appointment we have called you before us, to hear whether you are content to revoke your heretical assertions, and submit yourself to the determination of the church, as we most heartily desire, and for my part as I did yesterday, do most earnestly exhort you, or to know whether you persevere still the man that you were, for which we would be sorry.

On this Latimer spoke, "Your lordship doth often repeat the catholic church, as though I should deny the same. No, my lord, I confess there is a catholic church, to the determination of which I will stand; but not the church which you call catholic, which ought rather to be termed diabolic. And whereas you join together the Romish and catholic church, stay there, I pray you. For it is one thing to say the Romish church, and another thing to say catholic church. I must use here in this mine answer the counsel of Cyprian, who when cited before certain bishops, who gave him leave to take deliberation and counsel, to try and examine his opinion, answered them thus, 'In adhering to, and persevering in the truth there must no counsel or deliberation be taken.' And again, being demanded of them sitting in judgment, which was most like to be of the church of Christ, whether he who was persecuted, or they who did persecute? 'Christ,' said he, 'hath foreshewed, that he that doth follow him, must take up his cross. Christ gave knowledge that his disciples should have persecution and trouble.' How think you then, my lords, is it likely that the see of Rome, which hath been a continual persecutor, is rather the church, or that small flock which hath continually been persecuted by it, even to death? Also 'the flock of Christ hath been but few in comparison of the residue, and ever in subjection:' which he proved, beginning at Noah's time, even to the apostles."

*Lin.* Your cause and St. Cyprian's is clean contrary: for he suffered for Christ's sake and the gospel. You are in trouble for your errors and false assertions, contrary to God's word and the received truth of the church.

*Lat.* Yes verily, my cause is as good as St. Cyprian's; for his was for the word of God, and so is mine.

*Lin.* Also at the beginning and foundation of the church, it could not be but that the apostles should suffer great persecution. Further,

before Christ's coming, continually there were few which truly served God; but after his coming began the time of grace. Then began the church to increase, and was continually augmented, until it came unto this perfection, and now hath justly that jurisdiction which the unchristian princes before by tyranny did resist: there is a diverse consideration of the state of the church now in the time of grace, and before Christ's coming. But, Mr. Latimer, although we had instructions given us determinately to take your answer to such articles as we should propose, without any reasoning or disputations, yet we hoping by talk somewhat to prevail with you, appointed you to appear before us in the divinity-school, a place for disputations. And whereas then notwithstanding you had license to speak your mind, and were answered to every matter, yet you could not be brought from your errors; we thinking that from that time you would with good conversation ponder your state, gave you a respite until this time, and now have called you again in this place, by your answers to learn whether you are the same man as before? Therefore we will propose unto you the same articles which we did then, and require of you a determinate answer, without further reasoning.

*Lat.* Always my protestation saved that, by these mine answers it should not be thought that I did condescend and agree to your lordships' authority, in that you are legaced by the pope, so that thereby I might seem to consent to his jurisdiction: To the first article I answer as I did yesterday, that in the sacrament the worthy receive the very body of Christ, and drink his blood by the Spirit and grace. But after a corporeal being, which the Romish church prescribeth, Christ's body and blood is not in the sacrament under the forms of bread and wine.

The notaries took his answer to be affirmatively. For the second article he referred himself to his answers made before. After this the bishop of Lincoln recited the third article, and required a determinate answer.

*Lat.* Christ made one oblation and sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, and that a perfect sacrifice; neither needeth there to be any other, nor can there be any other, propitiatory sacrifice.

The notaries took his answer to be affirmatively. In like manner did he answer to the other articles, not varying from his answers made the day before. After his answers were penned of the notaries, and the bishop of Lincoln had exhorted him in like sort to recant, as he did master Ridley, and revoke his errors and false assertions, and Latimer had answered that he neither could nor would deny his master Christ and his verity, the bishop of Lincoln desired him to hearken to him: and then master Latimer, hearkening for some new matter and other talk, the bishop of Lincoln read his condemnation; after the publication of which the said three bishops brake up there sessions, and dismissed the audience. Latimer required the bishop of Lincoln to perform his promise in saying, the day before, that he should have license briefly to declare the cause why he refused the pope's authority. But the bishop said that now he could not hear him, neither ought to talk with him. Then Latimer asked him, whether it were not lawful for him to appeal from this his judgment. And the bishop asked him again to whom he would appeal. "To the next general council," quoth Latimer, "which shall be truly called in God's name." With that



appellation the bishop was content; but he said it would be a long season before such a convocation as he meant would be called. Then the bishop committed master Latimer to the mayor, saying, "Now he is your prisoner, master mayor." And because the press of the people was not yet diminished, each man looking for further process, the bishop of Lincoln commanded avoidance, and desired Latimer to tarry till the press were diminished, lest he should take hurt at his egression as he did at his entrance. And so continued bishop Ridley and master Latimer in durance till the 16th day of the said month of October.

In the mean season upon the 15th day of the same month in the morning, Dr. Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, and the vice-chancellor of Oxford, Dr. Marshal, with divers others of the chief and heads of the same university, and many others accompanying them, came unto master Irish's house, then mayor of Oxford, where Dr. Ridley, late bishop of London, was close prisoner. And when the bishop of Gloucester came into the chamber where the said Dr. Ridley did lie, he told him for what purpose their coming was unto him, saying, that yet once again the queen's majesty did offer unto him, by them, her gracious mercy, if that he would receive the same, and come home again to the faith which he was baptized in, and revoke his erroneous doctrine that he of late had taught abroad to the destruction of many. And further said, that if he would not recant, and become one of the catholic church with them, then they must needs (against their wills) proceed according to the law, which they would be very loth to do, if they might otherwise. "But," saith he, "we have been oftentimes with you, and have requested that you would recant this your fantastical and devilish opinion, which hitherto you have not, although you might in so doing win many, and do much good. Therefore, good master Ridley, consider with yourself the danger that shall ensue both of body and soul, if you so wilfully cast yourself away in refusing mercy offered unto you at this time." "My lord," quoth Dr. Ridley, "you know my mind fully herein; and as for the doctrine which I have taught, my conscience assureth me that it was sound, and according to God's word, (to his glory be it spoken;) the which doctrine, the Lord God being my helper, I will maintain so long as my tongue shall wag, and breath is within my body, and in confirmation thereof seal the same with my blood."

*Brooks.* Well, you were best, master Ridley, not to do so, but to become one of the church with us: for you know this well enough, that whosoever is out of the catholic church cannot be saved. Therefore I say once again, that while you have time and mercy offered you, receive it and confess with us the pope's holiness to be the chief head of the same church.

*Ridley.* I marvel that you will trouble me with any such vain and foolish talk. You know my mind concerning the usurped authority of that Romish antichrist. As I confessed openly in the schools, so do I now, that both by my behaviour and talk I do no obedience at all unto the bishop of Rome, nor to his usurped authority, and that for good and godly considerations.

And here Dr. Ridley would have reasoned with the said Brooks of the bishop of Rome's authority, but could not be suffered; and yet he spake so earnestly against the pope therein, that the bishop told him if he would not hold his peace he should be compelled against his will. "And seeing," saith he, "that you will not receive the queen's mercy, now offered unto

you, but stubbornly refuse the same, we must, against our wills, proceed according to our commission to degrading, taking from you the dignity of priesthood. For we take you for no bishop, and therefore we will the sooner have done with you. So, committing you to the secular power, you know what doth follow."

*Ridley.* Do with me as it shall please God to suffer you, I am well content to abide the same with all my heart.

*Brooks.* Put off your cap, master Ridley, and put on this surplice.

*Ridley.* Not I, truly.

*Brooks.* But you must.

*Ridley.* I will not.

*Brooks.* You must make no more ado, but put this surplice upon you.

*Ridley.* Truly if it come upon me, it shall be against my will.

*Brooks.* Will you not do it upon you?

*Ridley.* No, that I will not.

*Brooks.* It shall be put upon you by one or other.

*Ridley.* Do therein as it shall please you, I am well contented with that, and more than that: "the servant is not above his Master." If they dealt so cruelly with our Saviour Christ, as the Scripture saith, and he suffered the same patiently, how much more doth it become us his servants!

And in saying of these words, they put upon the said Dr. Ridley the surplice, with all the trinkets appertaining to the mass. And as they were putting on the same, Dr. Ridley did vehemently inveigh against the Romish bishop, and all that foolish apparel, calling him antichrist, and the apparel foolish and abominable, yea, too fond for a vice in a play, insomuch that bishop Brooks was exceeding angry, and said, "Well, you were best to hold your peace, lest your mouth be stopped. At which words one Edridge, the reader then of the Greek lecture, standing by, said to Dr. Brooks, "Sir, the law is he should be gagged; therefore let him be gagged." At which words Dr. Ridley, looking earnestly upon him that so said, shook his head at him, but made no answer. When they came to that place where Dr. Ridley should hold the chalice and the wafer-cake, called the singing-bread, they bade him hold the same in his hands. And Dr. Ridley said, "They shall not come in my hands; for, if they do, they shall fall to the ground for all me." Then there was one appointed to hold them in his hand, while bishop Brooks read a certain thing in Latin, touching the degradation of spiritual persons according to the pope's law.

Afterward they put a book in his hand, and withal read another thing in Latin, the effect whereof was: "We do take from you the office of preaching the gospel," etc. At which words Dr. Ridley gave a great sigh, looking up towards heaven, saying—"O Lord God, forgive them this their wickedness!"

When all this their abominable and ridiculous degradation was ended very solemnly, Dr. Ridley said unto Dr. Brooks, "Have you done? If you have done, then give me leave to talk with you a little concerning these matters." Brooks answered, "Master Ridley, we may not talk with you; you be out of the church; and our law is, that we may not talk with any that be out of the church." Then master Ridley said—"Seeing that you will not suffer me to talk, neither will vouchsafe to hear me, what remedy but patience? I refer my cause to my heavenly Father, who will reform

things that be amiss, when it shall please him." At which words they would have been gone, but Ridley said, "My lord, I would wish that you would vouchsafe to read over and peruse a little book of Bertram's doings, concerning the sacrament. I promise you, you shall find much good learning therein, if you will read the same with an indifferent judgment." Dr. Brooks made no answer, but was going away. Then said Dr. Ridley, "Oh, I perceive that you cannot away with this manner of talk. Well! it boots not, I will say no more, I will speak of worldly affairs. I pray you therefore, my lord, hear me, and be a mean to the queen's majesty, in the behalf of a great many poor men, and especially for my poor sister and her husband which standeth there. They had a poor living granted unto them by me, whiles I was in the see of London, and the same is taken away from them by him that now occupieth the same room, without all law or conscience. Here I have a supplication to her majesty in their behalves. You shall hear the same read, so shall you perceive the matter the better." Then he read the same; and when he came to the place in the supplication that touched his sister by name, then he wept; so that for a little space he could not speak for weeping. After that he had left off weeping, he said, "This is nature that moveth me, but I have now done;" and with that read out the rest and delivered the same to his brother, commanding him to put it up to the queen's majesty, and to sue, not only for himself, but also for such as had any leases or grants by him, and were put from the same by Dr. Bonner, then bishop of London. Whereunto Brooks said, "Indeed, master Ridley, your request in this supplication is very lawful and honest: therefore I must needs in conscience speak to the queen's majesty for them."

*Ridley.* I pray you, for God's sake, do so.

*Brooks.* I think your request will be granted, except one thing let it, and that is, I fear, because you do not allow the queen's proceedings, but obstinately withstand the same, that it will hardly be granted.

*Ridley.* What remedy? I can do no more but speak and write. I trust I have discharged my conscience therein; and God's will be done.

*Brooks.* I will do what lieth in me.

This degradation being past, and all things finished, Dr. Brooks called the bailiffs, delivering to them master Ridley with this charge, to keep him safely from any man speaking with him, and that he should be brought to the place of execution when they were commanded. Then Ridley, in praising God, burst out with these words, "God, I thank thee, and to thy praise be it spoken, there is none of you all able to lay to my charge any open or notorious crime: for if you could, it should surely be laid in my lap, I see very well." Whereunto Brooks said, he played the part of a proud Pharisee, exalting and praising himself. But master Ridley said, "No, no, no; as I have said before, to God's glory be it spoken. I confess myself to be a miserable wretched sinner, and have great need of God's help and mercy, and do daily call and cry for the same: therefore, I pray you, have no such opinion of me." Then they departed; and in going away, a certain warden of a college, of whose name I am not very sure, bade Dr. Ridley repent him, and forsake that erroneous opinion. Whereunto Ridley said, "Sir, repent you, for you are out of the truth. And I pray God (if it be his blessed will) have mercy upon you, and

grant you the understanding of his word." Then the warden, being in a passion thereat, said, "I trust that I shall never be of your devilish opinion, either yet to be in that place whither you shall go: thou art the most obstinate and wilful man that I ever heard talk since I was born."

On the night before he suffered, his beard was washed and his legs; and as he sat at supper, at the house of Mr. Irish, his keeper, he invited his hostess, and the rest at the table, to his marriage: for, said he, tomorrow I must be married, and so shewed himself to be as merry as ever he had been before. And wishing his sister at his marriage, he asked his brother sitting at the table, whether she could find in her heart to be there or no. He answered, "Yea, with all her heart." At which word, he said he was glad to hear of her so much therein. At this talk Mrs. Irish wept. But Dr. Ridley comforted her, saying, "O Mrs. Irish, you love me not, I see well enough; for in that you weep, it doth appear you will not be at my marriage, neither are content therewith. Indeed you are not so much my friend as I thought you had been. But quiet yourself, though my breakfast shall be somewhat sharp and painful, yet I am sure my supper will be more pleasant and sweet."

When they arose from the table, his brother offered to stay all night with him. But he said, "No, no, that you shall not. For I intend, God willing, to go to bed, and to sleep as quietly to night as ever I did." On this his brother departed, exhorting him to be of good cheer, and to take his cross quietly, for his reward was great in heaven.

Upon the north side of the town, in the ditch over against Balliol college,<sup>a</sup> the place of execution was appointed: and for fear of any tumult that might arise, to let the burning of them, the lord Williams was commanded, by the queen's letters, and the householders of the city, to be there assistant, sufficiently appointed. And when everything was in readiness, the prisoners were brought forth by the mayor and bailiffs. Master Ridley had a fair black gown furred, and faced with foins, such as he was wont to wear, being bishop, and a tippet of velvet furred likewise about his neck, a velvet night-cap upon his head, and a corner cap upon the same, going in a pair of slippers to the stake, and going between the mayor and an alderman, etc. After him came master Latimer, in a poor Bristol frieze frock all worn, with his buttoned cap, and a kerchief on his head, all ready to the fire, a new long shroud hanging over his hose down to the feet: which at the first sight stirred men's hearts to rue upon them, beholding on the one side the honour they sometime had, and on the other the calamity whereunto they were fallen.

Dr. Ridley, as he passed toward Bocardo, looked up where Dr. Cranmer did lie, hoping to have seen him at the glass-window, and to have spoken to him. But then Cranmer was busy with friar Soto and his fellows, disputing together, so that he could not see him, through that occasion. Then Ridley looking back, espied master Latimer coming after, unto whom he said, "Oh, be ye there?" "Yea," said Latimer, "have after as fast

<sup>a</sup> ["Not many weeks since, some workmen, who were employed in making a drain in Broadstreet, opposite the door of the master of Balliol's lodgings, found, at the depth of about three feet from the present surface, such a quantity of ashes and burnt sticks, as plainly indicated that they had discovered the spot on which the martyrs suffered."—*Christian Observer*, June 1838.]

as I can follow. So he, following a pretty way off, at length they came both to the stake, the one after the other, where first Dr. Ridley entering the place, marvellous earnestly holding up both his hands, looked towards heaven. Then shortly after espying Latimer, with a wonderous cheerful look he ran to him, embraced, and kissed him; and, as they that stood near reported, comforted him, saying, "Be of good heart, brother, for God will either assuage the fury of the flame, or else strengthen us to abide it."

With that went he to the stake, kneeled down by it, kissed it, and effectually prayed; and behind him master Latimer kneeled, as earnestly calling upon God as he. After they arose, the one talked with the other a little while, till they which were appointed to see the execution removed themselves out of the sun. What they said I can learn of no man.

Then Dr. Smith (of whose recantation in king Edward's time ye have heard) began his sermon to them upon this text of St. Paul, in 1 Cor. xiii., "If I yield my body to the fire to be burned, and have not charity, I shall gain nothing thereby." Wherein he alleged, that the goodness of the cause, and not the order of death, maketh the holiness of the person: which he confirmed by the examples of Judas, and of a woman in Oxford who of late hanged herself, for that they and such like as he recited, might then be adjudged righteous, which desperately separated their lives from their bodies, as he feared that those men that stood before him would do. But he cried still to the people to beware of them, for they were heretics and died out of the church. He ended with a very short exhortation to them to recant and come home again to the church, and save their lives and souls, which else were condemned. His sermon scarcely lasted a quarter of an hour.

Dr. Ridley said to master Latimer, "Will you begin to answer the sermon, or shall I?" Latimer said, "Begin you first, I pray you." "I will," said Ridley. Then, the wicked sermon being ended, they both kneeled down upon their knees towards my lord Williams of Thame, the vice-chancellor of Oxford, and divers other commissioners appointed for that purpose, who sat upon a form thereby, unto whom master Ridley said, "I beseech you, my lord, even for Christ's sake, that I may speak but two or three words." And whilst my lord bent his head to the mayor and vice-chancellor, to know (as it appeared) whether he might give him leave to speak, the bailiffs and Dr. Marshal, vice-chancellor, ran hastily unto him, and with their hands stopped his mouth, and said, "Master Ridley, if you will revoke your erroneous opinions, and recant the same, you shall not only have liberty so to do, but also the benefit of a subject; that is, have your life." "Not otherwise?" asked Ridley. "No," quoth Dr. Marshal. "Therefore if you will not so do, then there is no remedy but you must suffer for your deserts." "Well," quoth Ridley, "so long as the breath is in my body, I will never deny my Lord Christ, and his known truth. God's will be done in me!" And with that he rose up, and said with a loud voice, "Well, then, I commit our cause to Almighty God, which shall indifferently judge all." To whose saying master Latimer added his old posy—"Well! there is nothing hid but it shall be opened." And he said he could answer Smith well enough, if he might be suffered.

Incontinently they were commanded to make them ready, which they with all meekness obeyed. Dr. Ridley took his gown and his tippet, and

gave to his brother-in-law, master Shippside, who all his time of imprisonment, although he might not be suffered to come to him, lay there at his own charges to provide him necessaries, which from time to time he sent him by the serjeant that kept him. Some other of his apparel he also gave away; other the bailiffs took. He gave away besides, divers other small things to gentlemen standing by, and divers of them pitifully weeping, as to sir Henry Lee he gave a new groat; and to divers of my lord Williams's gentlemen, some napkins, some nutmegs, and rases of ginger; his dial, and such other things as he had about him, to every one that stood next him. Some plucked the points off his hose, and happy was he who could get the least trifle of him.

Master Latimer gave nothing, but very quietly suffered his keeper to pull off his hose, and his other array, which was very simple; and being stripped to his shroud, he seemed as comely a person to them that were there present as one could well see. Then master Ridley, standing as yet in his truss, said to his brother, "It were best for me to go in my truss still." "No," quoth his brother, "it will put you to more pain: and the truss will do a poor man good." Whereunto Ridley said, "Be it, in the name of God:" and so unlaced himself. Then, being in his shirt, he stood upon the foresaid stone, and held up his hand and said, "O heavenly Father, I give unto thee most hearty thanks, for that thou hast called me to be a professor of thee, even unto death. I beseech thee, Lord God, take mercy upon this realm of England, and deliver the same from all her enemies." Then the smith took a chain of iron, and brought the same about both their middles: and as he was knocking in a staple, Dr. Ridley took the chain in his hand, and shook the same, for it did gird in his belly, and looking aside to the smith said, "Good fellow, knock it in hard, for the flesh will have its course." Then the smith's brother did bring him a bag of gunpowder, and would have tied the same about his neck. Dr. Ridley asked what it was; and on being told it was gunpowder, he said, "I will take it to be sent of God. And have you any for my brother?" meaning Latimer. "Yea, sir, that I have," said the man. "Then give it unto him betime," said Ridley, "lest ye come too late." So the man carried of the same gunpowder unto master Latimer.

In the mean time Dr. Ridley spake unto my lord Williams, and said, "My lord, I must be a suitor unto your lordship in the behalf of divers poor men, and specially in the cause of my poor sister: I have made a supplication to the queen in their behalves. I beseech your lordship, for Christ's sake, to be a mean to her grace for them. My brother here hath the supplication, and will resort to your lordship to certify you hereof. There is nothing in all the world troubleth my conscience, I praise God, this only excepted. Whilst I was in the see of London, divers poor men took leases of me, and agreed with me for the same. Now I hear that the bishop who occupieth the same room will not allow my grants unto them made; but, contrary to all law and conscience, hath taken from them their livings, and will not suffer them to enjoy the same. I beseech you, my lord, be a mean for them: you shall do a good deed, and God will reward you."

Then they brought a lighted fagot, and laid the same down at Ridley's feet; upon which Latimer said, "Be of good comfort, master Ridley, and play the man. We shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in

England, as I trust shall never be put out." And so the fire being given unto them, when Dr. Ridley saw the fire flaming up towards him, he cried with a wonderful loud voice, "In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum: Domine recipe spiritum meum." And after repeated this latter part often in English, "Lord, Lord, receive my spirit!" Master Latimer cried as vehemently, on the other side, "O Father of heaven, receive my soul!" who received the flame as it were embracing it. After that he had stroked his face with his hands, and as it were bathed them a little in the fire, he soon died (as it appeareth) with very little pain or none. And thus much concerning the end of this old and blessed servant of God, master Latimer, for whose laborious travails, fruitful life, and constant death, the whole realm hath cause to give great thanks to Almighty God.

But Dr. Ridley, by reason of the evil making of the fire unto him, because the fagots were laid about the gorse, and overhigh built, the fire burned first beneath, being kept down by the wood; which when he felt he desired them, for Christ's sake, to let the fire come unto him. Which when his brother-in-law heard, but not well understood, intending to rid him out of his pain, (for the which cause he gave attendance,) as one in such sorrow not well advised what he did, heaped fagots upon him, so that he clean covered him, which made the fire more vehement beneath, that it burned all his nether parts before it once touched the upper; and that made him leap up and down under the fagots, and often desire them to let the fire come to him, saying, "I cannot burn." Which indeed appeared well; for, after his legs were consumed by reason of his struggling through the pain, (whereof he had no release, but only his contentation in God,) he showed that side towards us clean, shirt and all untouched with flame. Yet in all this torment he forgot not to call upon God, still having in his mouth, "Lord have mercy upon me," intermingling his cry, "Let the fire come unto me, I cannot burn!" In which pangs he laboured till one of the standers by with his bill pulled the fagots off above; and where he saw the fire flame up, he wrested himself unto that side. And when the flame touched the gunpowder, he was seen to stir no more, but burned on the other side, falling down at master Latimer's feet. In beholding of which horrible sight hundreds were moved to tears, and signs of sorrow there were on every side.

Some took it grievously to see their deaths, whose lives they held full dear. Some pitied their persons, who thought their souls had no need thereof. But the sorrow of his brother moved many men, whose attempt to put a speedy end to his sufferings had so miserably prolonged them. But whoso considered their preferments in time past, the places of honour that they some time occupied in this commonwealth, the favour they were in with their princes, and the opinion of learning they had in the university where they studied, could not choose but sorrow with tears, to see so great dignity, honour, and estimation, so necessary members sometimes accounted, so many godly virtues, the study of so many years, such excellent learning, to be put into the fire, and consumed in one moment. Well! dead they are, and the reward of this world they have already. What reward remaineth for them in heaven, the day of the Lord's glory, when he cometh with his saints, shall shortly, I trust, declare.

Albeit the same Nicholas Ridley (a man so revered for his learning

and knowledge in the Scriptures that even his very enemies report well of him) wrote divers treatises, letters, and exhortations, containing fruitful admonition and wholesome doctrines, much of which we here pass over for want of space; as a long farewell to all his true and faithful friends in God, concluding with a sharp reproof unto the papists, and specially to the higher house of parliament, of which he says, "As you have banqueted and lain by the whore in the fornication of her whorish dispensations, pardons, idolatry, and such like abominations; so shall ye drink with her, except ye repent betimes, of the cup of the Lord's indignation and everlasting wrath, which is prepared for the beast, his false prophets, and all their partakers. For he that is partner with them in their whoredom and abominations must also be partner with them in their plagues, and in the latter day shall be thrown with them into the burning lake. Thus fare ye well, my lords all. I pray God give you understanding of his blessed will and pleasure, and make you to believe and embrace the truth. Amen."

Another farewell of Bishop Ridley to the prisoners in Christ's gospel's cause, and to all them which for the same cause are exiled and banished out from their own country, choosing rather to leave all worldly commodity than their master Christ:—

"Farewell, my dearly beloved brethren in Christ, both you my fellow-prisoners, and you also that be exiled and banished out of your country, because you will rather forsake all worldly advantages, than the gospel of Christ. Farewell all you together in Christ: for you know that the trial of your faith bringeth forth patience, and patience shall make us perfect, whole, and sound on every side, and such, after trial, ye know shall receive the crown of life, according to the promise of the Lord made to his dearly beloved; let us therefore be patient unto the coming of the Lord. As the husbandman abideth patiently the former and latter rain for the increase of his crop, so let us be patient, and pluck up our hearts, for the coming of the Lord approacheth apace. Let us, my dear brethren, take example of patience in tribulation of the prophets, who likewise spake God's word truly in his name. Let Job be to us an example of patience, and the end which the Lord suffered, which is full of mercy and pity.

"We know, my brethren, by God's word, that our faith is much more precious than any corruptible gold, and yet that is tried by the fire: even so our faith is therefore tried likewise in tribulations, that it may be found when the Lord shall appear, laudable, glorious, and honourable. For if we for Christ's cause do suffer, that is grateful before God; for thereunto are we called, that is our state and vocation, wherewith let us be content. Christ, we know, suffered for us afflictions, leaving us an example that we should follow his footsteps; for he committed no sin, neither was there any guile found in his mouth: when he was railed upon, and reviled, he railed not again: when he was evil intreated, he did not threaten, but committed the punishment thereof to him that judgeth aright.

"Let us ever have in fresh remembrance those wonderful comfortable sentences spoken by the mouth of our Saviour Christ—'Blessed are they which suffer persecution for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the king-



dom of heaven. Blessed are ye when men revile you, persecute you, and speak evil against you for my sake: rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven; for so did they persecute the prophets that were before you.' Christ, our master, hath told us beforehand, that the brother should put the brother to death, and the father the son, and the children should rise against their parents and kill them, and that Christ's true apostles should be hated of all men for his name's sake; but he that abideth patiently unto the end shall be saved. Let us then endure in all troubles patiently, after the example of our master Christ, and be contented therewith, for he suffered, being our Master and Lord: how doth it not then become us to suffer! for the disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his lord. It may suffice the disciple to be as his master, and the servant to be as his lord. If they have called the Father of the family, the Master of the household, Beelzebub, how much more shall they call them so of his household? Fear them not (saith our Saviour) for all hidden things shall be made plain; there is now nothing secret, but it shall be shewed in light. Of Christ's words let us neither be ashamed nor afraid to speak; for so Christ commandeth us, saying—'What I tell you privily, speak openly abroad, and what I tell you in your ear, preach upon the house top. And fear not them which kill the body, for the soul they cannot kill; but fear him which can cast both body and soul into hell-fire.'

"Know ye that our heavenly Father hath ever a gracious eye, and respect toward you, and a fatherly providence for you, so that without his knowledge and permission nothing can do you harm. Let us therefore cast all our care upon him, he shall provide that which shall be best for us. For if of two small sparrows, which both are sold for a mite, one of them lighteth not on the ground without your Father, and all the hairs of our head are numbered, fear not them (saith our master Christ) for you are more worth than many small sparrows. And let us not shrink to confess our master Christ for fear of danger, whatsoever it shall be, remembering the promise that Christ maketh, saying—'Whosoever shall confess me before men, him shall I confess before my Father which is in heaven: but whosoever shall deny me, him shall I likewise deny before my Father which is in heaven.' Christ came not to give us here a carnal amity, and a worldly peace, or to knit his unto the world in ease and peace, but rather to separate and divide from the world, and to join them unto himself: in whose cause we must, if we will be his, forsake father and mother, and stick unto him. If we forsake him or shrink from him for trouble or death sake, which he calleth his cross, he will none of us, we cannot be his. If for his cause we shall lose our temporal lives here, we shall find them again, and enjoy them for evermore: but if, in this cause, we will not be contented to leave nor lose them here, then shall we lose them so, that we shall never find them again, but in everlasting death. What though our troubles here are painful for the time, and the sting of death bitter and unpleasant; yet we know that they shall not last, in comparison of eternity, no not the twinkling of an eye, and that they patiently taken in Christ's cause, shall procure and get us unmeasureable heaps of heavenly glory, unto which these temporal pains of death and troubles

compared, are not to be esteemed, but to be rejoiced upon. 'Wonder not'—saith St. Peter—'as though it were any strange matter that ye are tried by the fire,' he meaneth of tribulation, 'which thing is done to prove you; nay, rather in that ye are partners of Christ's afflictions rejoice, that in his glorious revelation ye may rejoice with merry hearts. If ye suffer rebukes in Christ's name, happy are ye, for the glory and Spirit of God resteth upon you. Of them God is reviled and dishonoured, but of you he is glorified.'

"Let no man be ashamed of that which he suffereth as a christian, and in Christ's cause: for now is the time that judgment and correction must begin at the house of God: and if it begin at us, what shall be the end of those which believe not the gospel? And if the righteous shall hardly be saved, the wicked and the sinner, where shall they appear? Wherefore they which are afflicted according to the will of God, let them lay down and commit their souls to him by well doing, as to a trusty and faithful Maker. This, as I said, may not seem strange to us, for we know that all the whole fraternity of Christ's congregation in this world is served with the like, and by the same is made perfect. For the fervent love that the apostles had unto their master Christ, and for the great advantages and increase of all godliness which they felt by their faith to insue of afflictions in Christ's cause, and also for the heaps of heavenly joys which the same do get unto the godly, which shall endure in heaven for evermore; for these causes the apostles did joy of their afflictions, and rejoiced in that they were had and accounted worthy to suffer contumelies and rebukes for Christ's name. And St. Paul, as he glorieth in the grace and favour of God, whereunto he was brought and stood in by faith; so he rejoiced in his afflictions for the heavenly and spiritual profits which he numbered to rise upon them: yea, he was so far in love with what the carnal man loathed so much, that is, with Christ's cross, that he judged himself to know nothing else but Christ crucified: he will glory, he saith, in nothing else but in Christ's cross, yea, and he blesseth all those as the only true Israelites, with peace and mercy, which walk after that rule, and after no other.

"O Lord, what a wonderful spirit was that which made St. Paul, in setting forth of himself against the vanity of Satan's false apostles, and in his claim there, that he, in Christ's cause, did excel and surpass them all! What wonderful spirit was that, I say, that made him to reckon up all his troubles, his labours, his beatings, his whippings and scourgings, his shipwrecks, his dangers and perils by water and by land, his famine, hunger, nakedness, and cold, with many more, and the daily care of all the congregations of Christ, among whom every man's pain did pierce his heart, and every man's grief was grievous unto him! O Lord, is this Paul's primacy, whereof he thought so much good that he did excel others? Is not this Paul's saying unto Timothy his own scholar? and doth it not pertain to whosoever will be Christ's true soldiers? Bear thou, saith he, affliction, like a true soldier of Jesus Christ. This is true; if we die with Christ, we shall live with him; if we suffer with him, we shall reign with him; if we deny him, he shall deny us; if we be faithless, he remaineth faithful, he cannot deny himself. This, Paul

would have known to every body; for there is no other way to heaven but Christ and his way; and all that will live godly in Christ, shall suffer persecution. By this way went to heaven the patriarchs, the prophets, Christ our master, his apostles, his martyrs, and all the godly since the beginning. And as it hath been of old, that he which was born after the flesh, persecuted him who was born after the Spirit, for so it was in Isaac's time, so said St. Paul, it was in his time also. And whether it be so now or no, let the spiritual man, the self-same man I mean, that is endued with the Spirit of Almighty God, let him be judge. Of the cross of the patriarchs, as ye may read in their stories, if ye read the book of Genesis, ye shall perceive. Of others St. Paul in a few words comprehendeth much matter, speaking in a generality of the wonderful afflictions, death, and torments which the men of God in God's cause, and for the truth's sake, willingly and gladly did suffer. After much particular rehearsal of many, he saith—"Others were racked and despised, and would not be delivered, that they might obtain a better resurrection. Others were tried with mockings and scourgings, and moreover with bonds and imprisonments; they were stoned, hewn asunder, tempted, slain upon the edge of the sword; some wandered to and fro in sheep skins, in goat skins, forsaken, oppressed, afflicted, such godly men as the world was unworthy of, wandering in wildernesses, in mountains, in caves, and in dens, and caves of the earth, destitute, afflicted and tormented." And yet they abide for us the servants of God, and for those their brethren which are to be slain as they were for the word of God's sake, that none be shut out, but that we may all go together to meet our master Christ in the air at his coming, and so be in bliss with him in body and soul for evermore.

"Therefore seeing we have so much occasion to suffer, and to take afflictions for Christ's name's sake patiently, so many advantages thereby, so weighty causes, so many good examples, so great necessity, so sure promises of eternal life and heavenly joys of him that cannot lie: let us throw away whatever might hinder us, all burden of sin, and all kind of carnality, and patiently and constantly let us run the race that is set before us, ever having our eyes upon Jesus Christ, the author and perfecter of our faith, 'who for the joy that was set before him endured the cross, not minding the shame and ignominy thereof, and is set now at the right hand of the throne of God. Consider this, that he suffered such strife of sinners against himself, that ye should not give over nor faint in your minds. As yet we have not withstood unto death fighting against sin.' Let us never forget, dear brethren, for Christ's sake, that fatherly exhortation of the wise man that speaketh unto us, as unto his children, the godly wisdom of God, saying thus— 'My son, despise not the correction of the Lord, nor fall from him when thou art rebuked of him; for whom the Lord loveth, him doth he correct, and scourgeth every child whom he receiveth. What child is he whom the father doth not chasten? If ye be free from chastisement, whereof all are partakers, then are ye bastards and no children. Seeing then, when as we have had carnal parents which chastened us, we revered them, shall not we much more be subject unto our spiritual Father that we might live? And they for a little time have taught us after their own mind,

but this Father teacheth us to our own advantage, to give unto us his holiness. All chastisement for the present time appeareth not pleasant, but painful; but afterwards it rendereth the fruit of righteousness on them which are exercised in it. Wherefore let us be of good cheer, good brethren, and let us pluck up our feeble members that were fallen or begun to faint, heart, hands, knees, and all the rest, and let us walk upright and straight, that no limping nor halting bring us out of the way. Let us not look upon the things that be present, but with the eyes of our faith let us steadfastly behold the things that be everlasting in heaven, and so choose rather in respect of that which is to come, with the chosen members of Christ to bear Christ's cross, than for this short life-time to enjoy all the riches, honours, and pleasures of the broad world. Why should we Christians fear death? Can death deprive us of Christ which is all our comfort, our joy and our life? Nay forsooth. But contrary, death shall deliver us from this mortal body, which loadeth and beareth down the spirit, that it cannot so well perceive heavenly things; in which so long as we dwell, we are absent from God.

“Wherefore understanding our state in that we be Christians, that if our mortal body, which is our earthly house, were destroyed, we have a building, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens, therefore we are of good cheer, and know that when we are in the body, we are absent from God; for we walk by faith and not by sight. Nevertheless we are bold, and had rather be absent from the body, and present with God. Wherefore we strive, whether we be present at home, or absent abroad, that we may always please him: and who that hath true faith in our Saviour Christ, whereby he knoweth somewhat truly what Christ our Saviour is, that he is the eternal Son of God, life, light, the wisdom of the Father, all goodness, all righteousness, and whatsoever is good that heart can desire, yea infinite plenty of all these, above what man's heart can either conceive or think; and also that he is given us of the Father, and made of God to be our wisdom, our righteousness, our holiness, and our redemption: who then is he that believeth this indeed, that would not gladly be with his master Christ? Paul for this knowledge coveted to have been loosed from the body, and to have been with Christ, for he counted it much better for himself, and had rather be loosed than to live. Therefore the words of Christ to the thief on the cross, who asked of him mercy, were full of comfort and solace—‘This day thou shalt be with me in paradise.’ To die in the defence of Christ's gospel, it is our bounden duty to Christ, and also to our neighbour. To Christ, because he died for us, and rose again that he might be Lord over all. And seeing he died for us, we also should hazard, yea give our life for our brethren, and this kind of giving and losing, is getting and winning indeed: for he that giveth or loseth his life thus, getteth and winneth it for evermore. Blessed are they therefore that die in the Lord, and if they die in the Lord's cause, they are most happy of all. Let us not then fear death, which can do us no harm, otherwise than for a moment to make the flesh to smart; but that our faith, which is fastened and fixed upon the word of God, telleth us that we shall be anon after death in peace, in the hands of God, in joy, in solace, and that from death we shall go straight unto life. For St. John saith, He

that liveth, and believeth in me, shall never die. And in another place, He shall depart from death unto life. And therefore this death of the christian is not to be called death, but rather a gate or entrance into everlasting life. Therefore Paul calleth it but a dissolution and change, and both Peter and Paul, a putting off this tabernacle or dwelling house: meaning thereby the mortal body, as wherein the soul or spirit doth dwell here in this world for a small time. Yea, this my death may be called, to the christian, an end of all miseries. For so long as we live here, we must pass through many tribulations before we can enter into the kingdom of heaven. And now, after that death hath shot his bolt, all the christian man's enemies have done what they can; after that they have no more to do. What could hurt or harm poor Lazarus that lay at the rich man's gate? his former penury and poverty? his misery, beggary, and horrible wounds and sickness? No; as soon as death had struck him with his dart, so soon came the angels, and carried him straight up into Abraham's bosom. What lost he by death, who from misery and pain is conducted, by the ministry of angels, into a place of joy and felicity?

“Farewell, dear brethren, farewell; let us comfort our hearts in all troubles, and in death, with God's word, for heaven and earth shall perish, but the word of the Lord endureth for ever. Farewell Jesus Christ's dearly beloved spouse, here wandering in this world in a strange land, encompassed about with deadly enemies, who seek thy destruction. Farewell, farewell to you, O ye the whole universal congregation of the chosen of God here living upon earth, the true church militant of Christ, the true mystical body of Christ, the very household and family of God and the sacred temple of the Holy Ghost, farewell. Farewell, O thou little flock of the high heavenly pastors of Christ, for to you it hath pleased the heavenly Father to give an everlasting and eternal kingdom. Farewell thou spiritual house of God, thou holy and royal priesthood, thou chosen generation, thou holy nation, thou won spouse. Farewell, farewell.”

The next month after the burning of Ridley and Latimer, which was the month of November, Stephen Gardiner, bishop and chancellor, a man hated of God and all good men, ended his wretched life. He was born in the town of Bury in Suffolk, and brought up most part of his youth in Cambridge: his wit, capacity, memory, and other endowments of nature were not to be complained of, if he had well used and rightly applied the same. He profited not a little in such studies as he gave his head unto; as in civil law, languages, and such other like, especially in those arts and faculties which had the prospect of dignity and preferment. But to those gifts were joined great vices, which not so much followed him as overtook him, not so much burdened him as made him burdenous to the whole realm. He was of a proud stomach and high-minded; in wit, crafty and subtle; towards his superiors, flattering and fair spoken; to his inferiors, fierce; against his equals, stout and envious, as appeared between the good lord Cromwell and him in the reign of king Henry. Upon his estimation and fame he stood too much, more than was meet for a man of his coat and calling, whose profession was to be crucified unto the world.

As touching divinity, he was so variable, wavering with time, that no constant censure can be given what to make of him. If his doings and writings were according to his conscience, no man can rightly say whether he was a right protestant or a papist; and if he wrote otherwise than he thought, then was he a double dissembler before God and man. For first in the beginning of Anne Boleyn's time, who was so forward or busy in the matter of the king's divorce as Stephen Gardiner, who was first sent to Rome, and then to the emperor with Edward Foxe, as chief agent in the behalf of lady Anne? by whom also he was preferred to the bishopric of Winchester. Again, at the abolishing of the pope, who so ready to swear or so vehement to write against the pope as he, as not only by his sermons but also by his book "De Obedientia" may appear? in which book, lest any should think him drawn thereunto otherwise than by his own consent, he plainly declareth how not rashly nor upon a sudden, but in a long deliberation and advertisement in himself about the matter, he at length uttered his judgment. And moreover so he uttered his judgments in writing against the usurped supremacy of the pope, that coming to Louvain afterward he was there accounted as excommunicate and schismatic, inso-much that he was not permitted in their church to say mass, and in their public sermons they openly cried out against him.

And thus long continued he firm and forward, so that who but Winchester during all the time of queen Anne? After her fall, by little and little he was carried away, till at length the emulation of Cromwell's estate, and especially for his so much favouring of Bonner, whom Winchester at that time could in no case abide, made him an utter enemy against the said Cromwell and also his religion. Again, in king Edward's days, he began a little to rebate from certain points of popery, and somewhat to smell of the gospel, as appears by his sermon before the king, and also by his subscribing to certain articles. This was a half turn of Stephen Gardiner from popery again to the gospel, and no doubt he would have further turned had not the unlucky decay of the duke of Somerset clean turned him away from true divinity to plain popery, wherein he continued a cruel persecutor to his dying day. And thus much concerning the trade and profession of Stephen Gardiner.

Touching the death of the foresaid Stephen Gardiner, and the manner thereof, I would they which were present thereat would testify unto us what they saw; notwithstanding I thought not to overpass a certain hearsay openly reported in the house of a worthy citizen bearing yet office in this city: "The same day, when bishop Ridley and master Latimer suffered at Oxford, there came into the house of Stephen Gardiner the duke of Norfolk, with his secretary, master Munday. The duke there waiting and tarrying for his dinner, the bishop being not yet disposed to dine, deferred the time to three or four of the clock at afternoon. At length, about four of the clock cometh his servant, posting in all possible speed from Oxford, bringing intelligence to the bishop what he had heard and seen; of whom the said bishop diligently inquiring the truth of the matter, and hearing by his man that fire was most certainly set unto them, cometh out rejoicing to the duke—'Now,' saith he, 'let us go to dinner:' whereupon they being set down, meat immediately was brought, and the bishop began merrily to eat. But what followed? The bloody tyrant had not eaten a few

bits, but the sudden stroke of God's terrible hand fell upon him in such sort as immediately he was taken from table, and so brought to his bed; where he continued the space of fifteen days in intolerable anguish and torments: a spectacle worthy to be noted and beholden of all such bloody burning persecutors."

I could name the man who, being then present, and a great doer about the said Winchester, reported to us concerning the said bishop, that when Dr. Day, bishop of Chichester, came to him, and began to comfort him with the words of God's promise, and with the free justification in the blood of Christ our Saviour, repeating the Scriptures to him, Winchester cried out, "What, my lord, will you open that gap now? Then farewell altogether. To me, and such others in my case, you may speak it; but open this window to the people, then farewell altogether!" Having given this brief sketch of Gardiner's story, leaving him to his Judge, we shall return, (by the grace and leave of the Lord,) as the course of these doleful days shall lead us, to prosecute the residue of Christ's martyrs.

The political and ecclesiastical state of the realm at this period has been summed up by a former editor of this work in the following comprehensive and judicious manner. "The parliament was now assembled, and it appeared that the nation was much turned in their affections. It was proposed to give the queen a subsidy. This was the first aid that the queen had asked, though she was now in the third year of her reign; and what was now desired, was no more than what she might have exacted at her first coming to the crown; and since she had forgiven so much at her coronation, it seemed unreasonable to deny it now: yet great opposition was made to it. Many said, she was impoverishing the crown, and giving away the abbey-lands, and therefore she ought to be supplied by the clergy, and not turn to the laity: but it was answered, that the convocation had given her 6s. in the pound, but that would not serve her present occasions; so the debate grew high; but to prevent further heats, the queen sent a message, declaring that she would accept the subsidy, upon which it was granted. The queen sent for the speaker of the house of commons, and told him she could not with a good conscience exact the first-fruits of the clergy, since they were given to her father to support his unlawful dignity, of being the supreme head of the church: she also thought that all tithes, and impropriations were the patrimony of the church, and therefore was resolved to resign such of them as were in her hands. The former part passed easily in the house, but great opposition was made to the latter part of her motion: for it was looked on as a step to the taking all the impropriations out of the hands of the laity: upon a division of the house, one hundred and twenty-six were against it, and one hundred and ninety-three were for it; so it was carried by sixty-seven voices. A bill was put in against the duchess of Suffolk, and several others that favoured the reformation, and had gone beyond sea that they might freely enjoy their consciences; requiring them to return, under severe penalties: the lords passed it, but the commons threw it out; for they began now to repent of the severe laws they had already consented to, and resolved to add no more. They also rejected another bill, for incapacitating

some to be justices of peace who were complained of for their remissness in prosecuting heretics. An act was put in for debarring one Bennet Smith, who had hired some assassins to commit a most detestable murder, from the benefit of the clergy; which, by the course of the common law, would have saved him. This was an invention of the priests, that if any who was capable of entering into orders, and had not been twice married, or had not married a widow, could read, and vow to take orders, he was to be saved in many criminal cases. And it was looked on as a part of the ecclesiastical immunity; which made divers of the bishops oppose this act; yet it passed, though four of them and five temporal lords protested against it. There was such a heat in the house of commons in this parliament, that Sir Anthony Kingston called one day for the keys of the house; but for this temerity, in the dissolution of parliament, he was sent to the Tower: he was, however, soon after set at liberty; but next year he and six others were accused of a design of robbing the exchequer. Sir Anthony died before he was brought up to London; the other six were executed; but the evidence against them does not appear on record.

Cardinal Pole, about this time, called a convocation, having first procured a licence from the queen, empowering them both to meet and to make such canons as they should think fit. This was done to preserve the prerogatives of the crown, and to secure the clergy, that they might not be afterwards brought under a præmunire. In it several decrees were proposed by Pole, and assented to by the clergy: For observing the feast of the reconciliation made with Rome, with great solemnity. For condemning all heretical books, and receiving that exposition of the faith which pope Eugenius sent from the council of Florence to the Armenians. For the decent administration of the sacraments, and the putting down the yearly feasts in the dedications of churches. For requiring all bishops and priests to lay aside secular cares, and to give themselves wholly to the pastoral charge: and all pluralists to resign all their benefices except one, within two months, otherwise to forfeit all. For bishops to preach often, and to provide good preachers for their dioceses, to go over them as their visitors. For the pomp and luxury of the tables, servants, and families of the bishops to cease, and the money to be laid out on works of charity. For orders to be granted only after strict examination. For personal partiality in bestowing benefices no longer to prevail. For the abolition of simony. For schools to be connected with every cathedral, chargeable on its revenues—and for some other inferior purposes.

In these, the politic temper of cardinal Pole may be well discerned. He thought the people were more wrought on by the scandals they saw in the clergy, than by the arguments which they heard from the reformers; and therefore reckoned that if pluralities and non-residences, and the other abuses of churchmen, could have been removed, and if he could have brought the bishops to live better, and labour more, to be stricter in giving orders, and more impartial in conferring benefices, and if he could have established seminaries in cathedrals, heresy might have been driven out of the nation by gentler means than racks and fires. In one thing, however, he shewed the meanness of his spirit, namely,



that though he himself condemned cruel proceedings against heretics, yet he both gave commissions to other bishops and archdeacons to try them, and suffered a great deal of cruelty to be exercised in his own diocese: but he had not courage enough to resist pope Paul IV., who thought of no other way for bearing down heresy, than that of setting up courts of inquisition every where. He had imprisoned cardinal Marone, Pole's great friend, upon suspicion of heresy; and would very probably have used himself so, if he had got him at Rome.

About this time the Jesuits were beginning to grow considerable; they were restrained, besides their other vows, by an absolute obedience to the see of Rome: and set themselves every where to open free-schools, for the education of youth, and to bear down heresy. They were excluded from the hours of the quire, and were consequently looked on as a mongrel order, between the regulars and the seculars. They proposed to cardinal Pole, that since the queen was restoring the abbey-lands, it would be to little purpose to give them again to the Benedictine order, which was now rather a clog than a help to the church: and therefore they desired that houses might be assigned to them, for maintaining schools and seminaries; and they did not doubt but they should quickly drive out heresy and recover the church-lands. Cardinal Pole would not listen to this, for which the Jesuits much censured him. It is not certain whether he foresaw that disorder which they were likely to bring into the church, and that corruption of morals that hath since emanated from their schools.

## SECTION XII.

THE MARTYRDOM OF JOHN WEBBE, GEORGE ROPER, GREGORY PARKE, WILLIAM WISEMAN, JAMES GORE, AND JOHN PHILPOT.

NEXT after the death of the two most worthy champions and standard-bearers of Christ's army, Dr. Nicholas Ridley and master Hugh Latimer, followed three other stout and bold soldiers; that is to say, John Webbe, gentleman, George Roper, and Gregory Parke. John Webbe was brought before the bishop of Dover and Nicholas Harpsfield, or some other deputed in their room, on the 16th of September, and there had propounded unto him such articles as were commonly ministered by Bonner to those of his jurisdiction. And being willed for that present to depart, and to deliberate with himself upon the matter against the next time of his appearance, he made answer that he would no otherwise say, by God's grace, than he had already said, which was this: "As touching the sacrament of Christ's body," said he, "I do believe it to be left unto his church (with thanksgiving) in commemoration of his death and passion, until his coming again. So that it is left in remembrance of his body; and not by the words of consecration to be made his body really, substantially, and the same body that was born of the Virgin Mary—I utterly deny that."

After this, the 3rd day of October, the said John Webbe, and George Roper, and Gregory Parke, were brought all three together before the said judges; who there and then agreeing, and steadfastly allowing the former answer made before by master Webbe, were, by the bloody prelates, adjudged heretics; and, therefore, about the same month (or else in the

latter end of November) they were together brought out of prison to the place of martyrdom; repeating certain psalms in their way. Arriving at the stake, and there fastened with a chain, they were burnt altogether in one fire at Canterbury, most patiently enduring their torments, and accounting themselves happy and blessed of the Lord that they were made worthy to suffer for his sake.

The 13th of December, 1555, in the Lollards' Tower, died William Wiseman, a clothworker of London, where he was in prison and bonds for the gospel and word of God. How and whereupon he deceased it is not fully certain. Some thought that either through famine or ill handling of some murdering papists he was made away; but the truth could not be ascertained. After his death the papists cast him out into the fields, as was their usual custom to such of the protestants as expired under their hands, commanding that no man should bury him. Notwithstanding their merciless commands, some good Tobits there were who buried him in the evening, as commonly they did all the rest thrown out in like manner, whom they were wont privily by night to cover; while many times the archers were in the field standing by, and singing psalms together at their burial. In the same month deceased also James Gore in the prison at Colchester, laid there in bonds for the right and truth of God's word.

Next followeth the constant martyrdom of master John Philpot, whose troubles have been, in part, related in the commencement of the reign of Mary. He was of a family highly respectable, his father being a knight, and was born in Hampshire. He was brought up at New College, Oxford, where he studied civil law and other branches of liberal education, particularly that of languages, and became a great proficient in the Hebrew. He was witty, courageous and zealous; ever careful to adorn his doctrine by his practice, and his learning is fully evinced by what he has left on record. Desirous of travelling he went over to Italy and places thereabouts, and coming upon a time from Venice to Padua, he was in danger, through a Franciscan friar's accompanying him in his journey, who, coming to Padua, sought to accuse him of heresy. At length returning into England, as the time permitted more boldness unto him in the days of king Edward, he had several conflicts with bishop Gardiner in the city of Winchester.

After that, having an advowson from the bishop, he was made arch-deacon of Winchester, under Dr. Poinet, who then succeeded Gardiner in that bishopric, and here he continued during the reign of king Edward, to the great profit of those parts thereabouts. When that pious prince was taken away, and Mary succeeded, her study was wholly bent to alter the state of religion in England: and first, she caused a convocation of the prelates and learned men to be assembled for the accomplishment of her desire. In this convocation Mr. Philpot, according to his degree, with a few others, sustained the cause of the gospel against the adversary, for which, notwithstanding the liberty the house had promised before, he was called to account before the chancellor, then being his ordinary, by whom he was first examined, although that examination came not to hand. From thence again he was removed to bishop Bonner, and other commissioners, with whom he had divers conflicts, as may appear by an abstract of his examinations.

The first examination took place before the queen's commissioners, master Cholmley, master Roper, and Dr. Storey, and one of the Scribes of the Arches, at Newgate-Sessions' Hall, Oct. 2, 1555, which he thus relates :

Dr. Storey, before I was called into an inner parlour, where they sat, came out into the hall where I was, to view me among others that were there; and passing by me said, "Ha! master Philpot;" and in returning stayed against me, beholding me, and saying that I was well fed indeed.

*Philpot.* If I be fat, and in good liking, master doctor, it is no marvel, since I have been stalled up in prison this twelve months and a half, in a close corner. I am come to know wherefore you have sent for me.

*Storey.* We hear thou art a suspected person, and of heretical opinions.

*Phil.* I have been in prison thus long, only upon the occasion of disputation made in the convocation-house, and upon suspicion of setting forth the report thereof.

*Storey.* If thou wilt revoke the same, thou shalt be set at liberty, and do well; or else thou shalt be committed to the bishop of London.

*Phil.* I have already answered in this behalf to mine ordinary.

*Storey.* If thou answerest thus when thou comest before us anon, thou shalt hear more of our minds.

And with that he went into the parlour, and I within a little while after was called in, when Storey said to the scribe, "This man was archdeacon of Winchester, of Dr. Poinet's presentment."

*Phil.* I was archdeacon indeed, but none of his presentment; but by virtue of a former advowson, given by my lord chancellor that now is.

*Storey.* You may be assured that my lord chancellor would not make any such as he is archdeacon.

*Roper.* Come hither to me, Mr. Philpot. We hear that you are out of the catholic church, and have been a disturber of the same; out of which whoso is, he cannot be the child of salvation. Wherefore if you will come into the same, you shall be received and find favour.

*Phil.* I am come before your worshipful masterships at your appointment, understanding that you are magistrates authorised by the queen's majesty, whom I own and will do my due obedience unto the uttermost. Wherefore I desire to know what cause I have offended in, for which I am now called before you. And if I cannot be charged with any particular matter done contrary to the laws of this realm, I desire of you that I may have the benefit of a subject, and be delivered out of my wrongful imprisonment, where I have lain a year and a half, without any calling to answer before now, and my living taken from me without law.

*Roper.* Though we have no particular matter to charge you withal yet we may, by our commission and by the law, drive you to answer to the suspicion of a slander going on you: and besides this, we have statutes to charge you herein withal.

*Phil.* If I have offended any statute, charge me therewithal; and if I have incurred the penalty thereof, punish me accordingly. And because you are magistrates and executors of the queen's laws, by force whereof you now sit, I desire that if I be not found a transgressor of any of them, I may not be burthened with more than I have done.

*Cholm.* If the justice do suspect a felon, he may examine him upon

suspicion thereof, and commit him to prison though there be no fault done.

*Storey.* I perceive whereabouts this man goeth: he is plain in Card-maker's case, for he made the same allegations. But they will not serve thee; for thou art a heretic, and holdest against the blessed mass: how sayest thou to that? Thou deniest it, but I will prove thee a heretic. Whosoever hath held against the blessed mass is a heretic: but thou hast held against the same, therefore thou art a heretic.

*Phil.* That which I spake, and which you are able to charge me withal, was in the convocation, where, by the queen's will and her whole council, liberty was given to every man of the house to utter his conscience, and to speak his mind freely of such questions in religion as there were propounded by the prolocutor; for which now I thought not to be molested and imprisoned as I have been, neither now to be compelled by you to answer for the same.

*Storey.* Thou shalt go to Lollards' Tower, and be handled there like a heretic as thou art, and answer to the same that thou there didst speak, and be judged by the bishop of London.

*Phil.* Sir, you know by the law, that I may have "Exceptionem fori;" and it is against all equity that I should be twice vexed for one cause, and that by such as by the law have nothing to do with me.

*Roper.* You cannot deny but that you spoke against the mass in the convocation-house.

*Storey.* Dost thou deny that which thou spakest there, or no?

*Phil.* I cannot deny that I have spoken there, and if by the law you may put me to death for it, I am here ready to suffer whatsoever I shall be judged unto.

*Cholm.* Play the wise gentleman and be conformable; and be not stubborn in your opinion, neither cast yourself away. I would be glad to do you good.

*Phil.* I desire you, sir, with the rest here, that I be not charged further at your hands than the law chargeth me, for what I have done, since there was no law directly against that wherewith I am now charged. And you, Mr. Doctor, I trust, will shew me some friendship.

*Storey.* I tell thee, if thou wouldst be a good catholic I would spend my gown to do thee good; but I will be no friend to a heretic, as thou art, but will spend both my gown and my coat, but I will burn thee. How sayest thou to the sacrament of the altar? and since thou wilt not revoke that thou hast done, thou shalt be had into Lollards' Tower.

*Phil.* Sir, since you will needs shew me this extremity, and charge me with my conscience, I desire to see your commission, whether you have this authority so to do.

*Storey.* Shall we let every vile person see our commission? Let him lie in the Lollards' Tower; for I will sweep the King's-Bench, and all other prisons also, of these heretics: they shall not have that resort as they have had, to scatter their heresies.

*Phil.* You have power to transfer my body from place to place at your pleasure; but you have no power over my soul. And I pass not whither you commit me, for I cannot be worse entreated than I am.

*Roper.* Be content to be ruled, and show yourself a catholic man.

*Phil.* Sir, if I should speak otherwise than my conscience is, I should but dissemble with you: and why be you so earnest to have me shew myself a dissembler both to God and you, which I cannot do? If I do stand in anything against that, wherein any man is able to burthen me with one jot of the scripture, I shall be content to be counted no catholic man, or a heretic, as you please.

With that Storey rose up, saying, "Who shall be judge, I pray you? This man is like his fellow Woodman, which the other day would have nothing else but Scripture." And this is the beginning of this tragedy.

On the 24th of October, Philpot was again brought before the same commissioners, the which second examination is also condensed from his own narrative. At his coming, an acquaintance said to him, "God have mercy on you, for you are already condemned in this world; for Dr. Storey said that my lord chancellor had commanded to do you away." Philpot again desired to see their commission, which the scribe thereupon exhibited to Roper, and was about to open the same, when Dr. Cook, now added to their number, exclaimed, "No, what will ye do? he shall not see it!"

*Phil.* Then you do me wrong, to call me and vex me, not shewing your authority in this behalf.

*Cook.* If we do you wrong, complain of us: and in the mean time thou shalt lie in the Lollards' Tower.

*Phil.* Sir, I am a poor gentleman; therefore I trust that you will not commit me to so vile a place, being no heinous trespasser.

*Cook.* A heretic is no gentleman: for he is a gentleman that hath gentle conditions.

*Phil.* The offence cannot take away the state of a gentleman as long as he liveth, although he were a traitor: but I mean not to boast of my gentlemanship; but I will put it under my foot, since you do no more esteem it.

*Storey.* A gentleman, said he? he is a vile heretic knave: for a heretic is no gentleman. Let the keeper of the Lollards' Tower come in, and have him away.

*Phil.* Sir, if I were a dog, you could not appoint me a worse nor more vile place: but I must be content with whatsoever injury you do offer me. God give you a more merciful heart; you are very cruel upon one that hath never offended you. I pray you, Mr. Cholmley, shew me some friendship that I may not be carried to so vile a place.

Mr. Philpot proceeds with his narrative. "After this, I with four others was brought to the keeper's house in Paternoster-row, where we supped, and after supper I was called up to a chamber by a servant of the archdeacon of London, and that in his master's name, who offered me a bed for that night. I thanked him, and said, That it would be a grief to me to lie one night well, and the next night worse: wherefore I would begin as I was likely to continue, to take such part as my fellows do. And with that we were brought through Paternoster-row to my lord of London's coal-house; unto which was joined a little dark house, with a great pair of stocks, both for hand and foot; and there we found a minister of Essex, a married priest, a man of godly zeal, with one other poor man. The minister at my coming desired to speak with me, telling me that he greatly lamented his infirmity, for that

through extremity of imprisonment he had been constrained by writing to yield to the bishop of London: whereupon he had been set at liberty, and afterward felt such a hell in his conscience, that he could scarce refrain destroying himself, and never could be at quiet until he went to the bishop's register, desiring to see his bill again; which as soon as he had received, he tore it in pieces, after which he was joyful as any man. When my lord of London understood this, he sent for him, and fell upon him like a lion, and buffeted him, so that he made his face black and blue; and plucked away a great piece of his beard.

"The second night of my imprisonment in this den, the bishop sent Mr. Johnson, his register, to me with a mess of meat, a good pot of drink, and some bread, saying that he had no knowledge before of my being here, for which he was sorry: therefore he had sent me and my fellows that meat, not knowing whether I would receive the same. I thanked God for his lordship's charity, that it pleased him to remember poor prisoners, desiring the Almighty to increase the same in him, and in all others; and that I would not refuse his beneficence, and there-with took the same unto my brethren.

"The register said—'My lord would know the cause of your being sent hither, and wondereth that he should be troubled with prisoners that are not of his own diocese.' On this I declared unto him the whole cause. After which he said, that my lord's will was, I should have any friendship I would desire, and so departed. In a little time one of my lord's gentlemen came for me; and brought me into his presence, where he sat at a table with three or four of his chaplains waiting upon him, and his register. He said freely—'Mr. Philpot, you are welcome; give me your hand. I am sorry for your trouble, and promise you that till within these two hours, I knew not of your being here. I pray you tell me the cause: for I promise you I know nothing thereof as yet, and marvel that other men will trouble me with their matters; but I must be obedient to my betters, and I fear men speak otherwise of me than I deserve.' I told him, that it was for the disputation in the convocation-house, for which I was against all right molested."

*Bon.* I marvel that you should be troubled for that, if there was no other cause. But peradventure you have maintained the same since, and some of your friends of late have asked, whether you do stand to the same, and you have said, yea; and for this you might be committed to prison.

*Phil.* If it shall please your lordship I am burdened no otherwise than I have told you, by the commissioners who sent me hither, because I would not recant the same.

*Bon.* A man may speak in the parliament-house, though it be a place of free speech, so as he may be imprisoned for it, as in case he speak words of high-treason against the king or queen; and so it might be that you spake otherwise than it became you of the church of Christ.

*Phil.* I spake nothing which was out of the articles which were called in question, and agreed upon to be disputed by the whole house, and by permission of the queen and council.

*Bon.* Why, may we dispute of our faith?—I think not, by the law.

*Phil.* Indeed by the civil law I know it is not lawful, but by God's

law we may reason thereof. For St. Peter saith—"Be ye ready to render account unto all men of the hope which is in you."

*Bon.* Indeed, St. Peter saith so. Why then, I ask of you, what your judgment is of the sacrament of the altar?

*Phil.* My lord, St. Ambrose saith, that the disputation of faith ought to be in the congregation, in the hearing of the people, and that I am not bound to render account thereof to every man privately, unless it be to edify. But now I cannot shew you my mind, but I must run upon the pikes in danger of my life for it. Wherefore, as the said doctor said unto Valentinian the emperor, so say I to your lordship:—"Take away the law, and I will reason with you." And yet if I come in open judgment, where I am bound by the law to answer, I trust I shall utter my conscience as freely as any that hath come before you.

*Bon.* I perceive you are learned, I would have such as you about me. But you must come and be of the church, for there is but one church.

*Phil.* God forbid I should be out of the church, I am sure I am within the same: for I know as I am taught by the scripture, that there is but one catholic church, one dove, one spouse, and one beloved congregation, out of which there is no salvation.

*Bon.* How is it then that you go out of the same, and walk not with us?

*Phil.* My lord, I am sure I am within the bounds of the church whereupon she is builded, which is the word of God.

*Bon.* You are not now of the same faith promised for you in your baptism.

*Phil.* Yes, I am; for I was baptized into the faith of Christ I now hold.

*Bon.* How can that be? there is but one faith.

*Phil.* I am assured of that by St. Paul, saying that there is but one God, one faith, and one baptism, of the which I am.

*Bon.* You were twenty years ago of another faith than you are now.

*Phil.* I was then of no faith, a neuter, a wicked liver, neither hot nor cold.

*Bon.* Why, do you not think that we have now the true faith?

*Phil.* I desire your lordship to hold me excused for answering at this time. I am sure that God's word thoroughly, with the primitive church, and all the ancient writers, do agree with this faith I am of.

*Bon.* Well, I promise you I mean you no hurt. I will not therefore burthen you with your conscience now; I marvel that you are so merry in prison as you are, singing and rejoicing, as the prophet saith, joying in your naughtiness. Methinks you do not well herein; you should rather lament and be sorry.

*Phil.* My lord, the mirth that we make is but in singing certain psalms, according as we are commanded by St. Paul, willing us to be merry in the Lord, singing together in hymns and psalms: and I trust your lordship cannot be displeased with that. We are, my lord, in a dark comfortless place, and therefore it behoveth us to be merry, lest, as Solomon saith, sorrowfulness eat up our heart.

*Bon.* I will trouble you no farther now. If I can do you any good, I shall be glad. God be with you, good Mr. Philpot, and good night. Take him to the cellar, and let him drink a cup of wine.

The next examination was in the house of the archdeacon, and before the bishops of London, Bath, Worcester, and Gloucester.

*Bon.* Mr. Philpot, it hath pleased my lords to take pains here to-day,

to dine with my poor archdeacon, and in the dinner-time it chanced us to have communication of you, and you were pitied here by many who knew you at New College in Oxford. And I also do pity your case, because you seem unto me by the talk I had with you the other night, to be learned: and therefore now I have sent for you to come before them, that it might not be said hereafter, that I had so many learned bishops at my house, and yet would not vouchsafe them to talk with you, and at my request they are content so to do. Now therefore utter your mind freely, and you shall with all favour be satisfied. I am sorry to see you lie in so evil a case as you do, and would fain you should do better, as you may if you please.

*Bath.* My lords here have not sent for you to fawn upon you, but for charity sake to exhort you to come into the right catholic church.

*Worces.* Before he beginneth to speak, it is best that he call upon God for grace, and to pray that it might please God to open his heart, that he may conceive the truth.

With that Philpot fell upon his knees before them, and prayed on this manner: "Almighty God, who art the giver of all wisdom and understanding, I beseech thee of thine infinite goodness and mercy in Jesus Christ, to give me (most vile sinner in thy sight) the spirit of wisdom to speak and make answer in thy cause, that it may be to the satisfaction of the hearers before whom I stand, and also to my better understanding if I be deceived in any thing."

*Bon.* Nay, my lord of Worcester, you did not well to exhort him to make any prayer. For this is the thing they have a singular pride in, that they can often make their vain prayers, in which they glory much. For in this point they are much like to certain arrant heretics, of whom Pliny maketh mention, that did daily sing praise unto God before dawning of the day.

*Phil.* My lord, God make me and all you here present such heretics as those were that sung those morning hymns: for they were right christians, with whom the tyrants of the world were offended.

*Bon.* Say on, Mr. Philpot; my lords will gladly hear you.

*Phil.* I have, my lords, been these twelve months and a half in prison without any just cause, and my living is taken from me without any lawful order, and now I am brought unjustly from my own territory and ordinary, into another man's jurisdiction, I know not why. Wherefore, if your lordships can burden me with any evil done, I stand here before you to purge me of the same. And if no such thing may be justly laid to my charge, I desire to be released of this wrongful trouble.

*Bon.* There is none here that goeth about to trouble you, but to do you good, if we can. For I promise you, you were sent hither to me without my knowledge. Therefore speak your conscience without any fear.

*Phil.* My lords, it is not unknown to you, that the chief cause why you count me, and such as I am, for heretics, is because we be not at unity with your church. You say, that whatsoever is out of your church is damned: and we think verily on the other side, that if we depart from the true church, whereon we are grafted in God's word, we should stand in the state of damnation. Wherefore if your lordships can bring any better authority for your church than we can for ours, and prove by the



scriptures that the church of Rome now is the true catholic church, as in all sermons, writings and arguments you uphold; and that all christian persons ought to be ruled by the same, under pain of damnation, and that the same church hath authority to interpret the scriptures as it seemeth good to her, and that all men are bound to follow such interpretations only; I shall be as conformable to the same church as you may desire, which otherwise I dare not. To this I will stand and refer all other controversies wherein I now am against you, and will put my hand thereto, if you mistrust my word.

*Bon.* I pray you, Mr. Philpot, what faith were you of twenty years ago? This man will have every year a new faith.

*Phil.* My lord, to tell you plain, I think I was of no faith; for I was then a wicked liver, and knew not God then as I ought to do, God forgive me. I have declared to you on my conscience what I then was, and judge of myself. And what is that to the purpose of the thing I desire to be satisfied of you?

*Cole.* What will you say, if I can prove it was decreed by an universal council in Athanasius's time, that all the christian church should follow the determination of the church of Rome? but I do not now remember where.

*Phil.* If you, master doctor, can show me the same granted to the see of Rome by the authority of Scripture, I will gladly hearken thereto. But I think you are not able: for Athanasius was president of the Nicene council, and there was no such thing decreed. I desire to see the proof thereof.

Upon this master Harpsfield, the chancellor to the bishop of London, brought in a book of Ireneus, with certain leaves turned in, and laid it before the bishops to help them in their perplexity, if it might be; which after the bishops of Bath and Gloucester had read together, the latter gave me the book, and said—'Take the book, Mr. Philpot, and look upon that place, and there you may see how the church of Rome is to be followed of all men.' On this I took the book and read the place, after which I said it made nothing against me, but against Arians and other heretics, against whom Ireneus wrote.

*Worces.* It is to be proved most manifestly by all ancient writers, that the see of Rome hath always followed the truth, and never was deceived until of late certain heretics had defaced the same.

*Phil.* Let that be proved, and I have done.

*Worces.* You are of such singularity and vain-glory you will not see it.

*Phil.* Ha, my lords, is it now time, think you, for me to follow singularity or vain-glory, since it is now upon danger of my life and death not only presently, but also before God to come? For I know if I die not in the true faith, I shall die everlastingly; and again I know, if I do not as you would have me, you will kill me and a great many more: yet I had rather perish by your hands, than perish eternally. And at this time I have lost all my goods of this world, and lie in a coal-house where a man would not lay a dog.

*Cole.* Where are you able to prove that the church of Rome hath erred at any time? and by what history? Certain it is by Eusebius, that the church was established at Rome by Peter and Paul, and that Peter was bishop twenty-five years at Rome.

*Phil.* I know well that Eusebius so writeth: but if we compare that

which St. Paul writeth to the Galatians, the contrary will manifestly appear, that he was not half so long there. He lived not past thirty-five years after he was called to be an apostle: and St. Paul maketh mention of his abiding at Jerusalem after Christ's death more than thirteen years. And further, I am able to prove, both by Eusebius and other historiographers, that the church of Rome hath manifestly erred, and at this present doth err, because she agreeth not with that which they wrote. The primitive church did according to the gospel, and there needeth none other proof, but to compare the one with the other.

*Bon.* I may compare this man to a certain one I read of who fell into a desperation, and went into a wood to hang himself, and when he came there, he went viewing of every tree, and could find none on which he might vouchsafe to hang himself. But I will not apply this as I might. I pray you, master doctor, go forth with him.

*Cole.* My lord, there is on every side of me, some who are better able to answer him, and I love not to fall into disputation: for we now-a-days sustain shame and obloquy thereby of the people. I had rather shew my mind in writing.

*Phil.* And I had rather you should do so than otherwise, for then a man may better judge of your words, than by argument, and I beseech you so to do. If I were a rich man, I durst wager a hundred pounds that you shall not be able to shew what you have said, to be decreed by a general council in Athanasius's time. This I am sure of, that it was concluded by a general council in Africa, many years after, that none of Africa should appeal to Rome: which decree I am sure they would not have made, if by the scriptures and by an universal council it had been decreed, that all men should follow the determination of the church of Rome. You say that they afterwards revoked that error: but I pray you shew me where. I have hitherto heard nothing from you to my satisfaction, but bare words without any authority.

*Bon.* What, I pray you, ought we to dispute with you of our faith? Justinian in the law hath a title, *De fide Catholica*, to the contrary.

*Phil.* I am certain the civil law hath such a constitution; but our faith must not depend upon the civil law. For as St. Ambrose saith, Not the law, but the gospel hath gathered the church together.

*Worces.* Mr. Philpot, you have the spirit of pride wherewith you be led, which will not let you yield to the truth: leave it off for shame.

*Phil.* Sir, I am sure I have the spirit of faith, by which I speak at this present; neither am I ashamed to stand to my faith.

*Glou.* What, do you think yourself better learned than so many notable learned men as are here?

*Phil.* Elias alone had the truth, when there were four hundred priests against him.

*Worces.* Oh, you would be counted now for Elias! And yet I tell thee he was deceived: for he thought there had been none good but himself; and yet he was deceived, for there were seven thousand besides him.

*Phil.* Yea, but he was not deceived in doctrine, as the other four hundred were.

*Worces.* Do you think the universal church may be deceived?

*Phil.* St. Paul to the Thessalonians prophesieth that there should come an universal departing from the faith in the latter days before the coming of Christ, saying, that "Christ shall not come, till there come a departing first."

*Cole.* Yea, I pray you, how take you the departing there in St. Paul? It is not meant of faith, but of the departing from the empire: *ἀποστασία*.

*Phil.* Marry indeed you, master doctor, put me in good remembrance of the meaning of St. Paul in that place, for "apostasia" is properly a departing from the faith, and thereof cometh "apostata," which properly signifieth one that departeth from his faith: and St. Paul in the same place after speaketh of the decay of the empire.

*Cole.* "Apostasia" doth not only signify a departing from the faith, but also from the empire, as I am able to show.

*Phil.* I never read it so taken; and when you shall be able to shew it (as you say in words) I will believe it, and not before.

*Worces.* I am sorry that you should be against the Christian world.

*Phil.* The world commonly, and such as be called Christians; for the multitude have hated the truth, and been enemies to the same.

*Glou.* Why, Mr. Philpot, do you think that the universal church hath erred, and that you only are in the truth?

*Phil.* The church that you are of was never universal; for two parts of the world, which are Asia and Africa, never consented to the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, neither did they follow his decrees. It was said so by false report, after they of Asia and Africa were gone home, that in the Florentine council they did agree: but it was not so indeed, as the sequel of them all prove the contrary.

*Glou.* I pray you, by whom will you be judged in matters of controversy which happen daily?

*Phil.* By the word of God. For Christ saith in St. John, "The word that he spake, shall be judge in the latter day."

*Glou.* What if you take the word one way, and I another way, who shall be judge then?

*Phil.* The primitive church. I mean the doctors that wrote thereof.

*Glou.* What if you take the doctors in one sense, and I in another: who shall be judge then?

*Phil.* Then let that be taken which is most agreeable to God's word.

*Worces.* It is a wonder how he standeth with a few against a multitude.

*Phil.* We have almost as many as you: for we have Asia, Africa, Germany, Denmark, and a great part of France, and daily the number of the gospel doth increase: so that I am credibly informed that for this religion in the which I stand, and for the which I am like to die, a great multitude doth daily come out of France through persecution, that the cities of Germany be scarce able to receive them. And therefore your lordship may be sure the word of God will one day take place.

*Worces.* They were well occupied to bring you such news, and you have been well kept to have such resort unto you. Thou art the arrogant fellow, and stoutest fond fellow, that ever I knew.

*Phil.* I pray your lordship to bear with my hasty speech: for it is part of my corrupt nature to speak somewhat hastily; but, for all that, I mean with humility to do my duty to your lordship.

*Bon.* Mr. Philpot, my lords will trouble you no further at this time, but you shall go whence you came, and have such favour as in the mean while I can shew you: and upon Wednesday next you shall be called upon again to be heard what you can say for the maintenance of your error.

*Phil.* My lord, my desire is to be satisfied of you in that I required; and your lordship shall find me as I have said.

*Worces.* God send you more grace.

*Phil.* And increase the same in you, and open your eyes, that you may see to maintain his truth, and his true church.

Then the bishops rose, and after consulting together, caused a writing to be made, in which I think my blood by them was bought and sold, and thereto they put their hands; after which I was carried to my coal-house again. Thus endeth the fourth part of this tragedy.

The fifth examination of John Philpot was before the bishops of London, Rochester, Coventry, St. Asaph, and one other, Dr. Storey, Curtop, Dr. Saverson, Dr. Pendleton, with divers others, in my lord of London's palace.

*Bon.* Master Philpot, come you hither. I have desired my lords here, and other learned men, to take some pains once again to do you good; and because I do mind to sit in judgment on you to-morrow, as I am commanded, yet I would you should have as much favour as I can shew you, if you will be anything conformable; therefore play the wise man, and be not singular in your own opinion, but be ruled by these learned men.

*Phil.* My lord, in that you say you will sit on me in judgment to-morrow, I am glad thereof: for I was promised by them which sent me unto you, that I should have been judged the next day after: but promise hath not been kept with me, to my farther grief. I look for none other but death at your hands, and I am as ready to yield my life in Christ's cause, as you are to require it.

*St. Asaph.* It is most evident that St. Peter did build the catholic church at Rome. And Christ said, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church." Moreover the succession of bishops in the see of Rome can be proved from time to time, as it can be of none other place so well, which is a manifest probation of the catholic church as divers doctors do write.

*Phil.* That which you would have to be undoubted, is most uncertain and that by the authority which you allege of Christ, saying unto Peter, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church;" unless you can prove that rock to signify Rome, as you would now make me falsely believe. And although you could prove the successions of bishops from Peter, yet this is not sufficient to prove Rome the catholic church, unless you can prove the profession of Peter's faith, whereupon the catholic church is built, to have continued in his successors at Rome and at this present to remain.

*Bon.* Are there any more churches than one catholic church? And I pray, tell me into what faith were you baptised?

*Phil.* I acknowledge one holy catholic and apostolic church, whereof I am a member, and am of that catholic faith of Christ whereinto I was baptised.

*Coventry.* I pray, can you tell what this word catholic doth signify?

*Phil.* Yes, I can, thank God. The catholic faith, or the catholic church, is not, as the people are taught, that which is most universal, or by most part of men received, whereby you infer our faith to hang upon the multitude; but I esteem the catholic church to be as St. Augustine defineth, "We judge the catholic faith, of that which *hath been, is, and shall be.*" So that if you can be able to prove, that your faith and church hath been from the beginning taught, and is and shall be, then you may count yourselves catholic, otherwise not. Catholic is a Greek word, compounded of *κατα*, which signifieth *after, or according,* and *δλον*, a *sum, or principal, or whole.* So that catholic church, or catholic faith, is as much as to say, as the first, whole, sound, or chiefest faith.

*Bon.* Doth St. Augustine say so as he allegeth it? or doth he mean as he taketh the same? How say you, Mr. Curtop?

*Curtop.* Indeed, my lord, St. Augustine hath such a saying, speaking against the Donatists, that the catholic faith ought to be esteemed of things in time past, and as they are practised according to the same, and ought to be through all ages, and not after a new manner, as the Donatists began to profess.

*Phil.* You have said well, Mr. Curtop, and after the meaning of St. Augustine, and to confirm that which I have said for the signification of catholic.

*Cov.* Let the book be seen, my lord.

*Bon.* I pray you, my lord, be content, or in good faith I will break even off, and let all alone. Do you think that the catholic church (until within these few years, in which a few upon singularity have swerved from the same) hath ever been in error?

*Phil.* I do not think that the catholic church can err in doctrine: but I require you to prove this church of Rome to be the catholic church.

*Cur.* I can prove that Ireneus (which was within a hundred years after Christ) came to Victor, then bishop of Rome, to ask his advice about the excommunication of certain heretics, which he would not have done, if he had not taken him to be supreme head.

*Cov.* Mark well this argument. How are you able to answer the same? Answer if you can.

*Phil.* It is soon answered, my lord, for that is of no force; neither doth this fact of Ireneus make any more for the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, than mine hath done, who have been at Rome, as well as he, and might have spoken with the pope if I had list; and yet I would none in England did favour his supremacy more than I.

*St. Asaph.* You are more to blame for that you favour the same no better, since all the catholic church have taken him to be the supreme head of the church, besides this good man Ireneus.

*Phil.* It is not likely Ireneus so took him, or the primitive church: for I am able to shew seven general councils after Ireneus's time, wherein he was never taken for supreme head.

*Cov.* This man will never be satisfied, say what we can. It is but folly to reason any more with him.

*Phil.* O, my lords, would you have me satisfied with nothing? Judge, I pray you, who hath better authority, he which bringeth the example of one man going to Rome, or I that by these many general councils am able to prove, that the pope was never so taken in many hundred years after Christ, as by Nicene, Ephesine, the first and second Chalcedon, Constantinopolitan, Carthaginense, Aquileia.

*Cov.* Why will you not admit the church of Rome to be the catholic church? Wherein doth it dissent?

*Phil.* It followeth not the primitive catholic church, neither agreeth with the same. It were too long to recite all, but two things I will name, supremacy and transubstantiation.

*Saverson.* I wonder you will stand so steadfast in your error to your own destruction.

*Phil.* I am sure we are in no error, by the promise of Christ made to the faithful once, which is, that he will give to his true church such a spirit of wisdom, that the adversaries thereof should never be able to resist. And by this I know we are of the truth, for that neither by reasoning, neither by writing, your synagogue of Rome is able to answer. Where is there one of you all that ever hath been able to answer any of the godly ministers of Germany? Which of you all, at this day, is able to answer Calvin's Institutions, who is minister of Geneva?

*Saver.* A godly minister indeed, a receiver of cut-purses and runagate traitors! And of late, I can tell you, there is such contention fallen between him and his own sects, that he was obliged to fly the town about predestination. I tell you truth, for I came by Geneva here.

*Phil.* I am sure you blaspheme him and that church where he is minister. It is your church's disposition, when you cannot answer men by learning, to oppress them with blasphemies and false reports. For in the matter of predestination he is in no other opinion than all the doctors of the church be, agreeing to the scriptures.

*Saver.* Men are able to answer him if they will. And I pray which of you has answered bishop Fisher's book?

*Phil.* Yes, Mr. Doctor, that book is answered, and answered again: you, if you like to seek what hath been written against him, may do so. Dr. Storey, you have done me great injury, and without law have straitly imprisoned me, more like a dog than a man. And besides this you have not kept promise with me, for you promised that I should be judged the next day after.

*Storey.* I am come now to keep promise with thee. Was there ever such a fantastical man as this is? These heretics be worse than brute beasts; for they will upon a vain singularity take upon them to be wiser than all men, being indeed very fools, not able to maintain that which of an arrogant obstinacy they do stand in.

*Phil.* I am content to abide your railing judgment of me now. Say what you will, I am content, for I am under your feet to be trodden on as you like. God forgive it you; yet I am no heretic. Neither you nor any other shall be able to prove that I hold one jot against the word of God otherwise than a christian man ought.

*Storey.* The word of God, forsooth! It is but folly to reason with these heretics, for they are incurable and desperate. But yet I may reason

with thee, not that I have any hope to win thee. Whom wilt thou appoint to judge of the word whereto thou standest ?

*Phil.* Verily the word itself.

*Storey.* Do you not see the ignorance of this beastly heretic ? he willethe the word to be judged of the word. Can the word speak ? Let us hear what wise authority thou canst bring in ?

*Phil.* It is the word of Christ in St. John, "The word which I have spoken, shall judge in the last day." If the word shall judge in the last day, how much more ought it to judge of our doings now ? and I am sure I have my judge on my side, who will absolve and justify me in another world. Howsoever now it shall please you by authority unrighteously to judge of me and others, sure I am in another world to judge you.

*Storey.* Well, sir, you are like to go after your fathers, Latimer the sophister, and Ridley, who had nothing to allege for himself but that he learned his heresy of Cranmer. But I dispatched them ; and I tell thee that there never yet hath been one burnt, but I have spoken with him, and have been a cause of his dispatch.

*Phil.* You will have the more to answer for, Mr. Doctor, as you shall feel in another world, how much soever you now triumph.

*Storey.* I tell thee I will never be confessed thereof. And because I cannot now tarry, I pray one of you tell my lord, that my coming was to signify to his lordship that he must out of hand put this heretic away.

*Phil.* I thank you there-for with all my heart, and God forgive it you.

*Storey.* What, dost thou thank me ? If I had thee in my study half an hour, I think I should make thee sing another song.

*Phil.* No, I stand upon too sure ground to be overcome by you now.

And thus they departed all away from me, until I was left alone. Afterwards with my keeper going to my coal-house, I met my lord of London, who spake unto me gently, saying, "Philpot, if there be any pleasure I may show you in my house, I pray you require it, and you shall have it."

*Phil.* My lord, the pleasure that I will require of your lordship is to hasten my judgment which is committed unto you, and so to despatch me forth of this miserable world, unto my eternal rest.

And for all his fair speech I cannot attain hitherto, this fortnight's space, neither fire nor candle, nor good lodging. But it is good for a man to be brought low in this world, and to be counted amongst the vilest, that he may in time of reward receive exaltation and glory. Therefore praised be God that hath humbled me, and given me grace to be content therewithal.

The sixth examination of John Philpot took place on the 6th of November, before the lord Chamberlain, viscount Hereford, lords Rich, St. John, Windsor, and Chandos, sir John Bridges, lieutenant of the Tower, and two more, with the bishop of London and Dr. Chedsey.

Before that I was called afore the lords, and whiles they were in sitting down, the bishop of London whispered in mine ear, willing me to use myself before the lords of the queen's council prudently. And after that the lords were set, he placed himself at the end of the table ; where I kneeling down, the lords commanded me to stand up, and the bishop spake to me thus :

"Master Philpot, I have heretofore both privately myself, and openly before the lords of the clergy, more times than once, caused you to be

conversed with, to reform you of your errors, but I have not yet found you so tractable as I could wish: wherefore now I have desired these honourable lords of the temporality, and of the queen's majesty's council, who have taken pains with me this day, I thank them for it, to hear you and what you can say, that they may be judges whether I have sought all means to do you good or not: and I dare be bold to say in their behalf, that if you shew yourself conformable to the queen's proceedings, you shall find as much favour for your deliverance as you can wish. I speak not this to fawn upon you, but to bring you home unto the church. Now let them hear what you have to say."

*Philpot.* I thank God that I have this day such an honourable audience to declare my mind before. And I cannot but commend your lordship's equity in this behalf, which agreeth with the order of the primitive church; which was, if anybody had been suspected of heresy, as I am now, he should be called before the archbishop or bishop of the diocese where he was suspected, in the presence of others his fellow-bishops and learned elders, and in hearing of the laity: where, after the judgment of God's word declared, with the assent of other bishops and consent of the people, he was condemned to exile for a heretic, or absolved. The second point of that good order I have found at your lordship's hands already, in being called before you and your fellow bishops; and now I have the third sort of men, at whose hands I trust to find more righteousness in my cause than I have found with the clergy. God grant that I may have at last the judgment of God's word concerning the same."

*Bonner.* Mr. Philpot, I pray you ere you go any further, tell my lords here plainly, whether you were by me or by my procurement committed to prison or not, and whether I have shewn you any cruelty since you have been committed to my prison.

*Phil.* If it shall please your lordship to give me leave to declare forth my matter, I will touch that afterward.

*Lord Rich.* Answer first of all to my lord's two questions, and then proceed to the matter. How say you? Were you imprisoned by my lord or not? Can you find any fault since with his cruel using of you?

*Phil.* I cannot lay to my lord's charge the cause of my imprisonment, neither may I say that he hath used me cruelly; but rather for my part I may say, that I have found more gentleness at his hands than I did at my own ordinary's, for the time I have been within his prison, because he hath called me three or four times to mine answer, to which I was not called in a year and a half before.

*Rich.* Well, now go to your matter.

*Phil.* The matter is, that I am imprisoned for the disputations held by me in the convocation-house against the sacrament of the altar, which matter was not moved principally by me, but by the prolocutor, with the consent of the queen's majesty and of the whole house, and that house, being a member of the parliament-house, which ought to be a place of free speech for all men of the house, by the ancient and laudable custom of this realm. Wherefore I think myself to have sustained hitherto great injury for speaking my conscience freely in such a place as I might lawfully do it: and I desire your honourable lordships' judgment who are of the parliament, whether of right I ought to be im-



peached for the same, and sustain the loss of my living, and moreover of my life, as it is sought.

*Rich.* You are deceived herein, for the convocation-house is no part of the parliament-house.

*Phil.* My lord, I have always understood the contrary by such as are more expert men in things of this realm than I: and again, the title of every act leadeth me to think otherwise, which allegeth the agreement of the spirituality and temporality assembled together.

*Rich.* That is meant of the spiritual lords of the upper house. The convocation-house is called together by one writ of the summons of the parliament of an old custom: notwithstanding that house is no part of the parliament-house.

*Phil.* My lords, I must be contented to abide your judgment in this behalf.

*Rich.* We have told you the truth. And yet we would not that you should be troubled for any thing that there was spoken, so that you having spoken amiss, do declare now that you are sorry for what you have said.

*Bon.* My lords, he hath spoken there manifest heresy, yea, and there stoutly maintained the same against the blessed sacrament of the altar, and would not allow the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the same: yet, my lords, God forbid that I should endeavour to shew him extremity for so doing, in case he will repent and revoke his wicked sayings; and if in faith he will so do, with your lordships' consent, he shall be released by and by; if he will not, he shall have the extremity of the law, and that shortly.

*Chamberlain.* My lord speaketh reasonably unto you. Take it whiles it is offered you.

*Rich.* How say you, will you acknowledge the real presence of the body and blood of Christ, as all learned men of this realm do, in the mass, and as I do, and will believe as long as I live, I do protest it?

*Phil.* My lord, I acknowledge in the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ such a presence as the word of God doth allow and teach me.

*Bon.* A sacrament is the sign of a holy thing; so that there is both the sign, which is the accident (as the whiteness, roundness, and shape of bread,) and there is also the thing itself, as very Christ both God and man. But these heretics will have the sacrament to be but bare signs. How say you? declare unto my lords here whether you allow the thing itself in the sacrament, or no.

*Phil.* I do confess that in the Lord's supper there are in due respects both the sign and the thing signified, when it is duly administered after the institution of Christ. If I have not plainly declared my judgment unto you, it is because I cannot speak without the danger of my life.

*Rich.* There is none of us here who seek thy life, or mean to take any advantage of that thou shalt speak.

*Phil.* Although I mistrust not your lordships that be here of the temporality; yet here is one that sitteth against me that will lay it to my charge even to death. Notwithstanding, seeing you require me to declare my mind of the presence of Christ in the sacrament, that ye may perceive I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ, neither do main-

tain any opinion without probable and sufficient authority of Scripture, I will show you frankly my mind, whatsoever shall ensue unto me therefor. There are two things principally, by which the clergy at this day deceive the whole realm; that is the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, and the name of the catholic church: which they do both usurp, having indeed neither of them. And as touching their sacrament which they term of the altar, I say that it is not the sacrament of Christ neither in the same is there any manner of Christ's presence. Wherefore they deceive the queen, and you, the nobility of this realm, in making you to believe that to be a sacrament which is none, and cause you to commit manifest idolatry in worshipping that for God, which is no God. And in testimony of this to be true, besides manifest proof, which I am able to make, I will yield my life; which to do, if it were not upon sure ground, it were to my utter damnation. And where they take on them the name of the catholic church, they are nothing so, calling you from the true religion which was revealed and taught in king Edward's time, unto vain superstition. And this I will say for the trial hereof, that if they can prove themselves to be the catholic church, I will never be against their doings, but revoke all that I have said. And I shall desire you, my lords, to be a means for me to the queen's majesty, that I may be brought to the just trial hereof. Yea, I will not refuse to stand against any ten of the best of them in this realm: and if they be able to prove otherwise than I have said, I will here promise to recant whatsoever I have said, and to consent to them in all points.

*Rich.* All heretics boast of the Spirit of God, and every one would have a church by himself; as Joan of Kent, and the Anabaptists. I had myself Joan of Kent a week in my house after the writ was out for her being burnt, where my lord of Canterbury and bishop Ridley resorted almost daily unto her: but she was so high in the Spirit that they could do nothing with her for all their learning. But she went wilfully into the fire, as you do now.

*Phil.* As for Joan of Kent she was a vain woman—I knew her well, and a heretic indeed, well worthy to be burnt, because she stood against one of the manifest articles of our faith, contrary to the Scriptures. And such vain spirits be soon known from the true Spirit of God and his church, for the same abideth within the limits of God's word, and will not go out of it.

*Bon.* I pray you, how will you join me these two scriptures together: "The Father is greater than I;" and, "I and the Father are one." Now show your cunning, and join these two scriptures by the word, if you can.

*Phil.* Yes, that I can right well. For we must understand that in Christ there be two natures, the divinity and humanity; and in respect of his humanity it is spoken of Christ, "The Father is greater than I." But in respect of his deity, he said again, "The Father and I are one." I have sufficient scripture for the proof of that I have said. For the first, it is written of Christ in the Psalms, "Thou hast made him a little lesser than angels." And the second scripture itself declareth, that notwithstanding Christ did abase himself in our human nature, yet he is still one in deity with the Father. And this Paul to the Hebrews doth more at large set forth.

*Bon.* How can that be, seeing St. Paul saith that "the letter killeth, but it is the spirit that giveth life?"

*Phil.* St. Paul meaneth not that the word of God written in itself killeth, which is the word of life, and faithful testimony of the Lord; but that the word is unprofitable, and killeth him that is void of the Spirit of God, although he be the wisest man of the world. And therefore Paul said that the gospel to some was a savour of life unto life, and to some other a savour of death unto death. Also an example hereof we have in John vi. of them who hearing the word of God without the Spirit were offended thereby: wherefore Christ said, "The flesh profiteth nothing; it is the Spirit that quickeneth."

*Bon.* You see, my lords, that this man will have his own mind; and will wilfully cast himself away. I am sorry for him.

*Phil.* The words that I have spoken are none of mine, but the gospel, whereon I ought to stand. And if you, my lord of London, can bring better authority for the faith you would draw me unto, than that which I stand upon, I will gladly hear the same, by you or by any other in this realm.

*Rich.* What countryman be you? Are you of the Philpots of Hampshire?

*Phil.* Yea, my lord; I was sir P. Philpot's son of Hampshire.

*Rich.* He is my near kinsman; wherefore I am the more sorry for him.

*Phil.* I thank your lordship that it pleaseth you to challenge kindred of a poor prisoner.

*Rich.* In faith I would go a hundred miles on my bare feet, to do you good. You said even now, that you would desire to maintain your belief before ten of the best in the realm.—I dare be bold to procure for you of the queen's majesty that you shall have ten learned men to reason with you, and twenty or forty of the nobility to hear, so you will promise to abide their judgment. How say you, will you promise here, afore my lords, so to do?

*Phil.* There are causes why I may not so do, unless I were sure they would judge according to the word of God.

*Rich.* O, I perceive you will have no man judge but yourself, and think yourself wiser than all the learned men in this realm.

*Phil.* My lord, I seek not to be mine own judge, but am willing to be judged by others, so that the order of judgment in matters of religion be kept as it was in the primitive church, which is, that God's will by his word was sought; and therefore both the spirituality and temporality were gathered together, and gave their consents and judgment, and such kind of judgment I will stand to.

*Rich.* I marvel why you do deny the express words of Christ in the sacrament, saying, "This is my body:" and yet you will continue to say it is not his body. Is not God omnipotent? And is not he able as well by his omnipotency to make it his body, as he was to make man flesh of a piece of clay? Did not he say, "This is my body which shall be betrayed for you!" And was not his very body betrayed for us? Therefore it must needs be his body.

*Bon.* My lord Rich, you have said wonderful well and learnedly. But you might have begun with him before also, in the sixth of John, where Christ promised to give his body in the sacrament of the altar, saying, "The bread which I will give is my flesh." How can you answer to that?

*Phil.* You may be soon answered: that saying of St. John is, that

the humanity of Christ, which he took upon him for the redemption of man, is the bread of life whereby our souls and bodies are sustained to eternal life, of which the sacrament bread is a lively representation, to all such as believe on his passion. And as Christ saith in the same sixth of John, "I am the bread that came down from Heaven;" but yet he is not material, neither natural bread: likewise the bread is his flesh, not natural or substantial, but by signification, and by grace in the sacrament.

And now to my lord Rich's argument. I do not deny the express words of Christ in the sacrament, "This is my body:" but I deny that they are naturally and corporeally to be taken: they must be taken spiritually, according to the express declaration of Christ, saying that the words of the sacrament which the Capernaumites took carnally, as the Papists now do, ought to be taken spiritually and not carnally, as they falsely imagine, not weighing what interpretation Christ hath made in this behalf, neither following the institution of Christ, neither the use of the apostles and of the primitive church.

*Bon.* What say you to the omnipotency of God? Is not he able to perform that which he spake, as my lord Rich hath very well said? I tell thee, that God by his omnipotency, may make himself to be this carpet if he will.

*Phil.* As concerning the omnipotency of God, I say, that God is able to do whatsoever he willeth; but he willeth nothing that is not agreeable to his word; that is blasphemy which my lord of London hath spoken, that God may become a carpet. For, God cannot do that which is contrary to his nature, and it is contrary to the nature of God to be a carpet. A carpet is a creature; and God is the creator; and the creator cannot be the creature: wherefore, unless you can declare by the word, that Christ is otherwise present with us than spiritually and sacramentally by grace, as he hath taught us, you pretend the omnipotency of God in vain.

*Bon.* Why, wilt thou not say that Christ is really present in the sacrament? Or do you deny it?

*Phil.* I deny not that Christ is really present in the sacrament to the receiver thereof according to Christ's institution. I mean by really present, present indeed.

*Bon.* Is God really present every where?

*Phil.* He is so. The prophet Isaiah saith that God filleth all places: and Christ saith that wheresoever there be two or three gathered together in his name, there is he in the midst of them. Not his humanity, but the Deity, according to that you demanded.

*Rich.* My lord of London, I pray you let Dr. Chedsey reason with him, and let us see how he can answer him, for I tell thee he is a learned man indeed, and one that I do credit before a great many of you, whose doctrine the queen's majesty and the whole realm doth well allow, therefore hear him.

*Ched.* You have of the scriptures the four evangelists for the probation of Christ's real presence to be in the sacrament after the words of consecration, with St. Paul to the Corinthians; which all say, "This is my body." They say not, as you would have me believe, this is not

the body. But especially the 6th of John proveth this most manifestly, where Christ promised to give his body, which he performed in his last supper, as it appeareth by these words—"The bread which I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world."

*Phil.* My lord Rich, with your leave I must needs interrupt him a little, because he speaketh open blasphemy against the death of Christ: for if that promise, brought in by St. John, was performed by Christ in his last supper, then he needed not to have died after he had given the sacrament.

*Windsor.* There were never any that denied the words of Christ as you do. Did he not say, "This is my body?"

*Phil.* My lord, I pray you be not deceived. We do not deny the words of Christ: but we say, these words are of none effect, being spoken otherwise than Christ did institute them in his last supper. For example: Christ biddeth the church to baptise in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. If a priest say these words over the water, and there be no child to be baptised, these words only pronounced do not make baptism. And again, baptism is only baptism to such as be baptised, and to none other standing by.

*Lord Chamberlain.* My lord, let me ask him one question. What kind of presence in the sacrament, when it is duly administered according to Christ's ordinance, do you allow?

*Phil.* If any come worthily to receive, then do I confess the presence of Christ wholly to be with all the fruits of his passion, unto the said worthy receiver, by the Spirit of God, and that Christ is thereby joined to him, and he to Christ.

*Bon.* My lords, take no heed of him, for he goeth about to deceive you. His similitude that he bringeth in of baptism, is nothing like to the sacrament of the altar. For if I should say to Sir John Bridges, being with me at supper, and having a fat capon, "Take, eat, this is a capon," although he eat not thereof, is it not a capon still? And likewise of a piece of beef, or of a cup of wine, if I say, "Drink, this is a cup of wine," is it not so, even when he drinketh not thereof?

*Phil.* My lord, your similitudes are too gross for so high mysteries as we have in hand. Like must be compared to like, and spiritual things with spiritual, and not spiritual things with corporeal things. The sacraments are to be considered according to the word which Christ spake of them, of which—"Take ye, and eat ye," be some of the chief concurrent to the making of the same, without which there can be no sacraments. And, therefore, the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ is called communion.

*Bon.* My lords, I am sorry I have troubled you so long with this obstinate man, with whom we can do no good; I will trouble you no longer now.

Thus endeth the sixth examination. The seventh took place on the 19th of November, before the bishops of London and Rochester, the chancellor of Lichfield, Dr. Chedsey, and master Dee, bachelor of divinity.

*Bon.* Sirrah, come hither. How chance you came no sooner? Is it well done of you to make master chancellor and me to tarry for you this hour? By the faith of my body, half an hour before mass, and half an hour even at mass, looking for your coming!

*Phil.* My lord, it is well known to you that I am a prisoner, and that the doors be shut upon me, and I cannot come when I please; but as soon as the doors of my prison were open, I came immediately.

*Bon.* We sent for thee to the intent that thou shouldst have come to mass. How say you, would you have come to mass or no, if the doors had been sooner opened?

*Phil.* My lord, that is another manner of question, which I need not answer, because I was confined till now.

*Bon.* Lo, master chancellor, I told you we should have a froward fellow of him; he will answer directly to nothing. I have had him before the spiritual lords and the temporal, thus he fareth still; yet he reckoneth himself better learned than all the realm. Yea, before the temporal lords the other day, he was so foolish as to challenge the best: he would make himself learned, and is a very ignorant fool indeed.

*Phil.* I reckon I answered your lordship before the lords plain enough; so that the lord chamberlain himself acknowledged that he was well answered.

*Bon.* Why answerest thou not directly, whether thou wouldst have gone to mass or not if thou hadst come in time?

*Phil.* Mine answer shall be thus, that if your lordship can prove your mass, whereunto you would have me to come, to be the true service of God, whereunto a christian ought to come, I will afterwards come with a good will.

*Bon.* Look, I pray you; the king and queen, and all the nobility of the realm do come to mass, and yet he will not. By my faith, thou art too well handled; thou shalt be worse handled hereafter, I warrant thee.

*Phil.* If to lie in a blind coal-house may be counted good handling, both without fire and candle, then may it be said I am well handled. Your lordship hath power to entreat my body as you list.

*Bon.* Thou art a very ignorant fool. Master chancellor, in good faith I have handled him and his fellows with as much gentleness as they can desire. I did let their friends come unto them to relieve them. And wot you what? the other day they had gotten themselves up into the top of the leads, with a number of apprentices, gazing abroad as though they had been at liberty. But I will cut off your resort: and as for the apprentices, they were as good not to come to you, if I take them.

*Phil.* My Lord, we have no such resort to us, as your lordship imagineth, and there come very few unto us. And of apprentices I know not one, neither have we any leads to walk on over our coal-house, that I know of: wherefore your lordship hath mistaken your mark.

*Bon.* Nay, now you think because my lord chancellor is gone, that we will burn no more; yes, I warrant thee, I will dispatch you shortly, unless you recant.

After much further discussion, my lord chancellor said to Dr. Chedsey, "Well, master doctor, you see we can do no good in persuading of him. Let us minister the articles which my lord hath left us unto him. How say you, master Philpot, to these articles? Master Johnson, write his answers.

*Phil.* Master chancellor, you have no authority to inquire of me my belief in such articles as you go about, for I am not of my lord of

London's diocese; and, to be brief with you, I will make no further answer herein than I have already to the bishop.

"Why then," said my lord chancellor, "let us go our ways, and let his keeper take him away." Thus endeth the seventh part of this tragedy.

The next day in the morning betimes, the bishop sent for master Philpot; and the day after, an hour before day, he sent for him again by the keeper.

*Philpot.* I wonder what my lord meaneth, that he sendeth for me thus early. I fear he will use some violence towards me, wherefore I pray you make him this answer, that if he did send for me by an order of law, I will come and answer; otherwise, since I am not of his diocese, neither is he mine ordinary, I will not come, unless I be violently constrained.

The keeper went away to the bishop, and returned with two others, saying I must come, whether I would or no; and therewith one of them took me with force by the arm, and I was led up into the bishop's gallery.

*Bonner.* What! thou wilt not come without thou be fetched and forced.

*Phil.* I am brought indeed, my lord, by violence unto you, and your cruelty is such, that I am afraid to come before you; I would your lordship would gently proceed against me by the law.

*Bon.* I am blamed by the lords the bishops, that I have not dispatched thee ere this; and am commanded to take a further order with thee, and in good faith if thou wilt not relent, I will make no further delay. Marry, if thou wilt yet be conformable, I will forgive thee all that is past, and thou shalt have no hurt for any thing that is already spoken or done.

*Phil.* My lord, I have answered you already in this behalf, what I will do.

*Bon.* Hadst thou not a pig brought thee the other day with a knife in it? Wherefore was it but to kill thyself? or, as it is told me, to kill me? But I fear thee not; I think I am able to tread thee under my feet do the best thou canst.

*Phil.* My lord, I cannot deny but that there was a knife in the pig that was brought me. But who put it in, or for what purpose, I know not, unless it were because he that sent the meat, thought I was without a knife. But other things your lordship needeth not to fear; for I was never without a knife, since I came to prison. And touching your own person, you shall live long if you should live till I go about to kill you; and I confess, by violence your lordship is able to overcome me.

*Bon.* I charge thee to answer to mine articles. Hold him a book. Thou shalt swear to answer truly to all such articles as I shall demand.

*Phil.* I refuse to swear in these causes before your lordship, because you are not mine ordinary.

*Bon.* I am thine ordinary, and here do pronounce by sentence peremptory, that I am thine ordinary, and that thou art of my diocese. And I make thee [taking one of his servants by the arm] to be my notary. And now hearken to my articles.

When he had read them, he monished me to make answer; and said to the keeper, "Fetch me his fellows, and I shall make them to be witnesses against him." In the meanwhile came in one of the sheriffs of London, whom the bishop placed by him, saying, "Master sheriff, I would you should understand how I do proceed against this man. You shall hear what

articles this man doth maintain ;” and so he read a rabblement of feigned articles : that I should deny baptism to be necessary to them that were born of Christian parents ; that I denied fasting and prayer, and all other good deeds ; and I maintained only bare faith to be sufficient to salvation, whatsoever a man did besides ; and I maintained God to be the author of all sin and wickedness.

*Phil.* Hah, my lord ! have you nothing of truth to charge me withal, but you must be fain to imagine these blasphemous lies against me ! You might as well have said I had killed your father. The Scriptures say, “ God will destroy all men that speak lies.” And is not your lordship ashamed to say, before this gentleman, (who is unknown to me,) that I maintain what you have rehearsed ? which if I did I were well worthy to be counted a heretic, and to be burnt to ashes. Before I answer you I will first know you to be my ordinary, and that you may lawfully charge me with such things.

*Bon.* Well, then, I will make thy fellows to be witnesses herein against thee : where are they ? Come hither, sirs : you shall swear by the contents of that book, that you shall say the truth of all such articles as shall be demanded of you concerning this man here present, and take you heed of him that he doth not deceive you, as I am afraid he doth and strengtheneth you in your errors.

*Prisoners.* My lord, we will not swear, except we know whereto ; we can accuse him of no evil, we have been but a while acquainted with him.

*Phil.* I wonder your lordship, knowing the law, will go about, contrary to the same, for your lordship doth take them to be heretics, and by the law a heretic cannot be a witness.

*Bon.* Yes, one heretic against another may be well enough. And, master sheriff, I will make one of them to be witness against another.

*Prisoners.* No, my lord.

*Bon.* No, you will not ? I will make you swear, whether you will or no. I ween they be Anabaptists, master sheriff : they think it not lawful to swear before a judge.

*Phil.* We think it lawful to swear for a man judicially called, as we are not now, but in a blind corner.

*Bon.* Why, then, seeing you will not swear against your fellow, you shall swear for yourselves ; and I do here in the presence of the sheriff object the same articles unto you, as I have done unto him, and require you, under pain of excommunication, to answer particularly unto every one of them when you shall be examined, as you shall be soon, by my register and some of my chaplains.

*Prisoners.* My lord, we will not accuse ourselves. If any man can lay any thing against us, we are here ready to answer thereto : otherwise we pray your lordship not to burthen us ; for some of us are here before you, we know no just cause why.

Here Bonner turning to master sheriff, said, “ I will trouble you no longer with these froward men.” And so he rose up, and was going away, talking with the sheriff ; when Philpot said, “ Master sheriff, I pray you record how my lord proceedeth against us in corners, without all order of law, having no just cause to lay against us.”



And after this we were all commanded to the stocks, in which we were confined the whole of the day, and only released at night by special and secret favour from the keeper.

The Sunday after, the bishop came into the coal-house at night, with the keeper, and viewed the house, saying that he was never there before: whereby a man may guess how he kept God's commandment in visiting the prisoners. Between eight and nine he sent for me.

*Bon.* Sir, I have great displeasure of the queen and council for keeping you so long, and letting you have so much liberty; and besides that, you strengthen the other prisoners in their errors, as I have laid wait for your doings, and am certified of you well enough: I will sequester you therefore from them, and you shall hurt them no more as you have done, and I will out of hand dispatch you as I am commanded unless you will be a conformable man.

*Phil.* My lord, you have my body in your custody, you may transport it whither you please, I am content. And I wish you would make as quick expedition in my judgment, as you say; I long for it: and as for conformity, I am ready to yield to all truth, if any can bring better than I.

*Bon.* Why, will you believe no man but yourself, whatsoever they say?

*Phil.* My belief must not hang upon men's sayings, without sure authority of God's word, which if they can shew me, I will be pliant to the same; otherwise I cannot go from my certain faith to that which is uncertain.

*Bon.* Have you then the truth only? Are you the man of wisdom, and must it die with you?

*Phil.* My lord, I will speak my mind freely unto you, and upon no malice that I bear to you, before God. You have not the truth, neither are you of the church of God; but you persecute both the truth and the true church of God, for which cause you cannot prosper long.

You see God doth not prosper your doings according to your expectations: he hath of late shewed his just judgment against one of your greatest doers, who by report died miserably.<sup>f</sup> I envy not the authority you are in. You that have learning, should know best how to rule. And seeing God hath restored you to your dignity and living again, use the same to God's glory, and to the setting forth of his true religion; otherwise it will not continue, do what you can.

*Bon.* That good man was punished for such as thou art. Where is the keeper? Come, let him have him to the place that is provided for him. Go your way before: keep all men from him, and narrowly search him: also let two of your men watch him.

"I afterwards passed through St. Paul's up to Lollards' Tower, and after that turned along the west-side of St. Paul's through the wall, and passing through six or seven doors, came to my lodging through many straits; where I called to remembrance that strait is the way to heaven. And I was confined in a tower, right on the other side of Lollards' Tower, as high almost as the battlements of St. Paul's, eight feet in breadth,

<sup>f</sup> Gardiner, bishop of Winchester; of whose miserable death, as well as evil life, a sketch is given in a preceding page.

and thirteen in length, and almost over the prison where I was before, having a window opening towards the east, by which I could look over the tops of a great many houses, but saw no man passing into them. When I came to my place, the keeper took off my gown, searched me very narrowly, and took away a pen-case, ink-horn, girdle, and knife, but I had an inkling a little before I was called, of my removal, and thereupon made an errand to the stool, where I cast away many a friendly letter; but that which I had written of my last examination before, I thrust into my hose, thinking the next day to have made an end thereof, and with walking it was fallen down to my leg, which he by feeling soon found out, and asked what that was. I said, they were certain letters; and with that he was very busy to have them out.

“Then he went away, and as he was going, one of them that came with him, said, that I did not deliver the writing I had in my hose, but two other letters I had in my hand before. ‘No did?’ quoth he, ‘I will go search him better:’ the which I hearing, conveyed my examination I had written into another place near my bed, and took all the letters I had in my purse, and was tearing them when he came again; and as he came I threw the same out of the window, saying that I heard what he said.”

The eighth examination took place before the bishops of London and St. David’s, master Mordant, and others, in the bishop’s chapel. The ninth and tenth examinations were before Bonner and his chaplains. The eleventh was on St. Andrew’s day, before the bishops of London, Durham, Chichester, and Bath, Dr. Chedsey, the prolocutor, and several others. The twelfth took place, on the 4th of December, before the bishops of London, Worcester, and Bangor. The thirteenth took place the day after, before the archbishop of York, and divers other bishops. To relate the whole of these would be tedious repetition of points already discussed. We therefore proceed to his fourteenth and final examination.

The bishop having sufficiently taken his pleasure with master Philpot in his private talks, and seeing his zealous, learned, and immutable constancy, thought it now high time to rid his hands of him; and therefore on the 13th, 14th, and 16th of December, sitting judicially in the consistory at Paul’s, he caused him to be brought thither before him and others, as it seemeth more for order’s sake than for any good affection to justice and right judgment. The bishop first speaking to master Philpot, said:

*Bon.* Master Philpot, amongst other things that were laid and objected unto you, these three things ye were especially charged and burdened withal. The first is, that you being fallen from the unity of Christ’s catholic church, do refuse and will not come to be reconciled thereunto. The second is, that you have blasphemously spoken against the sacrifice of the mass, calling it idolatry. And that you have spoken against the sacrament of the altar, denying the real presence of Christ’s body and blood to be in the same. According to the will and pleasure of the synod legative, ye have been oft by me invited and required to go from your said errors and heresies, and to return to the unity of the catholic church, which if ye will now willingly do, ye shall be mercifully and gladly received, charitably used, and have all the favour I can show you. And now, to tell you true, it is assigned and appointed me to give sentence against you, if you stand herein, and will not return. Wherefore, if ye so refuse, I do ask of

you whether you have any cause that you can shew why I now should not give sentence against you.

To this Mr. Philpot answered. "Under protestation, not to go from my appeal that I have made, and also not to consent to you as my competent judge, I say, respecting your first objection concerning the catholic church, I neither was nor am out of the same. And as to the sacrifice of the mass, and the sacrament of the altar, I never spoke against the same.<sup>a</sup> And as concerning the pleasure of the synod, I say that these twenty years I have been brought up in the faith of the true catholic church, which is contrary to your church, whereunto you would have me come: and in that time I have been many times sworn both in the reign of king Henry VIII. and of Edward his son, against the usurped power of the bishop of Rome, which oath I am bound in my conscience to keep, because I must perform unto the Lord my vow. But if you, or any of the synod, can by God's word persuade me that my oath was unlawful, and that I am bound by his law to come to your church, I will gladly yield unto you, otherwise not."

Bonner, not able with all his learned doctors to accomplish this offered condition, had recourse as usual to promises and threats; to which Mr. Philpot answered—"You and others of your sort are hypocrites, and I wish all the world knew your hypocrisy, your tyranny, ignorance, and idolatry." On this the bishop for that time dismissed him, commanding that on Monday the 16th of the same month, he should again be brought there to have the definitive sentence of condemnation pronounced against him, if he then remained resolved.

The day being come, Mr. Philpot was accordingly presented before the bishops of London, Bath, Worcester, and Litchfield, when the former thus began. "My lords, my predecessor, when he went to give sentence against a heretic, used to make this prayer—*Deus qui errantibus, ut in viam possint redire, justitie veritatisque tue lumen ostendis, da cunctis qui christiana professione censentur, et illa respirare qua huic inimica sint nomini, et ea quæ sint apta sectari per Christum Dominum nostrum*, Amen. This example I will follow. And so he repeated it with a loud voice in Latin. Then Mr. Philpot said, "I wish you would speak in English, that all men might understand you: for St. Paul willeth that all things spoken in the congregation to edify, should be spoken in a tongue that all men might understand."

Whereupon the bishop did read it in English: and when he came to these words, "To refuse those things which are foes to his name," Philpot said, "Then they all must turn away from you; for you are enemies to that name, (meaning Christ's name;) and God save us from such hypocrites as would have things in a tongue that men cannot understand. I am sorry to see you sit in the place that you now sit in, pretending to execute justice, and to do nothing less but deceive all men in this realm." And turning to the people, he said, "Oh! all you gentlemen, beware of these men, (the bishops,) and all their doings, contrary to the primitive church. I would know of you, my lord, by what authority you proceed against me?"

*Bon.* Because I am bishop of London.

<sup>a</sup> Here either the registrar belieth Philpot, or else he meant as not offending the law, thereby to be accused: for his former examinations do declare that he spake against the sacrament.

*Phil.* Well, then you are not my bishop, nor have I offended in your diocese: and, moreover, I have appealed from you, and therefore by your own law you ought not to proceed against me, especially being brought hither from another place by violence. Is it not enough, my lord, for you to worry your own sheep, but you must also meddle with those of other men?

Then the bishop delivered two books to Mr. Philpot, one of the civil, and the other of the canon law, out of which he would have proved that he had authority to proceed against him as he did. Mr. Philpot perusing them, and seeing the small and slender proof that was there alleged, said to the bishop—"I perceive that your law and divinity is all one; for you have knowledge in neither of them; and I wish you knew your own ignorance: but you dance in a net, and think that no man doth see you." Hereupon they had much talk: Bonner said, "Philpot, as concerning your objections against my jurisdiction, you shall understand that both the civil and canon laws make against you: and as for your appeal, it is not allowed in this case: for it is concluded in the law, that there is no appeal from a judge executing the sentence of the law." Mr. Philpot, undaunted by this speech, replied, "My lord, it appeareth by your interpretation of the law, that you have no knowledge therein, and that you do not understand the law; for if you did, you would not bring in that passage. You profess Christ, and maintain antichrist; you profess the gospel, and maintain superstition, and you are able to charge me with nothing. You are foes to all truth, and all your doings are full of idolatry, saving the article of the Trinity.

Whilst they were thus debating, there came thither Sir William Garret, then mayor of London, Sir Martin Bowes, and Thomas Leigh, then sheriff of the city, and sat down with the bishops in the consistory. No sooner were they seated than Bonner again addressed Mr. Philpot with the prayer, and again repeated the charge against him; after which he addressed him in a formal exhortation, which he had no sooner ended than Mr. Philpot turned himself to the lord-mayor, and said—"I am glad, my lord, now to stand before that authority, that hath defended the gospel and the truth of God's word: but I am sorry to see that that authority, which representeth the king and queen's persons, should now be changed, and be at the command of antichrist; and I am glad that God hath given me power to stand here this day, to declare and defend my faith, which is founded on Christ.

"As touching your first objection, I say, that I am of the catholic church, whereof I never was out, and that your church is the church of Rome, and so the Babylonian, and not the catholic church; of that church I am not. As touching your second objection, that I should speak against the sacrifice of the mass, I do say, that I have not spoken against the true sacrifice, but I have spoken against your private masses that you use in corners, which is blasphemy to the true sacrifice; for your daily sacrifice is reiterated blasphemy against Christ's death, and it is a lie of your own invention; and that abominable sacrifice which you set upon the altar, and use in your private masses, instead of the living sacrifice, is idolatry. And wherein you lay to my charge, that I deny the body and blood of Christ to be in the sacrament of the altar, I cannot tell what altar you mean, whether it be the altar of the cross, or the

altar of stone: and if you call it the sacrament of the altar in respect of the altar of stone, then I deny your Christ, for it is a false one.

“And as touching your transubstantiation, I utterly deny it, for it was first brought in by a pope. As concerning your offer made from the synod, which is gathered together in antichrist’s name; prove to me that you be of the catholic church, and I will follow you, and do as you would have me. But you are idolators, and traitors; for in your pulpits ye rail against good kings, as king Henry and king Edward his son, who have stood against the usurped power of the pope of Rome; against whom I have also taken an oath, which, if you can shew me by God’s law that I have taken unjustly, I will then yield unto you: but I pray God turn the king and queen’s heart from your church.”

Here the bishop of Coventry began, saying: In our true catholic church are the apostles, evangelists, and martyrs; but before Martin Luther there was no apostle, evangelist, or martyr of your church.

*Phil.* Will you know the cause why? Christ did prophesy that in the latter days there should come false prophets and hypocrites, as you be.

*Cov.* Your church of Geneva is that which Christ prophesied of.

*Phil.* I allow the church of Geneva, and the doctrine of the same; for it is una, catholica, et apostolica, and doth follow the apostles’ doctrine.

And after this they had great conference together; but when Bonner saw that by learning they were not able to convince master Philpot, he brought forth a knife and a bladder full of powder, and turning himself unto the mayor, said: “My lord, this man had a roasted pig brought to him, and this knife was put secretly between the skin and flesh thereof. And also this powder under pretence that it was good and comfortable for him to eat and drink; which powder was only to make ink to write withal. For when his keeper perceived it, he took it and brought it unto me: which when I saw I thought it had been gunpowder, and thereupon put fire to it, but it would not burn. Then I took it for poison, and so gave it to a dog, but it was not so. I then took a little water, and made as good ink as ever I did write withal. Therefore, my lord, you may understand what a naughty fellow this is.”

*Phil.* Ah, my lord, have you nothing else to charge me withal, but these trifles, seeing I stand upon life and death? Doth the knife in the pig prove the church of Rome to be the catholic church? Doth the ink powder certify transubstantiation and purgatory?

Then the bishop brought forth a certain instrument, containing articles and questions, agreed upon both in Oxford and Cambridge. Also he exhibited two books in print: the one was the catechism composed in king Edward’s days, in the year 1552, the other concerning the report of the disputation in the convocation-house, mention whereof is above expressed. Moreover he brought forth two letters, and laid them to Mr. Philpot’s charge: the one was addressed to him by a friend, complaining of the bishop’s ill usage of a young man named Bartlet Green; the other was a consolatory letter from Lady Vane. Besides these, was produced a memorial drawn up by Mr. Philpot to the queen and parliament, stating the irregularity of his being brought to bishop Bonner, he not being of his diocese; also complaining of the severity of his treatment. These various documents having been read, the bishop demanded of him, if the book intitled—“The true report of the dispu-

tation,' were of his penning or not? To this Mr. Philpot answered in the affirmative.

The bishops growing weary, and not being able by any sufficient ground, either of God's word, or of the true ancient catholic fathers, to convince and overcome him, began with flattering speech to persuade him; promising, that if he would revoke his opinions, and return to their Romish and Babylonian church, he would not only be pardoned that which was past, but also they would, with all favour and cheerfulness of heart, receive him again as a true member thereof. But when Bonner found that it would take no effect, he demanded of Mr. Philpot, whether he had any just cause to allege why he should not condemn him as a heretic? In answer, he again disowned and denounced the papal church; and in the end the bishop, seeing his steadfastness in the truth, openly pronounced the sentence of condemnation against him. In the reading whereof, when he came to these words—"And you an obstinate, pernicious, and impenitent heretic," Mr. Philpot said—"I thank God that I am a heretic out of your cursed church; I am no heretic before God. But God bless you, and give you grace to repent your wicked doings; and let all men beware of your bloody church."

Moreover, while Bonner was about the midst of the sentence, the bishop of Bath pulled him by the sleeve, and said, "My lord, my lord, know of him first whether he will recant or not." Then Bonner said, "O let him alone," and so read forth the sentence. And when he had ended, he delivered him to the sheriffs; and so two officers brought him through the bishop's house into Paternoster-row, and there his servant met him, and when he saw him, he said, "Ah! dear master." Then Philpot said to his man, "Content thyself, I shall do well enough; for thou shalt see me again." The officers then thrust the servant away, and took the master to Newgate, where they delivered him to the keeper. Then his man strove to go in after him, and one of the officers said unto him, Hence, fellow, what wouldst thou have? And he said—"I would speak with my master." Mr. Philpot then turned about, and said to him—"Tomorrow thou shalt speak with me."

When the under keeper understood it to be his servant, he gave him leave to go in with him. And Mr. Philpot and his man were turned into a little chamber on the right hand, and there remained a short time, when Alexander, the chief keeper, came unto him; who said—"Ah, hast thou not done well to bring thyself hither?" The martyr replied—"I must be content, for it is God's appointment; and I shall desire you to let me have your gentle favour, for you and I have been of old acquaintance." The keeper now attempted to change his views. "If you will recant," said he, "I will shew you any pleasure I can." Mr. Philpot answered—"I will never recant that which I have spoken, whilst I have my life, for it is most certain truth, and in witness hereof I will seal it with my blood." Then Alexander said,— "This is the saying of the whole pack of you heretics." Whereupon he commanded him to be set upon the block, and as many irons to be put upon his legs as he could bear! Well might it be said to the keeper—"Is this thy kindness to a friend?"

Then the clerk told Alexander in his ear, that Mr. Philpot had given

his man money. Alexander asked what money had his master given him? He answered, none: upon which Alexander determined to search him and seize it.

“Do with me as you like, and search me all you can,” quoth his servant: “he hath given me a token or two to send to his friends, to his brothers and sisters. Then said Alexander unto Mr. Philpot, “Thou art a maintainer of heretics, thy man should have gone to some of thine affinity, but he shall be known well enough.” “Nay,” said Mr. Philpot, “I do send it to my friends; there he is, let him make answer to it. But, good Mr. Alexander, be so much my friend, that these irons may be taken off.” Alexander said, “Give me my fees, and I will take them off; if not, thou shalt wear them still.” Then said Philpot, “Sir, what is your fee?” He said four pound was his fees. “Ah,” said Philpot, “I have not so much; I am but a poor man, and have been long a prisoner.” “What wilt thou give me then?” asked Alexander. “Sir,” said he, “I will give you twenty shillings, and that I will send my man for; or else I will lay down my gown to gage. For the time is not long, I am sure, that I shall be with you: for the bishop said I should be soon dispatched.” Then said the gaoler, “What is that to me?” And with that he departed from him, and commanded him to be had into limbo.

Then one Witterence, steward of the house, took him on his back, and carried him down, his man knew not whither. Wherefore Mr. Philpot told his servant, to go to the sheriff, and shew him how he was used, and desire him to be good to him. So his servant went, and took another person with him. When they came to the sheriff, and shewed him how Mr. Philpot was treated in Newgate, he took his ring from off his finger, and delivered it to the person that came with Mr. Philpot's man, and bade him go unto Alexander, the keeper, and commanded him to take off his irons, and to handle him more gently, and to give his man again that which he had taken from him. They went to Alexander, and delivered their message from the sheriff. He took the ring and said—“Ah, I perceive that Mr. Sheriff is a bearer with him, and all such heretics as he is, therefore to-morrow I will shew it to his betters.” He went however in to Mr. Philpot where he lay, and took off his irons, and gave him such things as he had before taken from his servant.

On Tuesday, the 17th of December, while he was at supper, there came a messenger from the sheriffs, and bade Mr. Philpot make ready, for the next day he should suffer, and be burned at the stake. Mr. Philpot answered—“I am ready; God grant me strength, and a joyful resurrection.” And so he went into his chamber, and poured out his spirit unto the Lord God, giving him most hearty thanks, that he had made him worthy to suffer for his truth. In the morning the sheriffs came according to order, about eight o'clock, and calling for him, he most joyfully came down to them. And there his man met him, and said, “Dear master farewell.” His master answered, “Serve God, and he will help thee.” And so he went with the sheriffs to the place of execution; and when he was entering into Smithfield, the way was foul, and two officers took him up to bear him to the stake. Then he said merrily, “What, will you make me a pope? I am content to go to

my journey's end on foot." But on entering into Smithfield, he kneeled down, and said, "I will pay my vows in thee, O Smithfield."

On arriving at the place of suffering, he kissed the stake, and said, "Shall I disdain to suffer at this stake, seeing my Redeemer did not refuse to suffer the most vile death upon the cross for me?" And then with an obedient heart he repeated the cvi. cvii. and cviii. Psalms: and when he had made an end of his prayers, he said to the officers, "What have you done for me?" And every one of them declared what they had done; and he gave to every one of them money. Then they bound him to the stake, and set fire unto that constant martyr, who on the 18th day of December, in the midst of the fiery flames, yielded his soul into the hands of Almighty God, and full like a lamb gave up his breath.

Thus hast thou, gentle reader, the life and doings of this learned and worthy soldier of the Lord, John Philpot; with the greater part of his examinations, first penned and written with his own hand, being marvellously preserved from the sight and hand of his enemies; who, by all manner of means, sought not only to stop him from all writing, but also to spoil and deprive him of that which he had written. For the which cause he was many times stripped and searched in the prison by his keeper: but yet so happily these his writings were conveyed and hid in places about him, or else his keeper's eyes so blinded, that, notwithstanding all this malicious purpose of the bishops, they are yet remaining and come to light.

There are also numerous letters extant of this excellent man's; but the limits of our work will not admit their insertion. The chief are addressed to the lady Vane, to his own sister, to his fellow-prisoner, to John Careless, to master Robert Harrington, and to certain godly brethren whose names do not appear. One addressed to a dear friend, prisoner with him at the same time in Newgate, and who afterwards died in the faith as this letter did persuade him, concludes with the following exhortation:—

"I beseech thee, dear brother in the gospel, follow the steps of the glorious in the primitive church, and of such as at this day follow the same; decline from them neither to the right hand nor to the left. Then shall death, be it ever so bitter, be more sweet than this life: then shall Christ, with all the heavenly Jerusalem, triumphantly embrace your spirit with unspeakable gladness and exultation, who in this earth was content to join your spirit with their spirits, according as it is commanded by the word, that the spirit of the prophets should be subject to the prophets. One thing ask with David ere you depart, and require the same, that you may dwell with a full accord in his house, for there are glory and worship: and so with Simeon in the temple embracing Christ, depart in peace: to which peace Christ bring both you and me, and all our loving brethren that love God in the unity of faith, by such ways as shall please him, to his glory. Let the bitter passion of Christ, which he suffered for your sake, and the horrible torments which the godly martyrs of Christ have endured before us, and also the inestimable reward of your life to come, which is hidden yet a little while from you with Christ, strengthen, comfort, and encourage you to the end of that glorious race which you are in, Amen.

"Your yoke-fellow in captivity for the verity of Christ's gospel, to live and die with you in the unity of faith— JOHN PHILPOT."



## SECTION XIII.

THE STORY OF SEVEN MARTYRS SUFFERING TOGETHER AT LONDON—  
FIVE OTHER MARTYRS BURNED TOGETHER AT CANTERBURY.

THE catholic prelates of the pope's band, being as yet not satisfied with this their one year's murdering of the members of Christ's church, continued still this next year also in no less cruelty. Wherefore, as the first-fruits thereof, about the 27th of January, 1556, were burned in Smithfield these seven persons hereafter following, to wit: Thomas Whittle, priest; Bartlet Green, gentleman; John Tudson, artificer; John Went, artificer; Thomas Browne; Isabel Foster; and Joan Warne, alias Lashford. The articles exhibited against them, and their answers, are here briefly set forth:—

(1.) That they believed that there is in earth a catholic church, in the which the faith and religion of Christ is truly professed. (2.) That there were seven sacraments, instituted and ordained by God, and by the consent of the holy church allowed and received. (3.) That they were in times past baptized in the faith of the said catholic church. (4.) That coming to the age of fourteen years, and so to the age of discretion, they did not depart from the said profession and faith. (5.) That, notwithstanding the premises, they had of late spoken against the mass, the sacrament of the altar, and the unity of the church, maligning the authority of the see of Rome. (6.) That they had refused, and did still refuse, to be reconciled to the said see of Rome. (7.) That they had refused to come to their parish church to hear mass, and to receive the said sacrament: but had openly said that in the sacrament of the altar there is not the very body and blood of our Saviour Christ; that the mass was idolatry and abomination; and that in the sacrament there was none other substance but only material bread and wine, which were tokens of Christ's body and blood. (8.) That being convented before certain judges, and being found obstinate, wilful, and heady, they were sent to be examined by the said Bonner. (9.) That all and singular the premises have been and be true and manifest, and that they were of the jurisdiction of Edmund bishop of London.

To the *first* article they all agreed. To the *second* they said, they acknowledged but two sacraments—baptism and the supper of the Lord. The *third* they confessed to be true, that they were baptized in the faith of Christ. To the *fourth* they agreed: John Went, John Tudson, and Isabel Foster adding, that when they came to years of mature discretion they began to mislike the ministrations of the sacrament of the altar, and the ceremonies of the church. Concerning the *fifth*, they answered the same to be true, according to the contents thereof: Thomas Whittle, Joan Lashford, and Bartlet Green adding, that they had not swerved from the catholic faith, but only from the church of Rome. The *sixth* they confessed to be true. To the *seventh*, they confessed the contents thereof to be true, giving the reason and cause of their so doing. Concerning the *eighth*, they granted the same to be so. And to the *ninth*, that as they believed the premises before by them confessed to be true, so they denied not the same to be manifest.—Having briefly expressed their articles and answers, it remaineth more fully to discourse the stories of the seven foresaid martyrs as follow.

Mention has been made, in Mr. Philpot's story, of a married priest, whom he found in bishop Bonner's coal house at his first going thither, in heaviness of mind and great sorrow, for recanting the doctrine which he had taught in king Edward's days. This was Thomas Whittle a curate of Essex. After he had been expelled from the place in Essex where he served, he went abroad, where he might, now here and there, as occasion offered, preach the gospel of Christ. At length being apprehended by one Edmund Ablaster, in hope of reward and promotion, which he miserably gaped after, he was brought first as prisoner before the bishop of Winchester, who was lately fallen sick of his disease, whereof not long after he died. But the apprehender for this proffered service was highly checked by the bishop, who asked if there were no man unto whom he might bring such rascals, but to him? The greedy cormorant being thus defeated of his desired prey, yet thinking to seek and to hunt further, carried his prisoner to the bishop of London, with whom what ill-usage this Whittle had, and how he was by the bishop beaten and buffeted about the face, by this his own narration, in a letter sent to his friend, manifestly may appear.

"Upon Thursday, the tenth of January, the bishop of London sent for me out of the porter's lodge, where I had been all night, lying on the earth, on a little low bed, where I had as painful a night of sickness as ever I endured. When I came before him, he talked with me upon many things of the sacrament so grossly, as is not worthy to be rehearsed. Amongst other things, he asked me, if I would have come to mass that morning if he had sent for me. I answered, that I would have come to him at his commandment, but to his mass I had small affection. At which answer he was sore displeased, and said, I should be fed with bread and water. And as I followed him through the great hall, he turned back, and beat me with his fist, first on the one cheek, and then on the other, and the sign of my beating did many days appear. And then he led me to a little salt-house, where I had neither straw nor bed, but lay two nights on a table, and slept soundly.

"On the Friday after, I was brought to my lord, when he gave me many fair words, and said he would be good to me. And so he going to Fulham committed me to Dr. Harpsfield, that he and I that afternoon should commune together, and draw out certain articles, whereunto, if I would subscribe, I should be dismissed. But Dr. Harpsfield sent not for me till night, and then persuaded me very much to forsake my opinions. I answered, I held nothing but the truth, and therefore I could not so lightly turn therefrom. So I thought I should at that time have had no more ado: but he had made a certain bill, which the register pulled out of his bosom and read. The bill indeed was very easily made, and therefore more dangerous; for the effect thereof was to detest all errors and heresies against the sacrament of the altar, and other sacraments, and to believe the faith of the catholic church, and live accordingly.

"To this bill I did set my hand, being much desired and counselled so to do; and the flesh being always desirous to have liberty, I considered

not thoroughly the inconvenience that might come therefrom: speedy respite I desired to have and very earnestly they desired me to subscribe. But when I had done so, I had little joy thereof; for by and by my mind and conscience told me by God's word that I had done evil, by such a slight means to shake off the sweet cross of Christ; and yet it was not my seeking, as God knoweth, but altogether came of them. Well, the night after I had subscribed I was sore grieved, and for sorrow of conscience could not sleep. For in the deliverance of my body out of bonds, which I might have had, I could find no joy nor comfort, but still was in my conscience tormented more and more, being assured, by God's Spirit and his word, that through evil counsel and advice, I had done amiss. And both with disquietude of mind, and with my other cruel handling, I was sick; lying upon the ground when the keeper came: and I desired him to pray Dr. Harpsfield to come to me, and he did so.

“And when he came, and the register with him, I told him that I was not well at ease, but that I was grieved very much in my conscience and mind because I had subscribed. I said that my conscience had so accused me, through the just judgment of God and his word, that I felt hell in my conscience, and Satan ready to devour me; and therefore I prayed Mr. Harpsfield to let me have the bill again, for I would not stand to it. So he gently commanded it to be fetched, and gave it me and suffered me to put out my name, whereof I was right glad when I had so done, although death should follow. And hereby I had experience of God's providence and mercy towards me, who trieth his people, and suffereth them to fall, but not to be lost: for in the midst of this temptation and trouble, he gave me warning of my deed, and also delivered me; his name be praised for evermore, Amen. Neither devil nor evil man, life nor death can pluck any of Christ's sheep out of his hand. Of which flock of Christ's sheep I trust undoubtedly I am one, by means of his death and blood-shedding, and shall at the last day stand at his right hand, and receive with others his blessed benediction. And now being condemned to die, my conscience and mind, I praise God, were quiet in Christ, and I by his grace was very willing and content to give over this body to the death, for the testimony of his truth and pure religion, against Antichrist and all his false religion and doctrine.

“By me, THOMAS WHITTLE, minister.”

Upon the 14th day of January, Bonner, with other his fellow Bonnerlings, sitting in his consistory at the afternoon, first called forth Thomas Whittle, with whom he began in effect as followeth: “Because you be a priest, as I and other bishops here be, and did receive the order of priesthood after the right and form of the catholic church, ye shall not think but I will minister justice as well unto you as unto others.” And then the said Bonner proceeded to rehearse the several charges against him, and afterward to unpriest him of all his priestly trinkets and clerkly habit. To make short, Whittle, strengthened with the grace of the Lord, stood strong and immovable in that he had affirmed. Wherefore the sentence being read, the next day following he was committed to the secular power; and so, in few days after, brought to the fire with the other six aforementioned, sealing up the testimony of his doctrine with his blood, as witness for the truth.

Next followeth in order to speak of Bartlet Green, who the next day after was likewise condemned. This Green was of a good house, and had such parents as favoured learning. After some entrance in inferior schools, he was sent unto the university of Oxford, where through his diligence he made great advances in his studies: but was, for a time, so far from feeling any interest in eternal things, that he was utterly averse to the subject. At length, by attending the lectures of Peter Martyr, then reader of the divinity-lecture, his mind was struck with the importance of religion. Having once tasted of divine grace, it became unto him as the fountain of living water that our Saviour Christ spake of to the woman of Samaria. Insomuch that when he was called by his friends from the university, and was placed in the Temple at London, there to study the common laws of the realm, he still continued, with great earnestness, to read and search the scriptures.

But, such is the frailty of our corrupt nature without the special assistance of God's Holy Spirit, he sadly declined, through the continual accompanying and fellowship of such worldly youths as are commonly in that and the like places. He became by little and little a partner in their follies, as well in his apparel as also in banquetings, and other superfluous excesses; which he afterwards bewailed sorely, as appeareth by his own testimony left in a book belonging to Mr. Bartram Calthorp, one of his friends, written a little before his death. He there remarks, "Two things very much troubled me while I was in the Temple, pride and gluttony; which under the colour of glory and good-fellowship, drew me almost from God. Against both there is one remedy, by earnest prayer, and without ceasing. And forasmuch as vainglory is so subtle an adversary, that almost it woundeth deadly ere ever a man can perceive himself to be smitten, therefore we ought so much the rather by continual prayer to labour for humbleness of mind. Truly, gluttony beginneth under a charitable pretence of mutual love and society, and hath in it most uncharitableness. When we seek to refresh our bodies, that they may be more apt to serve God, and perform our duties toward our neighbours, then it stealeth in as a privy thief, and murdereth both body and soul, that now it is not apt to pray, or serve God, apt to study or labour for our neighbour. Let us therefore watch and be sober: for our adversary the devil walketh about like a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour."

Thus we see the fatherly kindness of our most gracious and merciful God, never suffereth his children so to fall, that they lie still in security of sin, but oftentimes quickeneth them up by such means as perhaps they think least of. For the better maintenance of himself in his studies and other affairs, Green had a large exhibition of his grandfather, Dr. Bartlet, who, during the time of his imprisonment, made him large offers of great livings, if he would recant and return to the church of Rome. But his persuasions took small effect in his faithful heart. He was a man beloved of all, and so he well deserved; for he was of a meek, humble, discreet, and gentle behaviour to all; injurious to none, beneficial to many, especially to those who were of the household of faith.

The cause of Mr. Green's sufferings originated from a letter of his being intercepted. This letter was written to an exiled friend, who having

in a letter to the said Green, required to have the certainty of the report spread amongst them on the other side of the seas, that the queen was dead, he had answered simply, and as the truth then was, that she was not dead; with certain questions abroad in London. This letter, with others to divers of the godly exiles, by their friends in England, being delivered to a messenger to carry over, came, by the apprehension of the bearer, into the hands of the king and queen's council; who at their leisure perused the whole number of the letters, and amongst them espied that of Mr. Green, written to his friend, Christopher Goodman; in the contents whereof they found these words—"The queen is not dead." These words were only written as a simple answer. Howbeit they seemed very heinous words, yea treason they would have made them, if the law would have suffered. Which when they could not do, they then examined the writer upon his faith in religion, but upon what points it is certainly not known. It was clear, however, that his answers displeased them; for he was committed to prison, and after being confined for some time, was at length sent to bishop Bonner.

Many other conferences and examinations they brought him to. But in the end, seeing his steadiness of faith to be such that neither their threatenings nor their flattering promises could prevail against it, the bishop caused him, with the rest before mentioned, to be brought into the consistory of St. Paul's; where being set in his judgment seat, accompanied by Mr. Fecknam, then dean of the same church, and others his chaplains, after he had condemned the other six, he called for Bartlet Green, and again repeated the articles to him. After which Dr. Fecknam disputed with him upon the real presence of Christ in the sacrament, and other points. At length, impatient of longer delay, bishop Bonner demanded if he would recant and return to his Romish mother; and on his answering in the negative, he pronounced the definitive sentence against him, and then committed him to the sheriffs of London, who sent him to Newgate.

As he was going thither, there met him two gentlemen, particular friends, minding to comfort this their persecuted brother: but their hearts not being able to contain their sorrow, they wept. "Ah," said the martyr, "is this the comfort you are come to give me, in this my occasion of heaviness? Must I, who needed to have consolation ministered to me, become now a comforter to you?" And thus declaring his most quiet and peaceable mind and conscience, he cheerfully spake to them and others until he came to the prison door, into which he joyfully entered, and there remained always either in prayer, or else in some other godly meditations and exercises, unto the 27th day of January, when he, with his other above-mentioned brethren, went most cheerfully to the place of their torments, often repeating, as well by the way as also at the stake, these Latin verses following—

*Christe Deus, sine te spes est mihi nulla salutis:  
Te duce vera sequor, te duce falsa nego.*

The third of this martyred company was Thomas Browne, a man of great firmness and courage. He was born in the parish of Histon, within the diocese of Ely, and came afterwards to London, where he dwelt in

the parish of St. Bride's in Fleet-street. He was a married man aged thirty-seven, and his troubles first arose because he came not to his parish-church, for which neglect he was presented by the constable of the parish to bishop Bonner. Being brought to Fulham with the others to be examined, he was required to come into the chapel to hear mass, which he refusing to do, went into the warren, and there kneeled among the trees. For this he was greatly charged by the bishop as for a heinous matter, because he said it was done in despite and contempt of their mass. At length being produced to his last examination before the bishop, the 15th day of January, there to hear the definitive sentence against him, he was required, with many fair words and glossing promises, to revoke his doctrine. But he resisted with steadfast faith, and told the bishop he was a blood-thirsty man, saying: "You condemn me because I will not confess and believe the bread in the sacrament of the altar (as you call it) to be the body of Christ." After this Bonner read his sentence, and so committed him to the sheriffs to be burned the 27th of January.

The same day and time was also produced John Tudson, with the rest of the company, unto the like condemnation. This John Tudson was born in Ipswich, and apprenticed to George Goodyear, of St. Mary Botolph, within the diocese of London. Being complained of to Sir Richard Cholmley and Dr. Storey, he was by them sent to Bonner, and was divers times before him in examination. On his last examination, when the bishop promised, on condition of his recanting, to forgive him all his offences, he demanded wherein he had offended. Then said the bishop, "In your answers." Tudson denied this and said, I have not therein offended; and you, my lord, pretend charity, but nothing thereof appeareth in your works. Thus after a few words, the bishop pronounced against him sentence of condemnation; which being read, the martyr was committed to the secular power, and so with much patience finished his life with his fellow-sufferers.

John Went is the fifth individual of this class to whose life as well as death some reference should be made. He was born at Langham, in Essex, within the diocese of London, was of the age of twenty-seven, and was a shearman by occupation. He was first examined, as is partly mentioned before, by Dr. Storey, upon the sacrament of the altar; and because the poor man did not accord with him thoroughly in the real presence of the body and blood of Christ, Storey sent him up to Bonner, who likewise, after various examinations upon the articles in the consistory, attempted the like manner of persuasions with him as he did with the others, to recant and return. To whom, in very few words, Went answered again, he would not; but that by the leave of God, he would stand firm and constant in what he had said. Whereupon being condemned by the bishop's sentence, he was committed unto the sheriffs and so brought to his martyrdom, which he with no less constancy suffered to the end, with the rest of that blessed society.

The last two of these six martyrs were of the weaker sex; but were both strong in faith, giving glory unto God. Isabel Foster was born in Greystock, in the diocese of Carlisle, and was married to John Foster, cutler, of the parish of St. Bride's, in Fleet-street, being of the age of fifty-five years. She likewise, for not coming to church, was sent to

bishop Bonner, who put her in prison, and examined her sundry times, but she would never be removed from the constant confession of Christ's gospel. At length coming unto her final examination before the bishop, she was tried again whether she would yet go from her former answers? Whereunto she gave this resolute answer; that she would not go from them, by God's grace. The bishop promising both life and liberty if she would associate herself in the unity of the catholic church, she said again, that she trusted she was never out of the catholic church; and so persisting in the same, continued constant till the sentence was pronounced, when she was committed, by command of the bishop, to the secular power, and brought a few days after to the stake.

Mention has already been made of one Elizabeth Warne, who with her husband John Warne, in the beginning of queen Mary's reign, was apprehended in Bow Church-yard, for being there at a communion; and both suffered for the same, first the man in the month of May, then the wife in July after; and now the daughter, in the month of January, followed her parents in the same martyrdom. This Joan Lashford was the daughter of one Robert Lashford, cutler, and of the foresaid Elizabeth, who afterward was married to the said John Warne, upholsterer. Ministering to her mother and father-in-law in prison, suspected and known to be of the same doctrine and religion, she was sent to Bonner by Dr. Storey, and so committed to the Compter in the Poultry, where she remained five weeks; and from thence was had to Newgate, where she continued the space of certain months.

After that, remaining prisoner in Bonner's custody, and being examined, her confession was, that for above a twelvemonth before she came not to the popish mass service in the church, neither would, either to receive the sacrament of the altar or to be confessed, because her conscience would not allow her so to do; protesting against the real presence of Christ's body and blood; and denying that auricular confession or absolution, after the popish sort, was necessary; but said, that these sacraments, confessions and absolutions, and the mass, with all their other superfluous sacraments, ceremonies, and divine service, as then used in this realm of England, were most vile, and contrary to Christ's word and institution; so that they were neither at the beginning, nor shall be at the latter end. This resolute maid, feeble in constitution and tender in age, yet strong by grace in her confession and faith, stood so firm that neither the promises nor threats of the bishops could move her; and on being exhorted by the bishop to return to the catholic unity of the church, she boldly said, "If you will leave off your abomination, I will return, and otherwise I will not. Do as it pleaseth you, and I pray God that you may do that which may please him." Thus she, constantly persevering in the truth, was condemned and committed to the sheriffs, by whom she with the rest was brought to the stake, and there washed her soul in the blood of the Lamb, dying most constantly for his word and truth. And thus much concerning the life, story, and condemnation of these seven martyrs above specified.

Shortly after, in the same month, followed another like fellowship of godly martyrs at Canterbury. John Lomas of Tenterden, was detected to be of that religion the papists call heresy, and cited to appear at Canterbury, where he was examined of the first article, whether he believed the ca-

tholic church or not? he answered, that he believed so much as was contained in God's book, and no more. Then being assigned to appear again under the pain of the law the following Wednesday, which was the 17th day of January, he was examined whether he would be confessed by a priest or not; he said, that he found it not written that he should be confessed to any priest in God's book, neither would he be confessed, unless he were accused by some man of sin. Again, being examined whether he believed the body of Christ to be in the sacrament of the altar really under the forms of bread and wine after the consecration, he answered, that he believed no reality of Christ's body to be in the sacrament; neither found he it written, that he is there under form, but he believed so much as was written. Being then demanded whether he believed that there was a catholic church or no, and whether he would be content to be a member of the same, he answered, that he believed so much as was written in God's book, and other answer than this he refused to give. Whereupon the sentence was given and read against him on the 18th of January, and he was committed to the secular power, and afterwards constantly suffered for the conscience of a true faith, with the four women here following.

Agnes Snoth comes next in this record, and first of the female majority of this company. She was a widow, of the parish of Smarden, and was likewise cited and accused for her faith. She was divers times examined, and being compelled to answer to such articles and interrogatories as should be administered unto her, she first denied to be confessed to a priest. And as touching the sacrament of the altar, she protested that if she or any other did receive the sacrament so as Christ and his apostles after him did deliver it, then she and they did receive it to their comfort: but as it is now used in the church, she said that no man could otherwise receive it than to his damnation, as she thought. Afterwards sentence being read, she was committed to the sheriffs, and suffered with the rest, as a witness of Christ and of his truth, the 31st day of January.

Against Anne Albright, likewise appearing before the judge and his colleagues, it was also objected concerning the same matter of confession: whereunto she answered in these words, "that she would not be confessed of a priest;" and added moreover, speaking unto the priests, "You priests," said she, "are the children of perdition, and can do no good by your confession." She was condemned with the other four, and with them also suffered quietly, and with great comfort, for Christ's religion.

In like manner Joan Sole, of the parish of Horton, was condemned of the same Pharisees and priests, for not allowing confession auricular, and for denying the real presence and substance of Christ to be in the sacrament: who, after their pharisaical sentence being promulgated, was brought to the stake with the other four, and sustained the like martyrdom.

The fifth and last of this heavenly company of martyrs was Joan Catmer, of Hythe, wife of George Catmer, burned before. Being asked what she said to confession, she denied to be confessed. And the judge speaking of the sacrament of the altar, she affirmed that as then used it was a very idol. In this her confession remaining and persisting, she was by the like sentence cruelly of them condemned; and so suffered with the aforesaid, ratifying and confessing the true knowledge and doctrine of Christ Jesus our Saviour.



## SECTION XIV.

THE LIFE, STATE, AND MARTYRDOM OF THE REVEREND PASTOR AND  
PRELATE, THOMAS CRANMER, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

As concerning the life and estate of Thomas Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury, it is first to be noted and considered that the same Thomas Cranmer, coming of an ancient parentage, from the conquest to be deducted, was born in a village called Aslacton, in Nottinghamshire. Being from his infancy kept at school, and brought up not without much good civility, he came in process of time unto the university of Cambridge; and there prospering in right good knowledge amongst the better sort of students, was chosen fellow of Jesus college in Cambridge. It was at that time, when all good authors and fine writers being neglected, filthy barbarousness was embraced in all schools and universities. The names and numbers of liberal arts did only remain, the arts themselves were clean lost; and divinity was fallen into the state, that being laden with articles and distinctions, it served rather for the gain of a few than for the edification of many. At length the tongues and other good learning began, by little and little, to spring up again, and the books of Faber and Erasmus began to be much occupied and had in good estimation, with a number of good authors besides: in whom the said Cranmer took no small pleasure. At length, when Martin Luther was risen up, the more bright and happy days of God's knowledge did waken men's minds to truth; at which time, he being about thirty years old, gave his whole mind to discuss matters of religion.

So Cranmer, being master of arts, and fellow of Jesus college, it chanced that he married a gentleman's daughter, by which he lost his fellowship, and became a reader in Buckingham college. In order that he might with the more diligence apply himself to his office of reading, he placed his wife at an inn, in Cambridge, the mistress of which was a relation of hers. On account of his frequent visits he was much noticed by some popish merchants: on this arose the slanderous noise and report against him, after he was preferred to the archbishopric of Canterbury. He continued reader in Buckingham college till his wife died in child birth. After this the masters and fellows of Jesus college, desirous of their old companion, for his eminent learning, chose him again fellow of the same college. Remaining at his study, he became in a few years reader of the divinity lecture, and in such estimation was he held by the whole university, that when doctor of divinity, he was commonly appointed to examine such as yearly proceed in commencement, either bachelors or doctors, and by whose approbation the whole university licensed them to proceed unto their degree, or by whose non-approbation the university retained them until they were better furnished with knowledge and qualified for advancement.

Dr. Cranmer, ever favouring the knowledge of the scripture, would not permit any to proceed in divinity, unless they were substantially versed in the history of the Bible: by which certain friars and other religious persons, who were principally brought up in the study of

school-authors, without regard to the authority of the scriptures, were commonly rejected by him, so that he was greatly hated; yet it came to pass in the end, that many of them, thus compelled to study the scriptures, became afterwards very learned; insomuch, that when they became doctors of divinity, they could not too much extol Cranmer's goodness towards them, who for a time had put them back, to initiate them in better knowledge. His merit soon spreading abroad, he was much solicited by Dr. Capon, to be one of the fellows in the foundation of Cardinal Wolsey's college in Oxford, which he refused, not without danger of offending. While he continued in Cambridge, the important cause of Henry's divorce with the lady Katherine came into question; which being many ways, for the space of two or three years amongst the canonists, civilians, and other learned men, diversely disputed and debated, it came to pass that Dr. Cranmer, on account of the plague being in Cambridge, resorted to Waltham-Abbey, to the house of Mr. Cressey, whose wife was his relation, and whose two sons he brought with him from Cambridge, they being his pupils.

During this summer, cardinals Campeius and Wolsey, being in commission from the pope, to hear and determine the great cause in controversy between the king and queen, delayed until the month of August in hearing the cause debated. When August was come, the cardinals little caring to proceed to give sentence, took occasion to finish their commission, and to determine no further therein, pretending that it was not permitted by the laws to keep courts of ecclesiastical matters in harvest time. This sudden interruption so much enraged the king, that taking it as a mock at the cardinals' hands, he commanded the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk to dispatch immediately to Rome cardinal Campeius: and in haste removed himself to Waltham for a night or two, while his household removed to Greenwich: by which means it happened that the harbingers, Dr. Stephen Gardiner, secretary, and Dr. Foxe, almoner, came to lodge in the house of Mr. Cressey, where Dr. Cranmer resided. When supper-time came, the three doctors met together; Gardiner and Foxe were very much surprised at Cranmer being there. He declared the cause, namely, because the plague was in Cambridge: and as they were old acquaintance, the secretary and the almoner very well entertained Dr. Cranmer, intending to learn his opinion concerning the great business they had in hand. And as this occasion served, while they were at supper, they conferred with Dr. Cranmer concerning the king's cause, requesting him to give his opinion of it.

Cranmer answered, That he could say little to the matter, as he had not studied nor looked for it. Notwithstanding, in his opinion they made more ado in prosecuting the ecclesiastical law than needed. It were better, he thought, that the question—Whether a man may marry his brother's wife, or no? were discussed by the divines, and by the authority of the word of God, whereby the conscience of the prince might be better satisfied and quieted, than thus from year to year, by unnecessary delays, to prolong the time, leaving the very truth of the matter unsettled. There was but one truth in it, which the scripture will soon make manifest, being by learned men well handled, and that may be as well done in England in the universities here, as at Rome,

or elsewhere in any foreign nation, the authority whereof will soon compel any judge to come to definitive sentence: and therefore as he took it, they might that way have made an end of the matter long since. When Dr. Cranmer had thus ended his tale, the other two liked well his device and wished they had proceeded so before, and thereupon conceived some matter of council to instruct the king with, who was then thinking to send to Rome again for a new commission.

Now the next day, when the king removed to Greenwich, recollecting in himself, how he had been used by the cardinals, in thus deferring his cause, his mind was very uneasy, and desirous to see an end of this long and tedious suit, he called unto him the two principal managers of his cause, Gardiner and Foxe, who related their conference with Dr. Cranmer, and told the king the plan he had suggested for a more speedy termination of the affair. The king accordingly sent for Dr. Cranmer, approved and adopted his scheme, received him into favour, and advanced him, on the death of archbishop Warham, to the see of Canterbury, anno 1530.

Although the said Cranmer was now exalted to so great dignity and honour, still was he compassed about by mighty enemies, and by many crafty trains impugned; yet, through God's mighty providence working in the king's heart to favour him, he rubbed out all king Henry's time; and under the government and protection of his son king Edward (to whom Cranmer was godfather) his state was rather more advanced. Afterward, this king Edward falling sick, and perceiving that his death was at hand, and knowing that his sister Mary was wholly wedded unto popish religion, bequeathed the succession of the realm to the lady Jane Grey, by consent of all his council and lawyers. When all the nobles of the realm, states and judges, had subscribed to this testament, they sent for the archbishop, and required that he also would subscribe. Cranmer refused at the first; but after that he had spake with the king, and when they all agreed that by law of the realm it might be so, with much ado he subscribed. Well, not long after this king Edward died, A. D. 1553, being almost sixteen years of age, to the great sorrow but greater calamity of the whole realm.

At the oppression of the good lord Cromwell, in king Henry's time, it was fully determined that Cranmer also should be committed to prison; but he privily obtaining speech of the king, there upon his knees declared his innocence in the matter of which he was accused; and the king delivered him his signet, saying, "Go thy ways! if thou deceive me, I will never trust thy bald pate again while I live." And thus he escaped that present danger. Here also may be noted the saying which is constantly affirmed of divers persons, that the said archbishop, with the lord Wriothesley, saved the life of queen Mary, the king being determined to have off her head for certain causes of stubbornness; whereupon the king afterward said that Cranmer made intercession for her, which would his destruction, and would trouble them all.

After king Edward's decease immediately it was commanded that the lady Jane should be proclaimed queen; but Mary, hearing of the death of her brother, was established in the possession of the realm by the assistance of the commons as ye heard before. This queen Mary, coming to London, caused the duke of Northumberland and the duke of Suffolk to be executed,

and likewise the lady Jane, together with her husband. The rest of the nobles, paying fines, were forgiven, the archbishop of Canterbury only excepted; for as yet the old grudge against Cranmer, for the divorcement of her mother, remained hid in the bottom of her heart; and besides she remembered the state of religion changed, the cause whereof was imputed to him.

Not long after Cranmer was condemned of treason, and committed to the Tower; and when the queen could not honestly deny him his pardon, seeing all the rest were discharged, she released to him his action of treason, and accused him only of heresy. Thus stood the cause of Cranmer, till at length it was determined by the queen and the council that he should be removed from the Tower to Oxford, there to dispute with the doctors and divines, to whom word was sent privily to prepare themselves. After these said disputations were finished in Oxford, between the doctors of both universities, and the three worthy bishops, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, ye heard then how sentence condemnatory was ministered against them by Dr. Weston and others of the university; whereby they were judged to be heretics, and so committed to the mayor and sheriffs of Oxford. But forasmuch as the sentence given against them was void in law, (for, at that time, the authority of the pope was not yet received into the land,) therefore was a new commission sent from Rome, and a new process framed for the conviction of these reverend and learned men aforesaid.

At the coming down of the said commissioners, which was upon Thursday the 12th of September, 1555, there was erected a solemn scaffold in the east end of the church of St. Mary, over against the high altar, with cloth of state very richly and sumptuously adorned, for bishop Brooks as pope's legate, apparelled in pontificalibus, representing the pope's person. On the right hand beneath him sat Dr. Martin, and on the left hand Dr. Storey, the king and queen's commissioners, which were both doctors of the civil law; and underneath them other doctors, scribes, and pharisees also, with the pope's collector, and a rabblement of such other like.

And thus these bishops being placed in their pontificalibus, the bishop of Canterbury was sent for to come before them. He came forth of the prison to the church of St. Mary, set round with bills and glaves for fear he should start away, being clothed in a fair black gown, with his hood on both shoulders, such as doctors of divinity in the university use to wear, and in his hand a white staff. After he was come into the church, and did see them sit in their pontificalibus, he did not put off his cap to any of them, but stood still till that he was called. And anon one of the proctors for the pope, or else his doctor, called, "Thomas archbishop of Canterbury! appear here, and make answer to that shall be laid to thy charge; that is to say, for blasphemy, incontinency, and heresy; and make answer here to the bishop of Gloucester, representing the pope's person!"

Upon this, Cranmer being brought more near unto the scaffold, where the foresaid bishop sat, he first well viewed the place of judgment, and spying where the king and queen's majesties' proctors were, putting off his cap, he (first humbly bowing his knee to the ground) made reverence to the one, and after to the other. That done, beholding the bishop in the face, he put on his bonnet again; making no manner of token of obedience towards him at all: whereat the bishop, being offended, said that it might

beseem him right well, weighing the authority he did represent, to do his duty unto him. Whereunto Dr. Cranmer answered, that he had once taken a solemn oath, never to consent to the admitting of the bishop of Rome's authority into this realm of England again; that he had done it advisedly, and meant by God's grace to keep it; and therefore would commit nothing either by sign or token which might argue his consent to the receiving of the same; and so he desired the said bishop to judge of him. He did it, he said, not for any contempt to his person, which he could have been content to have honoured as well as any of the others, if his commission had come from as good an authority as theirs. When, after many means used, they perceived that the archbishop would not move his bonnet, the bishop of Gloucester proceeded with studied eloquence and painted art in his oration; and after he had finished, Dr. Martin took the matter in hand.

After that Dr. Martin had ended his oration, the archbishop said, "My lord, I do not acknowledge this session of yours, nor yet *you*, my mislawful judge; neither would I have appeared this day before you, but that I was brought hither as a prisoner. And therefore I openly here renounce you as my judge, protesting that my meaning is not to make any answer, as in a lawful judgment, (for then would I be silent,) but only for that I am bound in conscience to answer every man of that hope which I have in Jesus Christ, by the counsel of St. Peter; and lest by my silence many of those who are weak, here present, might be offended. And so I desire that my answers may be accepted as *extra judicialia*." When he had ended his protestation he said, "Shall I then make my answer?" To whom Dr. Martin answered, "As you think good; no man shall let you." And here the archbishop, kneeling down on both knees towards the west, said first the Lord's Prayer; then, rising up, he reciteth the articles of the creed; which done he entereth on his profession of faith.

Toward the close of the session, Dr. Martin demanded of Dr. Cranmer, who was supreme head of the church of England? "Marry," quoth my lord of Canterbury, "Christ is head of this member, as he is of the whole body of the universal church." "Why," quoth Dr. Martin, "you made king Henry the eighth supreme head of the church." "Yea," said the archbishop, "of all the people of England, as well ecclesiastical as temporal." "And not of the church?" said Martin. "No," said he; "for Christ only is the head of his church, and of the faith and religion of the same. The king is head and governor of his people, which are the visible church." "What," quoth Martin, "you never durst tell the king so." "Yes, that I durst," quoth he; "and in the publication of his style, wherein he was named supreme head of the church, there was never other thing meant." A number of other fond and foolish objections were made, with repetition whereof I thought not to trouble the reader.

After that they had received his answers to all their objections, they cited him to appear at Rome within fourscore days, to make there his personal answers; which he said, if the king and queen would send him, he would be content to do. And so thence he was carried to prison again, where he continually remained, notwithstanding that he was commanded to appear at Rome. Furthermore, though the said archbishop was detained in strait prison, so that he could not appear, (as was notorious both in

England and also in the Romish court,) yet in the end of the said fourscore days was that worthy martyr decreed "contumax," that is, sturdily, forwardly, and wilfully absent, and in pain of the same his absence condemned and put to death.

And as touching the said executory letters of the pope sent to the king and queen, by virtue of that commission, the bishop of Ely, and Bonner bishop of London, were assigned by the king and queen to proceed in the execution thereof upon the 14th day of February. These two coming to Oxford upon St. Valentine's day, as the pope's delegates with a new commission from Rome, by the virtue thereof commanded the archbishop aforesaid to come before them, in the choir of Christ's church, before the high altar; where they sitting (according to their manner) in their pontificalibus, first began to read their commission, the which came from the pope, "plenitudine potestatis;" supplying all manner of defects in law or process committed in dealing with the archbishop, and giving them full authority to proceed to deprivation and degradation of him, and so upon excommunication to deliver him up to the secular power, "omni appellatione remotâ." When the commission was read they proceeded thereupon to his degradation; and when they would have taken his crosier-staff out of his hand, he held it fast, and refused to deliver the same; and withal, imitating the example of Martin Luther, pulled an appeal out of his left sleeve, which he there and then delivered unto them, saying, "I appeal to the next general council; and herein I have comprehended my cause and form of it, which I desire to be admitted;" and prayed divers of the standers by, by name to be witnesses, and especially master Curtop.

This appeal being put up to Thirleby the bishop of Ely, he said, "My lord, our commission is to proceed against you, 'omni appellatione remotâ,' and therefore we cannot admit it. But," he added, "if it may be admitted, it shall," and so received it of him. Then began he to persuade earnestly with the archbishop to consider his state, promising to become a suitor to the king and queen for him. Afterward, they proceeded with his degradations; and whilst they were thus doing Cranmer said, "All this needed not; I had myself done with this gear long ago." Last of all they stripped him out of his gown into his jacket, and put upon him a poor yeoman-beadle's gown, full bare and nearly worn, a townsman's cap on his head, and so delivered him to the secular power.

While the archbishop was thus remaining in durance, (whom they had kept now in prison almost three years,) the doctors and divines of Oxford busied themselves all that ever they could, to have him recant, essaying by all crafty practices and allurements they might devise how to bring their purpose to pass, specially Henry Sydal and John de Villa Garcia. First, they set forth how acceptable it would be both to the king and queen, and especially how gainful to him, and for his soul's health. They added how the council and noble men bare him good will; and put him in hope that he should not only have his life, but also be restored to his ancient dignity, saying, it was but a small matter and so easy that they required him to do, only that he would subscribe to a few words with his own hands; which, if he did, there should be nothing in the whole realm that the queen would not easily grant him, whether he would have riches or dignity; or else if he had rather live a private life in quiet rest, in whatsoever place he listed,

without all public ministry, only that he would set his name in two words to a little leaf of paper. But if he refused there was no hope of health and pardon, for the queen was so purposed that she would have Cranmer a catholic, or else no Cranmer at all. Moreover, they exhorted him that he would look to his wealth, his estimation and quietness, saying that he was not so old but that many years yet remained in this his so lusty age; and if he would not do it in respect of the queen, yet he should do it for respect of his life, and not suffer that other men should be more careful for his health than he was himself. Finally, if the desire of life did nothing move him, yet he should remember that to die is grievous in all ages, and especially in these his years and flower of dignity it were more grievous; but to die in the fire and such torments is most grievous of all.

With these and like provocations, these fair flatterers ceased not to solicit and urge to their side; whose force his manly constancy did a great while resist. But at last, when they made no end of calling and crying upon him, the archbishop being overcome, whether through their importunity, or by his own imbecility, or of what mind I cannot tell, at length gave his hand, though it was against his conscience. But so it pleaseth God, that so great virtues in this archbishop should not be had in too much admiration of us without some blemish, or else that the falsehood of the popish generation by this means might be made more evident, or else to diminish the confidence of our own strength, that in him should appear an example of man's weak imbecility.

This recantation was soon caused by the doctors and prelates to be imprinted, and set abroad in all men's hands. All this while Cranmer was in uncertain assurance of his life, although the same was faithfully promised to him by the doctors; but after that they had their purpose, the rest they committed to all adventure, as became men of that religion to do. The queen received his recantation very gladly, but of her purpose to put him to death she would nothing relent. And now was Cranmer's cause in a miserable taking, who neither inwardly had any quietness in his own conscience, nor yet outwardly any help in his adversaries.

In the meantime, while these things were adoin in the prison among the doctors, the queen taking secret counsel how to dispatch Cranmer out of the way, appointed Dr. Cole, and secretly gave him in commandment, that against the 21st of March he should prepare a funeral sermon for Cranmer's burning. Soon after, the lord Williams of Thame, and the lord Chandos, sir Thomas Bridges, and sir John Brown were sent for, with other worshipful men and justices, and commanded in the queen's name to be at Oxford at the same day, with their servants and retinue, lest Cranmer's death should raise there any tumult.

Cole the doctor, having this lesson given him before, and charged by her commandment, returned to Oxford ready to play his part; who, two days before the execution, came into the prison to Cranmer, to try whether he abode in the catholic faith wherein before he had left him. To whom, when Cranmer had answered, that by God's grace he would daily be more confirmed in the catholic faith; Cole, departing for that time, the next day repaired to the archbishop again, giving no signification as yet of his death that was prepared. In the morning appointed for his execution, the said Cole, coming to him, asked him if he had any money; to whom

when Cranmer answered that he had none, he delivered him fifteen crowns to give to the poor to whom he would; and so exhorting him so much as he could to constancy in faith, departed thence about his business.

By this partly, and other like arguments, Cranmer began more and more to surmise what they went about. Then there came to him the Spanish friar, John de Villa Garcia, witness of his recantation, bringing a paper with articles which Cranmer should openly profess in his recantation before the people. But the archbishop, thinking that the time was at hand in which he could no longer dissemble the profession of his faith with Christ's people, put secretly into his bosom his prayer with his exhortation, which he minded to recite to the people, before he should make the last profession of his faith, fearing lest, if they had heard the confession of his faith first, they would not afterward have suffered him to exhort the people.

Soon after, about nine of the o'clock, the lord Williams, sir Thomas Bridges, sir John Brown, and the other justices, with certain other noblemen that were sent of the queen's council, came to Oxford with a great train of waiting men. Also of the multitude on every side (as is wont in such a matter) was made a great concourse, and greater expectation. Cranmer at length cometh from the prison of Bocardo into St. Mary's church, (the chief church in the university,) with the mayor and aldermen, walking between two friars. There was a stage set over against the pulpit, where Cranmer had his standing, waiting until Cole made him ready to his sermon. He that was late archbishop, metropolitan, and primate of all England, and the king's privy councillor, being now in bare and ragged gown, and ill-favouredly clothed, with an old square cap, exposed to the contempt of all men, did admonish men not only of his own calamity, but also of their state and fortune. In this habit, when he had stood a good space upon the stage, turning to a pillar near adjoining thereunto, he lifted up his hands to heaven, and prayed unto God once or twice, till at the length Dr. Cole coming into the pulpit began his sermon. Proceeding a little from the beginning, he took occasion by and by to turn his tale to Cranmer, and with many hot words reproved him, that once he, being indued with the favour and feeling of wholesome and catholic doctrines, fell into the contrary opinion of pernicious error.

All this meantime, with the greatest grief, Cranmer stood hearing his sermon: one while lifting up his hands and eyes unto heaven, and then again for shame letting them down to the earth, while the tears gushed from his eyes. Great commiseration and pity moved all men's hearts, that beheld so heavy a countenance, and such abundance of tears in an old man of so reverend dignity. Cole having ended his sermon, he called back the people that were ready to depart. "Brethren," said he, "lest any man should doubt of this man's earnest conversion and repentance, you shall hear him speak before you; and therefore I pray you, Mr. Cranmer, to perform that now which you promised not long ago; namely, that you would openly express the true and undoubted profession of your faith, that you may take away all suspicion from men and that all men may understand that you are a catholic indeed."

To this Cranmer, rising up and uncovering his head, replied thus: "I will do it, and that with a good will. Good people, my dearly beloved brethren in Christ, I beseech you most heartily to pray for me



to Almighty God, that he will forgive me all my sins and offences, which are without number, and great above measure. But yet one thing grieveth my conscience more than all the rest, whereof, God willing, I intend to speak more hereafter. But how great and how many soever my sins be, I beseech you to pray to God of his mercy to pardon and forgive them all." And here kneeling down he said the following prayer.

"O Father of heaven, O Son of God, Redeemer of the world, O Holy Ghost, three persons and one God, have mercy upon me, most wretched caitiff and miserable sinner. I have offended both against heaven and earth, more than my tongue can express. Whither then may I go, or whither shall I flee; to heaven I may be ashamed to lift up mine eyes, and in earth I find no place of refuge or succour. To thee, therefore, O Lord, do I run; to thee do I humble myself. O Lord my God, my sins be great, but yet have mercy upon me for thy great mercy. The great mystery that God became man was not wrought for little or few offences. Thou didst not give thy Son, O heavenly Father, unto death for small sins only, but for all the greatest sins of the world, so that the sinner return to thee with his whole heart, as I do at this present. Wherefore have mercy on me, O God, whose property is always to have mercy; have mercy upon me, O Lord, for thy great mercy. I crave nothing for mine own merits, but for thy name's sake, that it may be allowed thereby, and for thy dear Son Jesus Christ's sake. And now, therefore, our Father of heaven, hallowed be thy name," etc.

Rising he said—"Every man, good people, desireth at the time of his death to give some good exhortation, that others may remember the same before their death, and be the better thereby: so I beseech God grant me grace that I may speak something at this my departing, whereby God may be glorified, and you edified. It is a heavy cause to see that so many folk so much dote upon the love of this false world, and be so careful for it, that of the love of God, or the world to come, they seem to care very little or nothing. Therefore this shall be my first exhortation, that you set not your minds overmuch upon this deceitful world, but upon God, and upon the world to come, and to learn to know what this lesson meaneth which St. John teacheth, that the love of this world is hatred against God.

"Next unto God, you obey your king and queen willingly and gladly without murmuring or grudging; not for fear of them only, but much more for the fear of God; knowing that they be God's ministers, appointed by God to rule and govern you: and, therefore, whosoever resisteth them, resisteth the ordinance of God. Then I further entreat that you love altogether like brethren and sisters. For, alas! pity it is to see what contention and hatred one christian man beareth to another, not taking each other as brother and sister, but rather as strangers and mortal enemies. But I pray you learn and bear well away this one lesson, to do good unto all men, as much as in you lieth, and to hurt no man, no more than you would hurt your own natural loving brother or sister. For this you may be sure of, that whosoever hateth any person, and goeth about maliciously to hinder or hurt him, surely, and without all doubt, God is not with that man, although he think himself ever so much in God's favour.

“ I exhort them that have great substance and riches of this world, that they will well consider and weigh three sayings of the scripture: one is of our Saviour himself, who saith, ‘ It is hard for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven.’ A sore saying, and yet spoken by him who knoweth the truth. Another is of St. John, whose saying is this—‘ He that hath the substance of this world, and seeth his brother in necessity, and shutteth up his mercy from him, how can he say that he loveth God?’ One more saying I wish you to remember is of St. James, who speaketh to the covetous rich man, after this manner—‘ Weep you and howl for the misery that shall come upon you: your riches do rot, your clothes be moth-eaten, your gold and silver doth canker and rust, and their rust shall bear witness against you, and consume you like fire; you gather a hoard or treasure of God’s indignation against the last day.’ Let them that be rich ponder well these three sentences: for if they ever had occasion to shew their charity, they have it now at this present, the poor people being so many, and victuals so dear.

“ And now forasmuch as I am come to the end of my life, whereupon hangeth all my life past, and all my life to come, either to live with my Master Christ for ever in joy, or else to be in pain for ever with wicked devils in hell, and I see before mine eyes presently either heaven ready to receive me, or else hell ready to swallow me up: I shall therefore declare unto you my very faith how I believe, without any colour of dissimulation; for now is no time to dissemble, whatsoever I have said or written in times past.” He then recited the creed, and added—“ I believe every article of the catholic faith, every word and sentence taught by our Saviour 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 I here renounce and refuse, as things written with my hand contrary to the truth which I thought in my heart, and written for fear of death, and to save my life if it might be; and that is, all such bills and papers which I have written or signed with my hand since my degradation, wherein I have written many things untrue. And forasmuch as my hand hath offended, writing contrary to my heart, therefore my hand shall first be punished; for when I come to the fire, it shall be first burned. As for the pope, I refuse him, as Christ’s enemy and antichrist, with all his false doctrine. As for the sacrament, I believe as I have taught in my book against the bishop of Winchester, which my book teacheth so true a doctrine of the sacrament, that it shall stand at the last day before the judgment of God, where the papistical doctrine contrary thereto shall be ashamed to shew her face.”

Here the standers-by were all astonished and amazed, and looked upon one another, whose expectation he had so notably deceived. Some began to admonish him of his recantation, and to accuse him of falsehood. Briefly, it was a world to see the doctors beguiled of so great a hope; for they looked for a glorious victory by this man’s retractation. As soon as they heard these things they began to rage, fret, and fume: and so

much the more, because they could not revenge their grief; for they could no longer threaten or hurt him. For the most miserable man in the world can die but once; whereas of necessity he must needs die that day. And so when they could do nothing else to him, yet lest they should say nothing, they ceased not to object unto him his falsehood and dissimulation. To this he replied—"Ah, my masters, do not you take it so. Always since I lived hitherto, I have been a hater of falsehood, and a lover of simplicity, and never before this time have I dissembled." In saying this he wept bitterly. And when he began to speak more of the sacrament and of the papacy, some of them began to cry out and bawl, especially Cole, who cried out, "Stop the heretic's mouth and take him away!"

Then Cranmer being pulled down from the stage, was led to the fire, accompanied by those friars, vexing, troubling, and threatening him most cruelly. "What madness," say they, "has brought thee again into this error, by which thou wilt draw innumerable souls with thee into hell?" To whom he answered nothing, but directed all his talk to the people, saving that to one troubling him in the way he spake, and exhorted him to get home to his study, and apply to his book diligently; saying, if he did earnestly call upon God, by reading more, he should get knowledge. But the other, raging and foaming was almost out of his wits, always having this in his mouth, *Non fecisti?* Didst thou it not?

When he came to the place where the holy bishops and martyrs of God, Latimer and Ridley, were burnt before him for a confession of the truth, kneeling down he prayed to God; and not long tarrying in his prayers, putting off his garments to his shirt, he prepared himself to death. His shirt was made long, down to his feet, which were bare; likewise his head, when both his caps were off, was so bare that one hair could not be seen upon it. His beard was so long and thick, that it covered his face, and his reverend countenance moved the hearts both of his friends and enemies. Then the Spanish friars, John and Richard, began to exhort him, and play their parts with him afresh; but Cranmer, with steadfast purpose, abiding in the profession of his doctrine, gave his hand to certain old men and others that stood by, bidding them farewell. When he had thought to have done so likewise to Mr. Ely, the latter drew back his hand and refused, saying, it was not lawful to salute heretics, and especially such an one as falsely returned to the opinions he had forsworn. And if he had known before that he would have done so, he would never have used his company so familiarly, and chid those serjeants and citizens who had not refused to give him their hands. This Mr. Ely was a student in divinity, and had been lately made a priest, being then one of the fellows in Brazen-nose college.

Then was an iron chain tied about Cranmer, whom when they perceived to be more steadfast than that he could be moved from his sentence, they commanded the fire to be set unto him. And when the wood was kindled and the fire began to burn near him, stretching out his arm, he put his right hand into the flame, which he held so steadfast and unmovable, (saving that once with the same hand he wiped his face,) that all men might see his hand burned before his body was touched. His body did so abide the burning of the flame with such constancy and steadfastness, that standing

always in one place without moving his body, he seemed to move no more than the stake to which he was bound; his eyes were lifted up into heaven, and oftentimes he repeated "his unworthy right hand," so long as his voice would suffer him; and using often the words of Stephen, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit," in the greatness of the flames he gave up the ghost, in the sixty-seventh year of his age.

And this was the end of this learned archbishop, whom, lest by evil subscribing he should have perished, by well recanting God preserved; and lest he should have lived longer with shame and reproof, it pleased God rather to take him away, to the glory of his name and profit of his church. So good was the Lord to his church, in fortifying the same with the blood and testimony of such a martyr; and so good also to the man with this cross of tribulation, to purge his offences in this world, not only of his recantation, but also of his standing against John Lambert and master Allen, or if there were any other with whose burning and blood his hands had been before anything polluted. Thus have you the story of the life and death of this reverend archbishop and martyr of God, and also of divers other the learned sort of Christ's martyrs burned in queen Mary's time, of whom Cranmer was the last, being burned about the very middle time of the reign of that queen, and almost the very middle man of all the martyrs which were burned in all her reign besides.

Divers books, treatises, and letters the said Thomas Cranmer wrote, both in prison and out of prison, the which we have no space here to insert, saving an extract from a letter to queen Mary, which here followeth:

"I learned by Dr. Martin, that on the day of your majesty's coronation, you took an oath of obedience to the pope of Rome, and at the same time you took another oath to this realm, to maintain the laws, liberties, and customs of the same. And if your majesty did make an oath to the pope, I think it was according to the other oaths which he useth to administer to princes; which is, to be obedient to him, to defend his person, to maintain his authority, honour, laws, lands, and privileges. And if it be so, then I beseech your majesty to look upon your oath made to the crown and realm, and to compare and weigh the two oaths together, to see how they do agree, and then do as your majesty's conscience shall direct you: for I am surely persuaded, that willingly your majesty will not offend, nor do against your conscience for any thing.

"But I fear there are contradictions in your oaths, and that those who should have informed your grace thoroughly, did not their duties therein. And if your majesty ponder the two oaths diligently, I think you shall perceive you were deceived; and then your highness may use the matter as God shall put in your heart. Furthermore, I am kept here from the company of learned men, from books, from counsel, from pen and ink, except at this time, to write unto your majesty, which were all necessary for a man in my case. Wherefore I beseech your majesty that I may have such of these as may stand with your majesty's pleasure. And as for my appearance at Rome, if your majesty will give me leave, I will appear there. And I trust that God shall put in my mouth to defend his truth there as well as here. But I refer it wholly to your majesty's pleasure."

## SECTION XV.

CONTINUATION OF FAITHFUL MARTYRS FOR THE CAUSE OF CHRIST  
WHO SUFFERED BETWEEN MARCH AND SEPTEMBER 1556.

ABOUT the same time that archbishop Cranmer was burned at Oxford, suffered likewise in Ipswich, Agnes the wife of Robert Potten, and Joan wife of Michael Trunchfield, a shoemaker. Their opinion was that in the sacrament was the memorial only of Christ's death and passion. For this they were burned. In whose suffering their constancy worthily was to be wondered at, who, being so simple women, so manfully stood to the confession and testimony of God's word and verity; insomuch that when they had prepared themselves ready to the fire, with comfortable words of the Scripture they earnestly required the people to credit and to lay hold on the word of God, and not upon man's devices and inventions. Albeit both of them did so joyfully suffer, as it was marvelled at of those that knew them, and did behold their end. The Lord grant we may do the like. Amen.

After these two women of Ipswich succeeded three men, which were burnt the same month in one fire at Salisbury. Their names were John Spicer, freemason; William Coberley, tailor; John Maundrel, husbandman. These three on a certain Sunday agreed together to go to their parish church called Keevil, where the said Maundrel and the other two, seeing the parishioners in the procession to follow and worship the idol there carried, advertised them to leave the same, and return to the living God. After this the vicar came into the pulpit, who there being about to read his bead-roll, and to pray for the souls in purgatory, the said John Maundrel cried, "That was the pope's pinfold," the other two affirming the same. After which words, by commandment of the priest, they were had to the stocks, where they remained till their service was done. They were then brought before a justice; and so the next day carried to Salisbury, and presented before bishop Capon, W. Geffrey being chancellor of the diocese; by whom they were imprisoned, and oftentimes examined of their faith in their houses, but seldom openly.

At their last examination in the parish church of Fisherton Anger, the chancellor read their condemnation, and so delivered them to the sheriff; and the next day after, being the 24th of March 1556, they were carried out of the common gaol to a place betwixt Salisbury and Wilton, where were two posts set for them to be burnt at. Coming to the place, they kneeled down, and made their prayers secretly together; and then being dis clothed to their shirts, John Maundrel spake with a loud voice, "Not for all Salisbury!" which words men judged to be an answer to the sheriff, which offered him the queen's pardon if he would recant. And after that, in like manner spake John Spicer, saying: "This is the joyfullest day that ever I saw." Thus they most constantly gave their bodies to the fire and their souls to the Lord, for the testimony of his truth.

About the 23rd day of April, 1556, were burned in Smithfield in one fire, these six constant martyrs of Christ, suffering for the profession of the gospel, namely, Robert Drakes, minister; William Tyms, curate; Richard Spurge, shearman; Thomas Spurge, fuller; John Cavel, weaver; and

George Ambrose, fuller. These were all inhabitants of Essex, and so of the diocese of London, and were sent up, some by the lord Rich, and some by others, at different times, to Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, then lord chancellor of England, about the 22nd day of March, 1555; who, after a short examination, sent them, some unto the King's-bench, and others unto the Marshalsea; where they remained almost the whole year, until the death of the bishop, and had during that time nothing said unto them. Whereupon, after that Dr. Heath, archbishop of York, was chosen to the office of lord chancellor, four of these persecuted brethren, weary of their long imprisonment, made their supplication to Dr. Heath, requiring his aid for their deliverance. Accordingly they were examined, first by Sir Richard Reed, an officer in the court of chancery, and afterwards brought before Bonner.

Robert Drakes was parson of Thundersley, in Essex, and had there remained for three years. He was first made deacon by Dr. Taylor, of Hadley, at the command of Dr. Cranmer. And within one year after, he was, by the archbishop and Dr. Ridley, admitted minister of God's holy word and sacraments, and was presented to the benefice of Thundersley. On his coming to the bishop of Winchester, he was by him demanded whether he could conform himself like a subject to the laws of this realm then in force. To whom he said he would abide all laws that stood with the laws of God; thereupon he was committed to prison, where he and the rest above named did remain ever since.

William Tyms, curate of Hockley in Essex, was brought into his troubles by justice Tyrrel, in whose woods he had preached twice, by whom he was sent to London to the bishop, and from him to the bishop of Winchester, and so from him to the King's Bench. On the 21st of March the said William Tyms and Thomas Drakes, with the other four, were brought before bishop Bonner, who inquired of them their faith upon the sacrament of the altar. To whom they answered, that the body of Christ was not in the sacrament of the altar really and corporally, after the words of consecration by the priest: of which opinion they had been long time. About the 28th of the same month they were again brought before Bonner; when, on adhering to the articles objected against them, they were condemned, committed to the custody of the sheriffs of London, and sealed their faith with the shedding of their blood the 14th day of April.

John Harpole, of Rochester, and Joan Beach, a widow of Tunbridge, suffered martyrdom at this time; having been condemned by Maurice, bishop of Rochester. John Hullier, a clergyman educated in Eton school, from whence he went to King's college, in Cambridge suffered also under doctor Thirleby, bishop of Ely, and his chancellor, for the sincere preaching of the gospel. By certain letters which he left behind, it appeareth that he was zealous in the doctrine of truth, which every true christian ought to embrace. His martyrdom was on the second day of April, 1556. Six faithful brethren also suffered for their confession at Colchester, on the 28th of the same month. Their names were, Christopher Lyster, of Dagenham, husbandman; John Mace, of Colchester, apothecary; John Spencer, of Colchester, weaver; Simon Joyne, sawyer; Richard Nichols, of Colchester, weaver; John Hammond, of Colchester, tanner.

Hugh Laverock, a lame old man, of the parish of Barking, and John Apprice, a blind man, were burned at Stratford-le-Bow the 15th day of May. Being had before Bonner, in the consistory of Paul's, the 9th day of the same month, the bishop asked Apprice what he would say. To whom he answered, "Your doctrine that ye set forth and teach is so agreeable with the world, and embraced of the same, that it cannot be agreeable with the scripture of God. And ye are not of the catholic church; for ye make laws to kill men, and make the queen your hangman." At which words, the bishop being very loth to delay their condemnation, commanded that they should be brought after him to Fulham, whither he before dinner did go: and there in the afternoon, after his solemn manner, in the open church, he pronounced the definitive sentence against them. At their death, Hugh Laverock, after he was chained, cast away his crutch; and comforting John Apprice, his fellow-martyr, said to him, "Be of good comfort, 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." And so patiently these two saints of God together suffered.

The next day after were brought to the fire three women, with whom also was adjoined another. The names of these were: Katherine Hut of Bocking, widow; Joan Horns of Billericay, maid; Elizabeth Thackvel of Great Burstead, maid; Margaret Ellis of Billericay, maid; who, with divers others, were persecuted and sent up to Bonner by sir John Mordaunt and Edmund Tyrrel, esquire, justices of peace. Katherine Hut, being required of the sacrament to say her mind, openly protested, saying, "I deny it to be God; because it is a dumb God, and made with men's hands." They all persisting in the like constancy were condemned of Bonner to the fire; but as touching Margaret Ellis, before the time of her burning came, she was prevented by death in Newgate prison. The other three were had to Smithfield, and there gave their bodies to the tormentors and their spirits to God, for whose glory they were willing to suffer.

Ye heard a little before of two men, the one blind, and the other lame. And here is not to be forgotten another as godly a couple, which suffered for the same cause at Gloucester: of the which two, the one was a blind boy, named Thomas Drowry, and the other a bricklayer, named Thomas Croker. Concerning the blind boy, how long he was in prison, and in what year he suffered, I am not certain. Of this, credible intelligence I have received by the testimony of the registrar then of Gloucester, that the said blind boy at his last examination was brought by the officers before Dr. Williams, then chancellor, sitting judicially with the said registrar in the consistory in the church of Gloucester. The chancellor having ministered unto the boy such articles as were accustomed in such cases, asked him—"Dost thou not believe, that after the words of consecration spoken by the priest, there remaineth the very real body of Christ in the sacrament of the altar?" To whom the blind boy answered, "No, that I do not."

*Chan.* Then thou art a heretic, and shalt be burned. But who hath taught thee this heresy?

*Drowry.* You, master chancellor; even in yonder place, [pointing with his hand towards the pulpit, standing upon the north side of the church:] when you preached there [naming the day] a sermon to all men, as well as to me, upon the sacrament. You said, the sacrament was to be received

spiritually by faith, and not carnally and really, as the papists have heretofore taught.

*Chan.* Then do as I have done, and thou shalt live as I do, and escape burning.

*Drowry.* Though you can so easily dispense with yourself, and mock with God, the world, and your own conscience, yet will I not so do. I will not recant.

*Chan.* Then the Lord have mercy upon thee, for I will read the condemnation sentence against thee.

*Drowry.* God's will be fulfilled.

The registrar being herewith somewhat moved, stood up, and said to the chancellor: "Fie for shame, man! will you read the sentence against him, and condemn yourself? Away, away, and substitute some other to give sentence and judgment." To whom the chancellor replied, "No, registrar, I will obey the law, and give sentence myself, according to mine office." And so he read the sentence condemnatory against the boy, (with an unhappy tongue, and a more unhappy conscience,) delivering him over to the secular power; who on the 15th of May brought the blind boy to the place of execution, at Gloucester; together with Thomas Croker, condemned also for the like testimony of the truth, where both, in one fire, most constantly and joyfully yielded their souls to the hands of the Lord Jesus.

After the death of these above rehearsed, were three men burnt at Beccles in Suffolk, in one fire, about the 21st of May, anno 1556, whose names are here specified: Thomas Spicer of Winston, labourer; John Denny, and Edmund Poole. They were condemned by Dr. Dunning, committed to the secular power, and the next day after were all burnt together. Whereupon it is thought, that the writ was not yet come down, nor could be, the lord chancellor bishop Heath being the same time at London.

By the procurement of sir John Tyrrel and others of his colleagues, many persons were driven from their homes in Suffolk. Among whom was Mrs. Twaites, a lady of upwards of 60 years of age. The following June, about the 6th of the month, four martyrs suffered together at Lewes; their names were, Thomas Harland, John Oswald, Thomas Avington and Thomas Reed, who had all suffered a long imprisonment in the King's-Bench. Soon after, in the same town, were burned Thomas Whood, minister, and Thomas Milles, for resisting the erroneous doctrine of the church of Rome. And in a few days William Adderhall, minister, died in the prison of the King's-Bench, and was buried in the prison-yard: also John Clement, wheelwright, who was buried upon the dunghill. There was also about that time a young man, a merchant's servant, who for the like godliness suffered cruel persecution from the papists, and was burnt at Leicester. And not long after the death of this youth, there were burned in one fire at Stratford le Bow, by London, eleven men and two women! These were named, Henry Adlington, Laurence Parnam, Henry Wye, William Hallywel, Thomas Bowyer, George Searles, Edmund Hurst, Lyon Cawch, Ralph Jackson, John Derifall, John Routh, Elizabeth Pepper, Agnes George. Unto these Dr. Darbyshire, Bonner's chancellor, in form of law, ministered the same articles that were pronounced unto Thomas Whittle and his companions, mentioned before.



When these thirteen were condemned, and the day had arrived on which they should suffer, which was the 27th of June, 1556, they were carried from Newgate in London, to Stratford, and there divided into two classes and placed in two several chambers. Afterwards the sheriff, who there attended upon them, came to the one part, and told them that the other had recanted, that their lives would therefore be saved, exhorting them to do the like, and not to cast themselves away. Unto whom they answered, that their faith was not built upon man, but on Christ crucified. Then the sheriff perceiving no good to be done with them, went to the other part, and said the like to them, that they with whom they had been before, had recanted, and should therefore not suffer death, counselling them to the like, and not wilfully to kill themselves, but be wise. Unto whom they also answered as their brethren had done before, that their faith was not built on man, but on Christ and his word. He then led them to the place where they should suffer, and being there altogether, they most earnestly prayed unto the Lord, and then joyfully went to the stake and kissed it, and embraced it very heartily. The eleven men were tied to three stakes, and the two women loose in the middle without any stake, and thus they were all burnt in one fire.

About the same time were burned in one fire, at Bury in Suffolk, Roger Bernard, Adam Foster, and Robert Lawson. In an early part of July died in the King's Bench, where he had suffered a long imprisonment, Mr. John Careless, of Coventry, a weaver. He was a young man, had a wife and a young family. He left behind him several letters, which discovered a considerable knowledge of scripture and great firmness and piety.

About July 16 suffered Julius Palmer, John Gwin, and Thomas Askin. Palmer was a young man of respectable family, his father having been mayor of Coventry, at which town Julius was born. He had been placed at Magdalen College, Oxford, where he had made unusual progress in his studies, and was remarked for the sharpness of his wit and for his powers of disputation. During the reign of Edward, he was a zealous advocate for the Romish church, and for the contumacy he shewed to the protestant teachers, and his hostile disposition towards them, he was expelled the college. Soon after the accession of Mary, however, he was restored to his living, when, happening to read with attention Calvin's Institutes, he was convinced of the truth, renounced the errors of popery, openly avowed the protestant doctrines, and consequently became a subject of persecution. In his distress he applied to his mother for aid; but he got nothing but curses from her for his heresy, as she termed it, telling him, that she would give him nothing but fagots to burn him with. In return for this, the follower of Christ blessed her and departed. He was seized at Reading in his bed, having been betrayed by a confidant to whom he had related his story. He was soon brought to trial before Dr. Jeffrey, who acted for the bishop of Sarum, and the sheriff of the county. After two examinations, the said Dr. Jeffrey proceeded to read the popish sentence of his cruel condemnation; and so was he delivered to the charge of the secular power, and was burnt the same day in the afternoon, together with the other two.

Within an hour before they went to the place of execution, Palmer, in the presence of many people, comforted his fellows with these words: "Brethren," saith he, "be of good cheer in the Lord, and faint not. Remember the words of our Saviour Christ, where he saith, 'Happy are you when men revile you and persecute you for righteousness' sake. Rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven. Fear not them that kill the body, and be not able to touch the soul. God is faithful, and will not suffer us to be tempted further than we shall be able to bear it.' We shall not end our lives in the fire, but make a change for a better life. Yea, for coals, we shall receive pearls: for God's Holy Spirit certifieth our spirit, that he hath even now prepared for us a sweet supper in heaven, for his sake who suffered for us."

When they were come to the place appointed for their suffering, they all three fell to the ground, and Palmer, with an audible voice, pronounced the 31st psalm, while the other two made their prayers secretly to Almighty God. And as Palmer began to rise, there came behind him two popish priests, exhorting him to recant and save his soul. Palmer answered and said—"Away, away, tempt me no longer! Away, I say, from me all you that work iniquity; for the Lord hath heard the voice of my tears!" And so forthwith they put off their raiment, and went to the stake and kissed it. And when they were bound to the post, Palmer said, "Good people, pray for us, that we may persevere to the end. And for Christ's sake beware of popish teachers, for they deceive you." As he spake this, a servant of one of the bailiffs threw a fagot at his face, that the blood gushed out in divers places: for the which fact the sheriff reviled him, calling him cruel tormentor, and with his walking-staff break his head, that the blood likewise ran about his ears. When the fire was kindled, and began to take hold upon their bodies, they lifted up their hands towards heaven, and quietly and cheerily, as though they had felt no smart, they cried—"Lord Jesus, strengthen us; Lord Jesus, assist us; Lord Jesus, receive our souls!" And so they continued without any struggling, holding up their hands, and knocking their hearts, and calling upon Jesus until they had ended their mortal lives.

Among other things this is also to be noted, that after their three heads, by force of the raging and devouring flames of fire, were fallen together in a lump or cluster, which was marvellous to behold, and that they all were judged already to have given up the ghost, suddenly Palmer, as a man waked out of sleep, moved his tongue and jaws, and was heard to pronounce this word "Jesus!" So, being resolved into ashes, he yielded to God as joyful a soul (confirmed with the sweet promises of Christ) as any one that ever was called beside to suffer for his blessed name. God grant us all to be moved with the like spirit, working in our hearts constantly to stand in confession of Christ's holy gospel, to the end. Amen.

Amongst all and singular histories touched in this book before, as there be many pitiful, divers lamentable, some horrible and tragical; so is there none almost either in cruelty to be compared, or so far off from all compassion and sense of humanity, as this merciless fact of the papists, done in the Isle of Guernsey upon three women and an infant, whose names were Katherine Cawches, the mother; Guillemine Gilbert, the daughter; Perotine Massey, the other daughter; and an infant, the son of Perotine.

The circumstances whereupon did rise this tragical cruelty were these: In a town in Guernsey, called St. Peter's Port, was a naughty woman named Vincent Gosset, who on the 17th of May, anno 1556, went at night to the house of one Nicholas le Conronney; and there taking the key of the house (lying under the door) entered into a chamber toward the street, and took away a silver cup out of a cupboard. Immediately after, (whether by counsel or what occasion else I have not to say,) she brought the said cup to Perotine Massey, who, suspecting the same to be stolen, answered that she would not take it: yet nevertheless having knowledge of the owner thereof, to the end she should not carry it to another, gave her sixpence, minding herself to restore the cup to whom it did appertain. The said Perotine giving knowledge to Conronney of the trespass, he attached the said Vincent Gosset; who, being apprehended and examined, immediately confessed the fact, desiring to have one sent with her with sixpence to fetch again the goblet, where it was; and so she did.

The next day the king's officers assembled the justices there to inquire further, as well upon that fact of Vincent Gosset, as upon other griefs and things there. So that after the declaration made by the officers and constable before the justices, for that the said constable did report to have found a certain vessel of pewter in the house of the foresaid Perotine Massey (who then dwelt with her mother and sister) which did bear no mark, and especially a pewter dish whereof the name was scraped out; their bodies upon the same were attached and put in prison, and their movable goods taken by inventory. The cause being debated on the 5th of June following, they were found not guilty of that they were charged with, but to have lived always as honest women among their neighbours; saving only that to the commandments of holy church they had not been obedient, etc. Upon this trial and verdict it was in fine adjudged, first, that the said Vincent Gosset, being attainted of felony and condemned for the same, should be whipped, and after, her ear being nailed to the pillory, should so be banished out of the isle without further punishment. And as touching the other three women, the mother with her two daughters, for their not coming to the church they were returned prisoners again into the castle the 1st of July.

The bailiff, the lieutenants, and the jurats, thinking the matter not to pertain to them but to the clergy, forthwith wrote to the dean and to the curates of the said isle; whereupon, a few days after, the said women were examined apart severally by the foresaid dean and curates, and returned again into prison. On the 14th day of the said month of July was delivered before the justice, under the seal of the dean and under the signs of the curates, a certain act and sentence, the sum whereof was, that Katherine Cawches and her two daughters were found heretics, and such they reputed them, and have delivered them to justice, to do execution according to the sentence. When this was done, commandment was given to fetch the said women from the castle, to hear the sentence against them. After this was pronounced, the said women did appeal unto the king and queen, and their honourable council, saying, that against reason and right they were condemned, and for that cause they made their appeal: notwithstanding they could not be heard, but were delivered by the bailiffs to the officers, to see the execution flowe on them according to the sentence.

The time arriving when these three innocents should suffer, in the place where they should consummate their martyrdom were three stakes set up. At the middle post was the mother, the eldest daughter on the right hand, the youngest on the other. They were first strangled, but the rope brake before they were dead, and so the poor women fell into the fire. Perotine, who was then great with child, did fall on her side, where happened a rueful sight, not only to the eyes of all that there stood, but also to the ears of all true-hearted Christians that shall read this history. For as the belly of the woman burst asunder by the vehemency of the flame, the infant, being a fair man-child, fell into the fire, and eftsoons being taken out of the fire by one W. House, was laid upon the grass. Then was the child had to the provost, and from him to the bailiff, who gave censure, that it should be carried back again, and cast into the fire, where it was burnt with the silly mother, grandmother, and aunt, very pitiful to behold. And so the infant baptised in his own blood, to fill up the number of God's innocent saints, was both born and died a martyr, leaving behind to the world, which it never saw, a spectacle wherein the whole world may see the Herodian cruelty of this graceless generation of popish tormentors, *ad perpetuam rei infamiam*.

Now forsomuch as this story percase, for the horrible strangeness of the fact, will be hardly believed by some, but rather be thought to be forged, or else more amplified than truth will bear out, therefore, to discharge my credit herein, I have not only foretold a little before, how I received this story by the faithful relation both of the French and English, of them which were there present witnesses and lookers on, but also have hereto annexed the true supplication of the inhabitants of Guernsey, and of the brother of Katherine Cawches, complaining to Queen Elizabeth and her commissioners, concerning the horribleness of the act. The petition, after stating the cruelty of the case, solicits the restoration of the property of the martyrs, which had been confiscated, to him, as the rightful heir. This being presented to the queen's commissioners, in the year 1562, such order therein was taken, that the matter being returned again down to the said country, further to be examined, the dean, who had been instrumental in the tragical event, was committed to prison, and dispossessed of all his livings. So that, in conclusion, both he and all other partakers of that bloody murder, whether of conscience, or for fear of the law, were driven to acknowledge their trespass, and to submit themselves to the queen's mercy.

As the rage of this persecution spared neither man, woman, nor child, wife nor maid, lame, blind, nor cripple; so neither was there any condition or quality respected of any person; but whosoever he were that held not as they did on the pope, and sacrament of the altar, were he learned or unlearned, wise or simple, all went to the fire. Thomas Moor, a simple poor creature and innocent soul, was apprehended for saying that his Maker was in heaven, and not in the pix. Coming before his ordinary, he was first asked, whether he did not believe his Maker there to be, (pointing to the high altar :) which he denied. Then asked the bishop, "How dost thou believe?" The young man answered again, As his creed did teach him. To whom the bishop said, "And what is yonder that thou seest above the altar?" He answering said, "Forsooth I cannot tell what

you would have me to see. I see there fine clothes, with golden tassels, and other gay gear hanging about the pix: what is within I cannot see." "Why, dost thou not believe," said the bishop, "Christ to be there, flesh, blood, and bone?" "No, that I do not," said he. Whereupon the bishop read the sentence in St. Margaret's church in Leicester; in which town he suffered a joyful and glorious martyrdom about the 26th of June 1556.

Thomas Dungate, John Foreman, and Mother Tree, suffered at Grinstead in Sussex, patiently abiding what the furious rage of man could work against them, on the 18th of July, in the year aforesaid.

On the 1st day of August suffered likewise at Derby a certain poor honest godly woman, being blind from her birth, and unmarried, about the age of twenty-two, named Joan Waste, of the parish of All-hallows. This poor woman had by her labour gotten and saved so much money as bought her a New Testament; and though she was unlearned, and by reason of her blindness unable to read, yet for the great desire she had to understand the holy Scriptures, she acquainted herself chiefly with one John Hurt, a sober grave man of the age of three score and ten years, who did for his exercise daily read unto her some one chapter of the New Testament.

Not long after, through the fatal death of blessed king Edward, followed the woeful ruin of religion; and this poor blind woman, continuing in a constant conscience, was soon called before Ralph Banes, bishop of the diocese, and others, when sentence was pronounced against her. On the day that she should suffer, she was first led into the parish church of All-Saints, where Dr. Draicot declared unto the people that she was condemned for denying the blessed sacrament of the altar; and said that as her body should be presently consumed with material fire, so her soul should be burnt in hell with everlasting fire, saying it was not lawful to pray for her. Afterwards, this poor blind creature was carried to a place called Windmill-pit, where she cried upon Christ to have mercy upon her while life served.

About the beginning of September, a certain godly, devout person, and zealous of the Lord's glory, born in Wiltshire, named Edward Sharpe, of the age of forty or thereabouts, was condemned at Bristol to the like martyrdom; in whose death, as in the death of all his other saints, the Lord be glorified and thanked for his great grace of constancy.

Next after Edward Sharpe, followed four which suffered at Mayfield in Sussex, the 24th of September: namely, John Hart, Thomas Ravensdale, a shoemaker, and a currier; which said four, being at the place where they should suffer, after they had made their prayer, and were at the stake ready to abide the force of the fire, they constantly and joyfully yielded their lives for the testimony of the glorious gospel of Jesus Christ.

The day after the martyrdom of these foresaid at Mayfield, a young man, a carpenter, whose name we have not, was put to death for the like testimony at Bristol. And not long after the death of this young man, were two more godly martyrs consumed by fire at Wootton-under-Edge in Gloucestershire; namely, one John Horn and a woman. They died in a constant faith: so gloriously did the Lord work in them, that death unto them was life, and life with a blotted conscience was death.

When I had finished the story of the Guernsey martyrs, and also had passed the burning of the poor blind woman at Derby, I well hoped I should have found no more such stories of unmerciful cruelty; but now I

find another showed against a woman in child-bed, as far from all charity and humanity as hath been any other story rehearsed. At Wootton-under-Edge, near Bristol, was dwelling one William Dangerfield, who by Joan Dangerfield his wife had nine children, and she now lying in child-bed of the tenth. This William, after he had been abroad a certain space for fear of persecution, hearing that his wife was brought to bed, repaired home to visit her, as natural duty required, and to see his children, she being now delivered four days. His return was no sooner known to some of his unkind and uncharitable neighbours, but they, incensed with the spirit of papistry, eftsoons beset the house, and there took the said William Dangerfield and carried him to prison; and so at length he was brought to the bishop, being then Brooks, in whose cruel handling he remained so long that his legs almost were fretted off with the irons.

After the apprehension of the husband, the wife likewise was taken, with her young-born child, being but fourteen days old, and carried into the common jail; where both she and her poor innocent found so small charity amongst the catholic men, that she never could come to any fire, but was driven to warm the clothes she should put about the child in her bosom. While they lay thus enclosed in several prisons, the bishop began with the husband, falsely persuading him that his wife had recanted, and asking him wherefore he should more stand in his own conceit than she; and so subtly drew out a form of recantation, wherewith he deceived the simple soul: whereunto after that he had once granted that he would consent, they suffered him to go to his wife. Then they with melting hearts opening their minds one to another, when he saw his wife not released, he declared unto her the whole matter, how falsely he was circumvented by the subtle flatterings of the bishop, bearing him in hand that certainly she had recanted: "And thus deceiving me," said he, "brought this unto me;" and so plucked out of his bosom the copy of the recantation, whereunto he had granted his promise. At sight whereof the wife's heart clave asunder, saying, "Alack! thus long have we continued one, and hath Satan so prevailed to cause you to break your first vow made to Christ in baptism?" And so they parted, with what hearts the Lord knoweth. Then began the said William to bewail his promise, and to make his prayer to Almighty God, desiring that he might not live; and so departed toward his house, where by the way (as it is affirmed) he took his death, and shortly after departed, according to his prayer. Joan his wife still continued in prison, with her tender babe so long as her milk served; till at length the child, starved for cold and famine, was sent away when past all remedy, and so shortly after died; and not long after the mother also followed. Besides, the old woman, mother of the husband, upwards of eighty years of age, being left in the house after their apprehension, for lack of comfort perished also.

John Kurde, a shoemaker, late of Syresham, in Northamptonshire, was imprisoned in Northampton castle for denying transubstantiation. The sentence was pronounced against him by the archdeacon of Northampton, in the church of All Saints; and in September he was led without the north gate, and in the stone-pits was burnt. In October died three godly confessors in the castle of Chichester. In November were fifteen innocent martyrs together in Canterbury castle, of which number five were famished in strait prison, and the other ten afterwards burnt.

## SECTION XVI.

THE VISITATION OF THE UNIVERSITIES—BURNING OF THE DEAD BODIES OF BUCER AND PHAGIUS—WITH THE CRUEL HANDLING OF GOD'S SAINTS IN OTHER PARTS OF THIS REALM, IN THE YEAR 1557.

CARDINAL POLE, three years after his return into England, having somewhat withdrawn his mind from other affairs of the realm, and having in all points established the Romish religion, began to have an eye to the university of Cambridge, which place among others specially seemed to need reformation. To perform this charge were chosen Cuthbert Scot, not long before consecrated bishop of Chester; Nicholas Ormanet, an Italian, arch-priest of the people of Bozolo, in Verona, professed in both the laws, and bearing the name of the pope's datary; Thomas Watson, bishop of Lincoln; John Christopherson, bishop of Chichester; and Henry Cole, provost of the college of Eton. These persons thus appointed sent their letters, with the cardinal's citation, before to Dr. Andrew Perne, vice-chancellor then of Cambridge, with the other commissioners associate, commanding him to warn all the graduates of the university, in their name, to be in readiness against the 11th day of January, betwixt eight and ten of the clock, in the church of St. Mary the Virgin; willing him especially to be there himself in presence, and also to set forward all the residue, to whose charge it belonged, that they should search out all statutes, books, privileges, and monuments appertaining to the university, or to any of the colleges, or finally to any of themselves; and these to present before them at the day appointed, and every man to appear there personally.

After this, upon the 24th of December, the vice-chancellor with the heads of the houses, meeting together in the schools, it was there concluded that the visitors' charges should be borne by the university and colleges, (which then cost the university a hundred pounds thick,) and also that no master of any college should suffer any of the fellows, scholars, or ministers to go forth of the town, but to return before the visitation. The inquisitors arrived at Cambridge on the 9th of January; and the day after they interdicted the two churches, namely, St. Mary's, where Bucer, and St. Michael's, where Paulus Phagius lay buried. On the 11th, being the day appointed, the vice-chancellor of the university, with the masters and presidents of the colleges, and all the graduates of every house, were commanded to appear before the said commissioners. They assembled in great number to Trinity college, having the university cross borne before them; and in the Gatehouse a form was set and covered with cushions, and carpet on the ground, for the visitors. Master John Stokes, common orator of the university, one of the popish superstition, (for none but such, in those days, might be promoted to any worship,) made an oration in the name of all the rest; and when he had ended, the bishop of Chester answered thereto.

These things being finished, they were brought processionaliter to King's college, by all the graduates of the university, where was sung a mass of the Holy Ghost with great solemnity, nothing wanting in that behalf that might make to the setting forth of the same. From thence they attended all upon the legates to St. Mary's church, which we declared before to

have been interdicted; in the which place, forso much as it was suspended, although no mass might be sung, yet there was a sermon made in open audience by master Peacock in the Latin tongue, preaching against heresies and heretics, as Bilney, Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, etc. The which being ended, they proceeded eftsoons to the visitation, where first Dr. Harvy did, in the cardinal's name, exhibit the commission to the bishop of Chester, with a few words in Latin. Which being accepted, and by master clerk openly read to the end, then the vice-chancellor with an oration did exhibit the certificate under his seal of office, with the cardinal's citation annexed, containing every man's name in the university and colleges, with the officers and all the masters of houses. After the formal solemnity of these things thus accomplished, all the masters of the houses only being cited, every man for awhile departed home to his own house, with commandment to be at the common schools of the said university at one of the clock the same day.

The next day being the 12th of January, they resorted to the King's college to make inquisition, either because the same was chief and sovereign of all the residue, or else because that that house had been counted, time out of mind, never to be without a heretic (as they termed them) or twain: and at that present time, albeit many of late had withdrawn themselves from thence, yet they judged there were some remaining still.

The order and manner how they would be entertained of every college, when they should come to make inquisition, they themselves appointed, which was in this sort. They commanded the master of every house, together with the residue, as well fellows as scholars, appareled in priest-like garments, (which they call habits,) to meet them at the uttermost gate of their house towards the town: the master himself to be dressed in like apparel as the priest when he harnesseth himself to mass; saving that he should put on uppermost his habit, as the rest did. The order of their going they appointed to be in this wise: the master of the house to go foremost; next unto him, every man in his order as he was of degree, seniority, or of years. Before the master should be carried a cross and holy water to sprinkle the commissioners withal; and then, after that, the said commissioners to be censured. And so after this meeting and mumbling of a few devotions, they determined with this pomp and solemnity to be brought to the chapel.

Three days long lasted the inquisition there. This was now the third day of their coming, and it was thought that the case of Bucer and Phagius was delayed longer than needed. The vice-chancellor and the masters of the colleges assembled at the common schools, where every man gave his verdict what he thought meet to be done in this matter of Bucer. After much debating, they agreed altogether in this determination: that forasmuch as Martin Bucer, while he lived, had not only sowed pernicious and erroneous doctrine among them, but also himself had been a sectary and famous heretic, erring from the catholic church, and giving others occasion to fall from the same likewise, a supplication should be made to the lords commissioners, in the name of the whole university, that his dead carcase might forthwith be digged up, (for so it was needful to be done,) to the intent that inquisition might be made as touching his doctrine, etc. They gave the same verdict, by common assent, upon Phagius also.



The day after, the vice-chancellor, Andrew Perne, waited upon the commissioners, according to the appointment, about seven of the clock in the morning. He had scarce declared the cause of his coming, but he had not only obtained his suit, but also even at the very same time received the sentence of condemnation, for taking up of Bucer and Phagius, fair copied out by Ormanet the datary himself, which was soon after signed with the common seal of the university.

This condemnation being openly read, then Dr. Perne desired to send out process to cite Bucer and Phagius to appear, or any others that would take upon them to plead their cause, and to stand to the order of the court against the next Monday. The commissioners condescended to his request, and the next day process went out to cite the offenders. This citation Vincent of Noally, their common notary, having first read it over before certain witnesses appointed for the same purpose, caused to be fixed up in places convenient, to wit, upon St. Mary's church-door, the door of the common schools, and the cross in the market-stead. In this was specified, that whosoever would maintain Bucer and Phagius, or stand in defence of their doctrine, should, at the eighteenth day of the same month, stand forth before the lord commissioners in St. Mary's church, and there every man should be sufficiently heard what he could say.

When the day came, and that neither Bucer nor Phagius would appear at their call in the court, nor that any put forth himself to defend them, the commissioners put off the judgment day unto the 26th of the same month. Upon this day the vice-chancellor was sent for to their lodging, with whom they agreed concerning the order of publishing the sentence. And because there should want no solemnity in the matter, they commanded him further to warn the mayor of the town to be there at the day appointed with all his burgeses.

On the day aforesaid all met together in St. Mary's church, where, after reciting the process, Dr. Scot, one of the inquisitors, made a long oration; after which he read the sentence condemning Bucer and Phagius of heresy. He then commanded their bodies to be digged out of their graves, and being degraded from holy orders, delivered them to the secular power: for it was not lawful for such innocent persons as they were, abhorring from all bloodshed, and detesting all desire of murder, to put any man to death!

Upon the 6th day of February, their dead bodies were borne into the market-place, (Bucer in the chest that he was buried, and Phagius in a new,) with a great train of people following them. This place was prepared before, and a great post was set fast in the ground to bind the carcases to, and a great heap of wood was laid ready to burn them withal. The chests were set up on end, with the dead bodies in them, and fastened on both sides with stakes, and bound to the post with a long iron chain as if they had been alive. Fire being forthwith put to, as soon as it began to flame round about, a great sort of books that were condemned with them were cast into the same.

In the mean time that they were roasting in the fire, Watson went into the pulpit in St. Mary's church, and there, before his audience, railed upon their doctrine, as wicked and erroneous, saying that it was the ground of all mischief that had happened of a long time in the commonweal. Many things he slanderously and falsely alleged against Bucer, whose doctrine

either he would not understand, or else he was minded to slander. And yet he was not ignorant that Bucer taught none other things than the very same whereunto he and Scot, in the reign of king Edward the sixth, had subscribed to with their own hands.

The next day following, the aforesaid Scot, bishop of Chester, with much ceremonial solemnity, reconciled the two churches of St. Mary and St. Michael, which we declared to have been interdicted before. After this they bestowed a few days in punishing and amercing such as they thought had deserved it. Some they suspended from giving voices either to their own preferment or that of any other; some they forbade to have the charge of pupils; others they chastised wrongfully without any desert, punishing contrary to all right and reason; and last of all they set forth certain statutes by the which they would have the university hereafter ordered.

The commissioners were now ready to go their ways; and the university, coveting to show some token of courtesy to them for so great benefits, dignified Ormanet and Cole with the degree of doctorship, for all the residue had received that order before. Thus, at length, were sent away these peacemakers, that came to pacify strifes and quarrels, who, through provoking every man to accuse one another, left such gaps and breaches in men's hearts at their departure, that to this day they could never be closed nor joined together again!

Having thus considered the doings of these inquisitors at Cambridge, we will proceed to discourse of the despicable handling of Peter Martyr's wife at Oxford. For because the one university should not mock the other, like cruelty was also declared upon the dead body of the said Peter Martyr's wife, an honest, grave, and sober matron, while she lived, and of poor people a great helper, who departed this life in the year of our Lord 1552. Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, Nicholas Ormanet, datary, Robert Morewen, president of Corpus-Christi college, Cole and Wright, doctors of the civil law, came thither as the cardinal's visitors; and, among other things, had in commission to take up this good woman again out of her grave, and to consume her carcase with fire, not doubting but that she was of the same religion that her husband had professed before.

To be short, after these visitors had sped the business they came for, they gat them to the cardinal again, certifying him that, upon due inquisition made, they could learn nothing upon which by the law they might burn her. Notwithstanding the cardinal, a good while after, wrote to Marshal, then dean of Frideswide's, that he should dig her up, and lay her out of Christian burial, because she was interred nigh unto St. Frideswide's relics, sometime had in great reverence in that college. Dr. Marshal, like a pretty man, calling his spades and mattocks together in the evening, caused her to be taken up and buried in a dunghill.

Howbeit, when it pleased God under good queen Elizabeth to give quietness to his church, Dr. Parker, archbishop of Canterbury, Edmund Grindal, bishop of London, Richard Goodrick, with divers others, her majesty's high commissioners in matters of religion, willed certain of that college to take her out of that unclean and dishonest place where she lay, and solemnly, in the face of the whole town, to bury her again in a more decent and honest monument. Wherefore master James Calfield, then sub-dean of the college, diligently provided that from Marshal's dunghill

she was restored and translated to her proper place again, yea, and withal coupled her with Frideswide's bones, that in case any cardinal will be so mad hereafter to remove this woman's bones again, it shall be hard for them to discern the bones of her from the other.

Moreover, the commissioners under good queen Elizabeth, having also received commission to make reformation of religion in the university of Cambridge and other parts of the realm, decreed that the aforesaid Bucer and Phagius should be set in their places again. For the performance whereof they addressed their letters to the vice-chancellor and the graduates of the university, when by the verdict and open consent of the whole university they were fully restored, and all acts done against them and their doctrine repealed and disannulled, about the twenty-second day of July, in the year of our Lord 1560.

In January 1557, ten godly and Christian martyrs were committed unto the fire, and there consumed to ashes, by Thornton, suffragan of Dover, and Nicholas Harpsfield, archdeacon of the said province. Their names were John Philpot, Matthew Bradbridge, and Nicholas Final, of Tenterden; William Waterer and Thomas Stephens, of Biddenden; Stephen Kempe of Norgate; William Hay of Hythe; Thomas Hudson of Selling; William Lowick of Cranbrooke; William Prowting of Thornham. Of these, six were burned at Canterbury, about the 15th of January; two at Ashford the day following; and other two at Wye, about the same month.

On the 8th of the next month following, which was February, came out another bloody commission from the king and queen, to kindle up the fire of persecution, as though it were not hot enough already. After this commission was given out at London, the new inquisitors, especially some of them, began to ruffle, and to take upon them not a little; so that all quarters were full of persecution, and prisons almost full of prisoners, namely, in the diocese of Canterbury, whereof (by leave of Christ) we will say more anon.

In the mean time, about the town of Colchester, the wind of persecution began fiercely to rise; insomuch that three-and-twenty together, fifteen men and eight women, were apprehended at one clap, of the which one escaped. The other twenty-two were driven like a flock of Christian lambs to London, with two or three leaders with them at most, ready to give their skins to be plucked off for the gospel's sake. When they entered into the towns their keepers called them into array, to go two and two together, having a band or line going between them, they holding the same in their hands, having another cord every one about his arm, as though they were tied. And so were they carried up to London, the people by the way praying to God for them, to give them strength. Notwithstanding the bishops, afraid belike of the numbers to put so many at once to death, sought means to deliver them; and so they did, drawing out a very easy submission for them, or rather suffering them to draw it out themselves: notwithstanding divers of them afterward were taken again and suffered, as hereafter ye shall hear (God willing) declared.

In this story of persecuted martyrs, next in order follow five others burned at London, in Smithfield, on the 12th of April. Their names were, Thomas Loseby, Henry Ramsey, Thomas Thirtel, Margaret Hide, and

Agnes Stanley; who being, some by the lord Riche, some by other justices of peace, and constables (their own neighbours) at the first accused, and apprehended for not coming to their parish churches, were in the end sent unto Bonner, bishop of London; and, by his commandment, the 27th day of January were examined before Dr. Darbyshire, then chancellor to the said bishop. In their answers they confessed there was one true and catholic church, whereof they steadfastly believed, and thought the church of Rome to be no part or member thereof; so in the same church they believed there were but two sacraments, that is to say, baptism and the supper of the Lord.

After this, the 1st day of April, they were again convented before the bishop in his palace at London, where little appeareth to be done, except it were to know whether they would stand to their answers, and whether they would recant or no. But when they refused to recant and deny the received and infallible truth, the bishop caused them to be brought into the open consistory, the 3rd day of the same month of April, where, first understanding by them their immutable constancy and steadfastness, he pronounced the sentence of condemnation against them, and charged the sheriff of London with them; who being thereunto commanded, the 12th day of the same month, brought them into Smithfield, where altogether in one fire most joyfully and constantly they ended their temporal lives, receiving there-for the life eternal.

After these, moreover, in the month of May, followed three others that suffered in St. George's-fields in Southwark: William Morant, Stephen Gratwick, with one King. Among other histories of the persecuted and condemned saints of God, I find the condemnation of none more strange nor unlawful than of this Stephen Gratwick: who first was condemned by the bishops of Winchester and Rochester, which were not his ordinaries. Secondly, when he did appeal from those incompetent judges to his right ordinary, his appeal could not be admitted. Thirdly, when they had no other shift to colour their inordinate proceedings withal, they suborned one of the priests to come in for a counterfeit and false ordinary, and sit upon him. Fourthly, being openly convinced and overturned in his own arguments, yet the said bishop of Winchester, Dr. White, neither would yield to the force of truth, nor suffer any of the audience assistant once to say, God strengthen him. Fifthly, as they brought in a false ordinary to sit upon him, so they pretended false articles against him which were no part of his examinations, but of their devising, to have his blood. Sixthly and lastly, having no other ground nor just matters against him, but only for saying these words, "That which I said, I have said," they read the sentence against him.

I showed a little before, how after the universal proclamation was sent and set forth by the king and queen in the month of February last, the storm of persecution began in all places to rise, but yet in no place more than in the country and diocese of Canterbury, especially by reason of Richard Thornton suffragan of Dover, and Harpsfield archdeacon of Canterbury, who of their own nature were so furious and fiery against the harmless flock of Christ, that there was no need of any proclamation to stir up the coals of their burning cruelty, by reason whereof many a godly saint lyeth slain under the altar, as in divers places of this book appear.

On the 18th of June were seven Christian and true faithful martyrs of Christ burned at Maidstone, whose names here follow : Joan Bradbridge of Staplehurst ; Walter Appleby of Maidstone ; Petronil, his wife ; Edmund Allin of Frittenden, and Katherine, his wife ; John Manning's wife, of Maidstone ; and Elizabeth, a blind maiden. As concerning the general articles commonly objected to them in the public consistory, and the order of their condemnation, it differeth not much from the usual manner expressed before, neither did their answers in effect much differ from the others that suffered under the same ordinary, in the foresaid diocese of Canterbury.

On the 19th of the said month of June, four women and three men were burnt together at Canterbury : namely, John Fishcock, Nicholas White, Nicholas Pardue, Barbara Final, widow ; Bradbridge's widow, who was thought to be with child ; Wilson's wife, and Benden's wife. The latter was accused of her own husband, and kept in prison nine weeks upon bread and water, lying upon a little short straw between a pair of stocks and a stone wall, during all which time she never changed her apparel, whereby she became at the last a most piteous and loathsome creature to behold. Being brought to the place where they should suffer for the Lord's cause, they undressed themselves joyfully to the fire ; and being ready thereto, they all (like the communion of saints) kneeled down and made their humble prayers unto the Lord, with such zeal and affection as even the enemies of the cross of Christ could not but like it. When they had made invocation together, they rose and went to the stake, where, being compassed with horrible flames of fire, they yielded their souls and lives gloriously into the hand of the Lord, unto whose eternity the Son of God bring us all. Amen.

Matthew Plaise, a weaver, of the same county of Kent, and a faithful Christian, was apprehended and imprisoned likewise for the testimony of a good conscience, in the castle of Canterbury. He was brought to examination before the bishop of Dover, and Harpsfield the archdeacon ; but what became of him after, whether he died in prison, or was executed, or delivered, I have as yet no certain knowledge.

In the town of Lewes were ten faithful servants of God put in one fire the 22nd day of June, whose names follow : Richard Woodman ; George Stevens ; W. Mainard ; Alexander Hosman, his servant ; Thomasin à Wood, Mainard's maid ; Margery Moris ; James Moris, her son ; Dennis Burgis ; Ashdon's wife ; and Grove's wife. Of the which number, Richard Woodman was the first. He was by his occupation an iron-maker, in the parish of Warbleton, Sussex, in the diocese of Chichester, about the age of thirty years. The occasion of his first apprehension was this : There was a man named Fairebanke, who sometime had been a married priest, and served the cure of Warbleton, where he had often persuaded the people not to credit any other doctrine but that which he preached in king Edward's days. But in the beginning of queen Mary's reign, this Fairebanke preached contrary to that which he had before taught. Whereupon Richard Woodman, hearing him so to preach contrary to himself, admonished him of his inconstancy, how beforetime he had taught them one thing, and now another, and desired him to teach them the truth. For the which words he was apprehended, and brought before master John Ashbornham, master Tonston, master Culpepper, and master Roberts,

justices of peace in the county of Sussex, and by them committed to the King's Bench, where he continued from June, the space almost of a year and a half; and from thence was transferred by Dr. Storey into Bonner's coal-house, where he remained a month before he came to examination.

At length, the same day when master Philpot was burned, which was the 18th of December, he with four other prisoners was set at liberty by Bonner himself. Notwithstanding, shortly after he was sought for again, and at last found out and taken by means of his father, brother, and certain other friends, and so was sent up again to London to bishop Bonner, where he remained in the coal-house for the space of eight weeks. He was there six times examined, and twenty-six times before, so that his examinations were in all thirty-two, from his first apprehension to his condemnation. With Woodman also were burnt the nine others; of which number the eight last were apprehended (as is said) either the same day or the second or third day before, and so with the said Woodman and Stevens were together committed to the fire; in which space no writ could come down from London to the justices for their burning. Wherefore what is to be said to such justices, or what reckoning they will make to God and to the laws of this realm, I refer that to them that have to do in the matter.

After these ten above-named, about the same time and month, one Ambrose died in Maidstone prison, who else should have been burnt in the like cause and quarrel as the others were.

In the registers of Gilbert, bishop of Bath and Wells, I find a certificate made to king Philip and queen Mary, of one Richard Lush, there condemned and given to the secular power to be burnt for the cause of heresy; and also a certificate directed by the bishop aforesaid to the king and queen, whereby we have apparently to understand that the said Richard Lush, thus condemned by bishop Bourne, was there burnt and executed, unless peradventure in the mean season he died, or was made away in the prison, whereof I have no certainty to express.

In the month of July next ensued the martyrdom of Simon Miller, of Lynn, and Elizabeth Cooper, of Norwich. They were condemned by the bishop of Norwich and his chancellor, about the 13th day of July. Being at the stake to be burnt, when the fire came unto the good woman she a little shrank thereat, crying, "Hah!" which, when the said Simon heard, he willed her to be strong and of good cheer; "for, good sister," said he, "we shall have a joyful and sweet supper:" whereat she being as it seemed thereby strengthened, stood as still and as quiet as one most glad to finish that good work which before most happily she had begun. So, in fine, she ended her life with her companion joyfully, committing her soul into the hands of Almighty God.

Mention was made a little before of twenty-two which were sent up prisoners together from Colchester to London, the which through a gentle submission put unto them were afterwards released and delivered. In the number of these was one William Mount of Much-Bentley, in Essex, husbandman, with Alice his wife, and Rose Allin, maid, the daughter of the said Alice Mount; which coming home again to their house refrained themselves from the unsavoury service of the popish church, and frequented the company of good men and women, which gave themselves diligently

to reading, invoking and calling upon the name of God through Christ; whereby they so fretted the wicked priest of the town, called sir Thomas Tye, and others like unto him, that casting their heads together, they made a pestilent supplication to the lord Darcy, in the name of the whole parish, praying his lordship to award a warrant for the said William Mount, his wife, and Rose her daughter.

When Judasly this wicked priest had thus wrought his malice against the people of God, within awhile after the storms began to arise against these poor persecuted, William Mount and his company, whereby they were enforced to hide themselves. At last, on the 7th day of March, being the first Sunday in Lent, by two of the clock in the morning, one master Edmund Tyrrel (who came of the house of those Tyrrels who murdered king Edward the fifth and his brother) took with him the bailiff of the hundred, called William Simuel, dwelling in Colchester, and the two constables of Much-Bentley, with divers others a great number; and besetting the house of the said William Mount round about, called to them at length to open the door: which being done, master Tyrrel with certain of his company went into the chamber where the husband and wife lay, willing them to rise; "for," said he, "you must go with us to Colchester castle." Mother Mount hearing that, being very sick, desired that her daughter might first fetch her some drink. Then Tyrrel gave her leave, and bade her go. So the daughter, Rose Allin, took a stone pot in one hand, and a candle in the other, and went to draw drink for her mother: and as she came back again through the house, Tyrrel met her, and willed her to give her father and mother good counsel, and advertise them to be better catholic people.

*Rose.* Sir, they have a better instructor than I; for the Holy Ghost doth teach them, I hope, which I trust will not suffer them to err.

*Tyrrel.* Why, art thou still in that mind, thou naughty housewife? Marry, it is time to look upon such heretics indeed.

*Rose.* Sir, with that which you call heresy do I worship my Lord God; I tell you truth.

*Tyrrel.* Then I perceive you will burn, gossip, with the rest, for company's sake.

*Rose.* No, sir, not for company's sake, but for my Christ's sake, if so I be compelled; and I hope in his mercies if he call me to it, he will enable me to bear it.

So Tyrrel, turning to his company, said, "Sirs, this gossip will burn: do you not think it?" "Marry, sir," quoth one, "prove her, and you shall see what she will do by and by." Then that cruel Tyrrel, taking the candle from her, held her wrist, and the burning candle under her hand, burning crosswise over the back thereof so long till the very sinews cracked asunder, as witnessed by William Candler, then dwelling in Much-Bentley, who was there present and saw it. In which time of his tyranny, he said often to her, "Why, whore! wilt thou not cry? Thou young whore! wilt thou not cry?" Unto which she always answered, that she had no cause, she thanked God, but rather to rejoice. He had (she said) more cause to weep than she, if he considered the matter well. In the end, when the sinews (as I said) brake, that all the house heard them, he then thrust her from him violently, and said, "Ah! strong whore; thou shame-

less beast ! thou beastly whore !” etc., with such like vile words. But she, quietly suffering his rage for the time, at the last said, “ Sir, have ye done what ye will do ?” And he said, “ Yea ; and if thou think it be not well, then mend it.” “ Mend it !” said Rose ; “ nay, the Lord mend you, and give you repentance, if it be his will. And now if you think it good, begin at the feet and burn to the head also : for he that set you a work shall pay you your wages one day, I warrant you.” And so she went and carried her mother drink, as she was commanded.

With the said William Mount and his family was joined also in the same prison at Colchester another faithful brother, named John Johnson, of Thorpe, in Essex, labourer. Other six prisoners lay in Mote-hall, in the said town of Colchester, whose names were William Bongeor, glazier ; Thomas Benold, tallow chandler ; William Purcas, fuller ; Agnes Silver-side ; Helen Ewring, wife of John Ewring, miller, who was one of the twenty-two prisoners mentioned before sent up in bands from Colchester to London. All these poor condemned lambs were delivered into the hands of the secular power ; and on the 2nd day of August, 1557, betwixt six and seven of the clock in the morning, the last-named six were brought from Mote-hall unto a plat of ground hard by the town-wall of Colchester. All things being prepared for their martyrdom, these constant martyrs kneeled down and made their humble prayers to God ; and when they had ended they rose and made them ready to the fire. When they were nailed at their stakes, and the fire about them, they clapped their hands for joy in the fire, that the standers-by, which were, by estimation, thousands, cried generally almost, “ The Lord strengthen them ; the Lord comfort them ; the Lord pour his mercies upon them !” Thus yielded they up their souls and bodies into the Lord’s hands, for the true testimony of his truth. The Lord grant we may imitate the same in the like quarrel (if he so vouch us worthy) for his mercy’s sake. Amen.

In like manner the said day in the afternoon, were brought forth into the castle-yard, to a place appointed, William Mount, John Johnson, Alice Mount, and Rose Allin aforesaid : which godly constant persons, after they had made their prayers, and were joyfully tied to the stakes, calling upon the name of God, and exhorting the people earnestly to flee from idolatry, suffered their martyrdom with such triumph and joy that the people did no less shout thereat to see it than at the others that were burnt the same day in the morning.

At the taking of William Mount and his family, the said Tyrrel searched the house for more company, and at last found one John Thurston and Margaret his wife there also, whom they carried with the rest to Colchester castle immediately. This John Thurston afterward, about the month of May, died in the said castle, a constant confessor of Jesus Christ.

Among other martyrs of singular virtue and constancy, one George Eagles deserveth not the least admiration, but is so much the more to be commended, for that he, having little learning or none, most manfully served and fought under the banner of Christ’s church. For he, wandering abroad into divers and far countries where he could find any of his brethren, did there most earnestly encourage and comfort them, now tarrying in this town, and sometime abiding in that, certain months together, as occasion served, lodging sometimes in the country, and sometimes, for



fear, living in fields and woods. Oftentimes he did lie abroad in the night without covert, spending the most part thereof in devout and earnest prayer. His diet was so above measure spare and slender, that for three years he used for the most to drink nothing but very water; and after, when he perceived that his body, by God's providence, proved well enough with this diet, he thought best to mure himself therewithal against all necessities.

Now when the said Eagles had profited Christ's church in this sort, by going about and preaching the gospel a year or two, and especially in Colchester and the quarters thereabout, a grievous edict was proclaimed in the queen's name throughout four shires, Essex, Suffolk, Kent, and Norfolk, promising the party that took him twenty pounds for his pains, doubtless a worthy hire to entice any Jew to treachery. At length it came to pass that this George, being seen by chance at Colchester upon Mary Magdalen's day, at which time they kept a fair in the town, should have forthwith been delivered to his adversaries, if he perceiving the same (as God would have it) had not conveyed himself away as fast as he could, a great multitude pursuing after, and seeking diligently for him. He first hid himself in a grove, and from thence stole into a cornfield, and so lay secretly couched that all his pursuers, saving one, past hope of taking him, were ready to depart their way. This one, having more subtlety and wicked craft in his head, climbed up into a high tree, there to view and espy if he might see Eagles anywhere stir or move. The poor man, thinking all sure enough by reason that he heard no noise abroad, rose up on his knees, and lifting up his hands, prayed unto God. And whether it were for that his head was above the corn, or because his voice was heard, the lurker, perceiving his desired prey that he hunted after, forthwith came down, and suddenly laying hands on him, brought him as prisoner to Colchester.

This George Eagles, not without great lamentation of divers good men, and great lack unto the church of God, (of which to his power he was a worthy instrument,) was committed to prison there; and from thence, within four days after, conveyed to Chelmsford, where he abode all that night in devout prayer, and would not sleep, neither would eat or drink but bread and water. The next day he was carried to London to the bishop or the council, and there remained a certain time; and then was brought down to Chelmsford to the sessions, and there was indicted and accused of treason, because he had assembled companies together, contrary to the law and statutes of the realm in that case provided. For so it was ordained a little before to avoid sedition, that if men should flock secretly together above the number of six, they should be attached of treason: which strait law was the casting away of the good duke of Somerset before mentioned. His indictment did run much after this fashion: "George Eagles, thou art indicted for that thou didst such a day make thy prayer, that God should turn queen Mary's heart, or else take her away." He denied that he prayed that God should take her away, but he confessed he prayed that God would turn her heart in his prayer. Well, notwithstanding he was condemned for a traitor, although the meaning thereof was for religion.

This thing done, he was carried to the new inn, called the sign of the Crown, in Chelmsford. In process of time, he was laid upon a sledge, with

a hurdle on it, and drawn to the place of execution, being fast bound, having in his hand a Psalm-book, of the which he read very devoutly all the way with a loud voice, till he came there. With him were cast certain thieves also the day before; and now when they were brought out to be executed with him, there happened a thing that did much set forth and declare the innocency and godliness of this man. For being led between two thieves to the place where he should suffer, when as he exhorted both them and all others to stand steadfastly to the truth, one of these turned the counsel he gave into a jesting matter, and made but a flout of it. "Why should we doubt to obtain heaven," saith he, "forasmuch as this holy man shall go before us, as captain and leader unto us in the way? We shall flee thither straight, as soon as he hath once made us the entry." In this George Eagles and that other did greatly reprove him; who, on the other side gave good heed to George's exhortation, earnestly bewailing his own wickedness, and calling to Christ for mercy. But the more that the first was bid to be still, and to leave off his scoffing, the more perverse he did continue in his foolishness and his wicked behaviour. At length he came to the gallows where they should be hanged; but George was carried to another place there-by, to suffer. Between the two, it was the godlier's chance to go the foremost, who being upon the ladder, after he had exhorted the people to beware and to take heed to themselves, how they did transgress the commandments of God, and then had committed his soul into God's hands, he ended his life after a godly and quiet manner. The mocker's turn cometh next, which would have said likewise somewhat, but his tongue did fumble and falter in his head, that he was not able to speak a word. Then did the under-sheriff bid him say the Lord's prayer, which he could not say neither, but stutteringly, as a man would say, one word to-day, and another to-morrow. Then did one begin to say it, and so bade him say after. Such as were there, and saw it, were very much astonished, especially those that did behold the just punishment of God against him that had mocked so earnest a matter.

George Eagles in the meanwhile, after he had hanged a small time, having a great check with the halter, immediately one of the bailiffs cut the halter asunder, and he fell to the ground being still alive, although much amazed with the check he had off the ladder. Then one William Swallow of Chelmsford, a bailiff, did draw him to the sled that he was drawn thither on, and laid his neck thereon, and with a cleaver (such as is occupied in many men's kitchens, and blunt) did hackle off his head, and sometimes hit his neck and sometimes his chin, and did foully mangle him, and so opened him. Notwithstanding this blessed martyr of Christ abode steadfast and constant in the very midst of his torments, till such time as his tormentor William Swallow did pluck the heart out of his body. The body being divided in four parts, and his bowels burnt, was brought to the foresaid Swallow's door, and there laid upon the fish-stalls before his door, till they made ready a horse to carry his quarters, one to Colchester, and the rest to Harwich, Chelmsford, and St. Osyth's. His head was set up at Chelmsford on the market-cross, on a long pole, and there stood till the wind did blow it down; and lying certain days in the street tumbled about, one caused it to be buried in the churchyard in the night.

About this time suffered at Norwich a godly man and a constant martyr of Christ, called Richard Crashfield. He was examined and condemned by the chancellor Dunning, and brought to the stake the 5th of August. About the same time and month, one named Frier, with a woman accompanying him, who was the sister of George Eagles, in the like cause of righteousness suffered the like martyrdom by the unrighteous papists.

Mistress Joyce Lewes, a gentlewoman born, and delicately brought up in the pleasures of the world, was married first to one called Appleby, and afterward to Thomas Lewes of Manchester. In the beginning of queen Mary's time she went to the church, and heard mass as the others; but when she heard of the burning of that most godly and learned martyr, Laurence Saunders, who suffered in Coventry, she began to take more heed to the matter, and inquired earnestly of such as she knew feared God the cause of his death. When she perceived it was because he refused to receive the mass, she began to be troubled in conscience, and waxed very unquiet; and because her house was even hard by master John Glover's, of whom mention was made before, she did oftentimes resort to him, and desire him to tell her the faults that were in the mass, and other things that at that time were urged as necessary to salvation. At a time when she was compelled by the furiousness of her husband to come to the church, when the holy water was cast, she turned her back towards it, and showed herself to be displeased with their blasphemous holy water, injurious to the blood of Christ; whereupon she was accused before the bishop for the despising of their sacramentals.

Immediately a citation was sent for her to her husband's house, to appear before the bishop incontinently. The sumner that brought the citation delivered it to her husband, who perceiving what it was, was moved with anger, willing the sumner to take the citation with him again, or else he would make him to eat it. The sumner refused to take it again, and in the end Lewes compelled him to eat the citation indeed, by setting a dagger to his heart; and when he had eaten it he caused him to drink to it, and so sent him away. But immediately after the said Lewes with his wife were commanded to appear before the bishop, where he by and by submitted, and desiring the bishop to be good to him, excused himself after the best fashion he could. Whereupon the bishop was content to receive his submission, with condition that his wife should submit herself also. But she stoutly told the bishop that by refusing of the holy water she had neither offended God nor any part of his laws. The bishop gave her one month's respite, binding her husband in a hundred pounds to bring her again unto him at the month's end: and so were they both let go.

When they came to their own house, the said mistress Joyce Lewes gave herself to most diligent prayer, resorting continually to the above-named John Glover, who did most diligently instruct her with God's word, willing her in any case not to meddle in that matter in respect of vain-glory, or to get her a name, showing her the great danger she was like to cast herself in, if she should meddle in God's matters otherwise than Christ doth teach. When the month was almost expired, her husband was advertised by the said John Glover and others not to carry her to the bishop, but to seek some ways to save her, or if the worst should come to be content to forfeit so much money, rather than to cast his own wife into the fire. He

answered he would not lose or forfeit anything for her sake; and so he carried her to the bishop, where she was examined, and found more stout than she was before. After examination, she was sent to such a stinking prison, that a certain maid which was appointed to keep her company did swoon in the same prison.

Being thus kept in prison, oftentimes examined, and ever found stout, at the length she was brought in judgment, and pronounced a heretic worthy to be burnt. When the bishop reasoned with her, why she could not come to the mass, and receive the sacraments and sacramentals of the Holy Ghost: she answered, "Because I find not these things in God's word, which you so urge and magnify as things most needful for men's salvation. If these things were in the same word of God commanded, I would with all my heart receive, esteem, and believe them." The bishop answered, "If thou wilt believe no more than is in the Scriptures, concerning matters of religion, thou art in a damnable case." At which words she was wonderfully amazed, and being moved by the Spirit of God, told the bishop that his words were ungodly and wicked.

After her condemnation she continued a whole twelvemonth in prison, because she was committed to the sheriff that was of late chosen, who could not be compelled to put her to death in his time, as he affirmed: for the which thing, after her death, he was sore troubled, and in danger of his life. When the time drew near, the writ being brought down from London, she desired certain of her friends to come to her, with whom she consulted how she might behave herself that her death might be more glorious to the name of God, comfortable to his people, and discomfortable unto the enemies of God. "As for death," said she, "I do not greatly pass. When I behold the amiable countenance of Christ, my dear Saviour, the uglisome face of death doth not greatly trouble me." In the which time also she reasoned most comfortably out of God's word, of God's election and reprobation.

In the evening before the day of her suffering, two of the priests of Lichfield came to the under-sheriff's house where she lay, and sent word to her that they were come to hear her confession: for they would be sorry she should die without. She sent them word again, she had made her confession to Christ her Saviour, at whose hands she was sure to have forgiveness of her sins. As concerning the cause for the which she should die, she had no cause to confess that, but rather to give unto God most humble praise; and as concerning that absolution that they were able to give unto her, being authorized by the pope, she did defy the same even from the bottom of her heart. The which thing when the priests heard, they said to the sheriff, "Well, to-morrow her stoutness will be proved and tried: for although perhaps she hath now some friends that whisper her in her ears, to-morrow we will see who dare be so hardy as to come near her." And so they went their ways with anger, that their confession and absolution was nought set by.

The next morning she was brought through the town to the place of execution, with a number of bill-men, a great multitude of people being present, led by two of her friends, Michael Reniger and Augustine Bernher. And because the place was far off, and the throng of the people great, one of her friends sent a messenger to the sheriff's house for some drink; and

after she had prayed three several times, in the which prayer she desired God most instantly to abolish the idolatrous mass, and to deliver this realm from papistry, she took the cup into her hands, saying, "I drink to all them that unfeignedly love the gospel of Jesus Christ, and wish for the abolishment of papistry." When she had drank, they that were her friends drank also. After that a great number, specially the women of the town, did drink with her; which afterward were put to open penance in the church by the cruel papists, for drinking with her.

When she was tied to the stake with the chain, she showed such a cheerfulness that it passed man's reason, being so well coloured in her face, and being so patient, that the most part of them that had honest hearts did lament, and even with tears bewail the tyranny of the papists. When the fire was set upon her, she neither struggled nor stirred, but only lifted up her hands towards heaven, being dead very speedily: for the under-sheriff, at the request of her friends, had provided such stuff by the which she was suddenly despatched out of this miserable world.

In searching out the certain number of the faithful martyrs of God that suffered within the time and reign of queen Mary, I find that about the 17th day of September were burned at Islington, nigh unto London, these four constant professors of Christ—Ralph Allerton, James Austoo, Margery Austoo, his wife, and Richard Roth. They were condemned by the cruel Bonner, delivered unto the sheriff, and most joyfully ended their lives in one fire at Islington, as before is declared.

A little before, gentle reader, was mention made of ten that suffered martyrdom at Colchester; at which time there were two other also, one called Margaret Thurston, and the other Agnes Bongeor, that should have suffered with them, being condemned at the same time, and for the like cause. On the morning that the four were taken from the castle, Margaret Thurston went aside to pray. And whilst she was praying came in the gaoler and his company, and took the other prisoners and left her alone. Shortly after she was removed out of the castle, and put into the town-prison, where she continued until Friday sevensnight after her company were burnt. That day, not two hours before her death, she was brought to the castle again, where she declared thus much to one Joan Cook.

The other, Agnes Bongeor, who should have suffered with the six that went out of Mote-hall, was kept back at that time because her name was wrong written within the writ. The morning that the said six were called out to go to their martyrdom, she also was called with them by name of Agnes Bower. Wherefore the bailiffs, understanding her to be wrong named within the writ, commanded her to prison again, and so from Mote-hall that day sent her to the castle, where she remained until her death.

When these foresaid good women were brought to the place in Colchester, where they should suffer, the 17th day of September, they fell down upon both their knees, and made their humble prayers unto the Lord: which thing being done, they rose and went to the stake joyfully, and were immediately thereto chained; and after the fire had compassed them about, they with great joy and glorious triumph gave up their souls, spirits, and lives into the hands of the Lord: under whose government and protection, for Christ's, sake we beseech him to grant us his holy defence and help for evermore. Amen!

In the month of September this present year 1557, or (as some report) in the year past, suffered the blessed martyr John Noyes. He was condemned at Norwich, and from thence sent to Eye-prison; and upon the 21st day of September, about midnight, was brought from Eye to Laxfield to be burnt. On the next day morning he was brought to the stake, where were ready against his coming, master justice Thurston, master Waller, then being under-sheriff, and master Thomas Lovel, high constable; the which commanded men to make ready all things meet for that sinful purpose. Now the fire in most places of the street was put out, saving a smoke was espied by the said Lovel proceeding out from the top of a chimney, to the which house the sheriff and his man went, and brake open the door, and thereby got fire, and brought the same to the place of execution.

When John Noyes came to the place, he kneeled down and said the 50th Psalm, with other prayers; and then they, making haste, bound him to the stake. And being bound, Noyes said, "Fear not them that can kill the body, but fear Him that can kill both body and soul, and cast it into everlasting fire." When he saw his sister weeping, he bade her that she should not weep for him, but weep for her sins; and when one brought a fagot and set it against him, he took it up and kissed it, and said, "Blessed be the time that ever I was born to come to this." Then he delivered his Psalter to the under-sheriff, desiring him to be good to his wife and children, and to deliver to her that same book. After that he said to the people, "They say they can make God of a piece of bread; believe them not! Good people, bear witness that I do believe to be saved by the merits and passion of Jesus Christ, and not by mine own deeds." And so the fire was kindled, and burnt about him. Then he said, "Lord have mercy upon me! Christ have mercy upon me! Son of David have mercy upon me!" And so he yielded up his life; and when his body was burnt, they made a pit to bury the coals and ashes, and amongst the same they found one of his feet that was unburnt, whole up to the ankle, with the hose on; and that they buried with the rest.

About the 23rd day of the said month of September, next after the above-mentioned, suffered at Norwich, Cicely Ormes, wife of Edmund Ormes, worsted-weaver, dwelling in St. Laurence's parish in Norwich. She was taken at the death of Simon Miller and Elizabeth Cooper above-mentioned, in a place called the Lollards'-pit without Bishop's-gate, at Norwich, for that she said she would pledge them of the same cup that they drank on. For so saying she was sent to the chancellor, who asked her what she said unto the sacrament of Christ's body; and she said, that she did believe it was the sacrament of the body of Christ. "Yea," said the chancellor, "but what is that that the priest holdeth over his head?" She said, "It is bread: and if you make it any better, it is worse." At which words the chancellor sent her to the bishop's prison, with many threatening and hot words, as a man being in a great chafe.

The 23rd of July she was called before the chancellor again, who sat in judgment with master Bridges and others. The chancellor offered her, if she would go to the church and keep her tongue, she should be at liberty, and believe as she would. But she told him she would not consent to his wicked desire therein, do with her what he would: and soon after he read

the bloody sentence of condemnation against her; and so delivered her to the secular power of the sheriffs, who immediately carried her to the Guildhall in Norwich, where she remained until her death.

She was burnt the 23rd day of September, between seven and eight of the clock in the morning, the two sheriffs and about two hundred people being present. When she came to the stake, which was the same that Simon Miller and Elizabeth Cooper were burnt at, she kneeled down and made her prayers to God: that being done, she rose up and said, "Good people! I believe in God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, three persons and one God. This do I not, nor will I recant: but I recant utterly from the bottom of my heart the doings of the pope of Rome, and all his popish priests and shavelings. I utterly refuse and never will have to do with them again, by God's grace. And good people! I would you should not think of me that I believe to be saved in that I offer myself here unto death for the Lord's cause, but I believe to be saved by the death and passion of Christ; and this my death is and shall be a witness of my faith unto you all here present. Good people! as many of you as believe as I believe, pray for me." Then she laid her hand on the stake and said, "Welcome the sweet cross of Christ!" and so gave herself to be bound thereto. After the tormentors had kindled the fire to her, she said, "My soul doth magnify the Lord, and my spirit rejoiceth in God my Saviour." And in so saying she set her hands together right against her breast, casting her eyes and head upward; and so stood heaving up her hands by little and little, till the very sinews of her arm did break asunder, and then they fell. But she yielded her life unto the Lord as quietly as if she had been in a slumber, or as one feeling no pain; so wonderfully did the Lord work with her: his name therefore be praised for evermore. Amen!

What place was there almost in all the realm where the pope's ministers did not bestir them, murdering some or other, as in the Acts of this Ecclesiastical History may appear? In the diocese of Chichester, although we have little to report thereof, for lack of certain relation and records of that country, yet divers there were condemned and martyred for the true testimony of righteousness, within the compass of queen Mary's reign, in the number of whom were these:—John Foreman, of East Grinstead; John Warner, of Bourne; Christian Grover, of Lewes; Thomas Athoth, priest; Thomas Avington, of Ardingly; Dennis Burgis, of Buxted; Thomas Ravensdale, of Rye; John Milles, of Hellingley; Nicholas Holden, of Withyam; John Hart, of Withyam; Margery Morice, of Heathfield; Anne Try, of East Grinstead; John Oseward, of Woodmancott; Thomas Harland, of Woodmancott; James Morice, of Heathfield; Thomas Dougate, of East Grinstead; John Ashedon, of Cattesfield. The greatest doers against these godly and true faithful martyrs, and setters upon their condemnation, were these: Christopherson, bishop of Chichester; Richard Briesley, doctor of law, and chancellor of Chichester; Robert Tailor, bachelor of law, his deputy; Thomas Paccard, civilian; Anthony Clarke; Albane Longdale, bachelor of divinity, etc.

Thomas Spurdance, one of queen Mary's servants, was taken by two of his fellow-servants, named John Haman and George Looson, both dwelling in Coddendam, in Suffolk, who carried him to one master Gosnall, in the

same town, and by him he was sent to Bury, where he remained in prison. He was afterwards burnt in the month of November, being condemned by the bishop of Norwich.

Not long after the martyrdom of the two good women at Colchester above-named, were three faithful witnesses of the Lord's testament tormented and put to death in Smithfield, at London, the 18th of November, whose names were John Hallingdale, William Sparrow, and Richard Gibson. They were condemned by Bonner and his chancellor, and committed to the secular power. Being brought to the stake, after their prayer made, they were bound thereunto with chains, and wood set unto them; and, after wood, fire; in the which being compassed about, and the fiery flames consuming their flesh, at the last they yielded gloriously and joyfully their souls and lives into the holy hands of the Lord, to whose tuition and government I commend thee, good reader.

In this furious time of persecution were also burned these two constant and faithful martyrs of Christ, John Rough, a minister, and Margaret Mearing. This Rough was born in Scotland, and at the age of seventeen did profess himself into the order of Black Friars at Stirling. Here he remained sixteen years, when he was dispensed of his habit and order at the suit of the lord Hamilton, governor of Scotland, who wished him to serve as his chaplain. He continued in his service one whole year, during which time it pleased God to open his eyes, and to give him some knowledge of his truth; and thereupon was by the said governor sent to preach in the freedom of Ayr, where he continued four years. After the death of the cardinal of Scotland he was appointed to abide at St. Andrew's, and there had assigned unto him a yearly pension of twenty pounds from king Henry the eighth. Howbeit, at last, weighing with himself his own danger, and also abhorring the idolatry and superstition of his country, and hearing of the freedom of the gospel in England, he soon after came unto Carlisle, and from thence unto the duke of Somerset, then lord protector; and by his assignment had appointed unto him out of the king's treasury twenty pounds of yearly stipend, being sent as a preacher to serve at Carlisle, Berwick, and Newcastle, where he took a country-woman of his to wife. From hence he was called by the archbishop of York unto a benefice nigh, in the town of Hull, where he continued until the death of that blessed and good king Edward the sixth.

In the beginning of the reign of queen Mary, (perceiving the alteration of religion, and the persecution that would thereupon arise, and feeling his own weakness,) he fled with his wife into Friesland, where he laboured for his living, knitting of caps, hose, and such like things, till about the end of October last before his death. At which time, lacking yarn and other necessary provision for his occupation, he came over again unto England, here to provide for the same. He arrived in London on the 10th day of November, where he joined himself unto the holy congregation of God's children; and afterwards, being elected their minister, continued in that godly fellowship, teaching and confirming them in the truth of the gospel of Christ. But in the end, on the 12th day of December, he, with Cutbert Symson and others, through the crafty and traitorous suggestion of a dissembling brother, was apprehended by the vice-chamberlain of the queen's house, at the Saracen's Head in Islington. Rough and Symson were



carried before the council, who charged them to have assembled together to celebrate the communion or supper of the Lord; and therefore, after sundry examinations and answers, they sent the said Rough unto Newgate; but his examinations they sent unto the bishop of London, with a letter signed with their hands.

Bonner, minding to make quick despatch, did within three days after the receipt of the letter send for this Rough out of Newgate, and in his palace at London ministered unto him twelve articles which were chiefly objected against the martyrs and saints of God. After his answers to these he was dismissed; and the next day, being the 19th of December, he was again brought before the said bishop and others; who, when they perceived his constantness, determined the next day after to bring him openly into the consistory, there to adjudge and condemn him as a heretic. He was degraded by Bonner, and his body committed to the secular power, who carried him unto Newgate.

It is before declared, that in the company of John Rough was burnt one Margaret Mearing, (being one of the congregation of which he was chief pastor.) At her last examination, when Bonner demanded if she would stand to her answers, she said, "I will stand to them unto the death; for the very angels of heaven do laugh you to scorn, to see your abomination that you use in your church." After the which words, the bishop pronounced the sentence of condemnation against her; and then delivering her unto the sheriffs, she was, with the forenamed John Rough, carried unto Newgate; from whence they were both together led unto Smithfield the 22nd day of December, and there most joyfully gave their lives for the profession of Christ's gospel.

Next after the martyrdom of master Rough, minister of the congregation above-mentioned, succeeded in like martyrdom the deacon also of that godly company, named Cutbert Symson. This Symson was a man of a faithful and zealous heart to Christ and his true flock, insomuch that he never ceased labouring and studying most earnestly to preserve them without corruption of the popish religion, and to keep them together without peril or danger of persecution. The pains, travail, zeal, patience, and fidelity of this man, in caring and providing for this congregation, as it is not lightly to be expressed, so is it wonderful to behold the providence of the Lord by vision, concerning the troubles of this faithful minister and godly deacon, as in this here following may appear:—

The Friday at night before master Rough, minister of the congregation, (of whom mention is made before) was taken, being in his bed, he dreamed that he saw two of the guard leading Cutbert Symson, deacon of the said congregation; and that he had the book about him, wherein were written the names of all them which were of the congregation. Whereupon being sore troubled, he awaked, and called his wife, saying, "Kate, strike a light, for I am much troubled with my brother Cutbert this night." When she had so done, he gave himself to read in his book awhile, and then feeling sleep to come upon him, he put out the candle, and so gave himself again to rest. Being asleep, he dreamed the like dream again; and, awaking therewith, he said, "O Kate! my brother Cutbert is gone." So they lighted a candle again, and rose. And as the said master Rough was making him ready to go to Cutbert, to see how he did, in the mean

time the said Cutbert came in with the book containing the names and accounts of the congregation: whom when master Rough had seen, he said, "Brother Cutbert, ye are welcome; for I have been sore troubled with you this night;" and so told him his dream. After he had so done, he willed him to lay the book away from him, and to carry it no more about him. Unto which Cutbert answered, he would not so do: for dreams, he said, were but fantasies, and not to be credited. Then master Rough straitly charged him, in the name of the Lord, to do it. Whereupon the said Cutbert took such notes out of the book, as he had willed him to do, and immediately left the book with master Rough's wife. The next day following, in the night, the said master Rough had another dream in his sleep concerning his own trouble; the matter whereof was this. He thought in his dream, that he was carried himself forcibly to the bishop, and that the bishop plucked off his beard, and cast it into the fire, saying these words, "Now I may say that I have had a piece of a heretic burned in my house:" and so accordingly it came to pass.

To return to Cutbert again, it remaineth to story also of his pains and sufferings upon the rack, and otherwise, as he wrote it with his own hand in a letter to certain of his friends:—

"A true report how I was used in the Tower of London, being sent thither by the council, the 13th day of December.—On the Thursday after I was called into the warehouse, before the constable of the Tower and the recorder of London, master Cholmley: they commanded me to tell whom I did will to come to the English service. I answered, I would declare nothing. Whereupon I was set in a rack of iron, the space of three hours as I judged. Then they asked me if I would tell them. I answered as before. Then was I loosed, and carried to my lodging again. On the Sunday after I was brought into the same place again before the lieutenant and the recorder of London, and they examined me. As before I had said, I answered. Then the lieutenant did swear by God I should tell. Then did they bind my two fore-fingers together, and put a small arrow betwixt them, and drew it through so fast that the blood followed, and the arrow brake. Then they racked me twice. Then was I carried to my lodging again; and ten days after the lieutenant asked me, if I would not confess that which before they had asked me. I said, I had said as much as I would. Then, five weeks after, he sent me unto the high priest, where I was greatly assaulted, and at whose hand I received the pope's curse, for bearing witness of the resurrection of Jesus Christ.—And thus I commend you unto God, and to the word of his grace, with all them that 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 showed upon us. Sing 'Hosanna unto the highest,' with me Cutbert Symson. God forgive me my sins! I ask all the world forgiveness, and I do forgive all the world; and thus I leave this world, in hope of a joyful resurrection."

With Cutbert likewise was apprehended and also suffered Hugh Foxe and John Devenish; who being brought to their examinations with the said Cutbert, before Bonner, the 19th day of March, had articles and interrogatories to them ministered by the said officer, albeit not all at one time. For first to the said Cutbert several articles were propounded; then other

articles in general were ministered to them altogether; and after their answers given, the bishop calling them all together objected to them other positions and articles. These three above-named persons, being condemned, suffered in Smithfield about the 28th day of March, 1558, in whose perfect constancy the same Lord in whose cause and quarrel they suffered, (Giver of grace and Governor of all things,) be exalted for ever. Amen.

We find in all ages from the beginning, that Satan hath not ceased at all times to molest the church of Christ with one affliction or other, to the trial of their faith; but yet never at any time so apparently as when the Lord hath permitted him power over the bodies of his saints: as in these latter days of queen Mary, we have felt, heard, and seen practised upon God's people. Among whom we find recorded one William Nichol, an honest poor man, who was apprehended by the champions of the pope, for speaking certain words against the cruel kingdom of Antichrist, and the 9th day of April, anno 1558, was butcherly burnt and tormented at Haverford-west in Wales, where he ended his life in a most blessed and happy state, and gloriously gave his soul into the hands of the Lord.

Immediately after William Nichol succeeded in that honourable and glorious vocation of martyrdom, three constant godly men at Norwich, who were cruelly and tyrannically put to death for the true testimony of Jesus Christ, the 19th day of May, whose names be these: William Seaman, Thomas Carman, and Thomas Hudson. The said Seaman was a husbandman of the age of twenty-six years, dwelling in Mendlesham, in Suffolk, who was sundry times sought for by the commandment of sir John Tyrrel, and at last he himself in the night searched his house and other places for him; notwithstanding he somewhat missed of his purpose, God be thanked. Then he gave charge to two of his servants to seek for him; who, having no officer, went in the evening to his house, where he being at home, they took him and carried him to their master. When he came, Tyrrel asked him why he would not go to mass, and receive the sacrament, and so to worship it? Unto which William Seaman answered, denying it to be a sacrament, but said it was an idol, and therefore would not receive it. After which words spoken, sir John Tyrrel shortly sent him to Norwich, to Dr. Hopton, then bishop; and there, after conference and examination had with him, the bishop read his bloody sentence of condemnation against him; and afterward delivered him to the secular power, who kept him unto the day of martyrdom. This Seaman left behind him a wife and three children very young, who was also persecuted out of the said town of Mendlesham, because that she would not go to hear mass; and all her goods and corn seized and taken away by master Christopher Coles's officers, he being lord of the said town.

Thomas Carman, (who, as is said, pledged Richard Crashfield at his burning, and thereupon was apprehended,) being prisoner in Norwich, was about one time with the rest, examined and brought before the said bishop, who answered no less in his Master's cause than the other, and therefore had the like reward, being delivered to the secular power, who kept him with the other until the day of slaughter.

Thomas Hudson was of Aylsham in Norfolk, by occupation a glover, a very honest poor man, having a wife and three children. He bare so good will to the gospel, that, in the days of king Edward the sixth, he learned to

read English of Anthony and Thomas Norgate of the same town, wherein he greatly profited about the time of alteration of religion. For when queen Mary came to reign, and had changed the service in the church—putting in for wheat draft and darnel, and for good preaching blasphemous crying out against truth and godliness—he absented himself from his house, and went into Suffolk a long time, travelling from one place to another as occasion offered. At the last he returned back again to Norfolk, to his house at Aylsham, to comfort his wife and children, being heavy and troubled with his absence.

Now when he came home, and perceived his continuance there would be dangerous, he and his wife devised to make him a place among his fagots to hide himself in, where he remained all the day, reading and praying continually, for the space of half a year; and his wife, like an honest woman being careful for him, used herself faithfully and diligently towards him. In the mean time came the vicar of the town, named Berry, (who was one of the bishop's commissaries, a very evil man,) and inquired of his wife for her husband: unto whom she answered, as not knowing where he was. Then the said Berry rated her, and threatened to burn her, for that she would not bewray her husband. After that, when Hudson understood it, he waxed every day more zealous, and continually read and sang psalms to the wonder of many, the people openly resorting to him, to hear his exhortations and vehement prayers. At the last he walked abroad for certain days in the town, crying out continually against the mass and all their trumpery; and in the end coming home he sat him down upon his knees, having his book by him, reading and singing psalms continually without ceasing for three days and three nights together, refusing meat and other talk.

Then one John Crouch, his next neighbour, went to the constables in the night to certify them thereof; for Berry commanded openly to watch him: and the constables, understanding the same, went cruelly to catch him in the break of the day, the 22nd of April, 1558. When Hudson saw them come in, he said, "Now mine hour is come. Welcome friends, welcome! You be they that shall lead me to life in Christ. I thank God there-for, and the Lord enable me thereto for his mercy's sake." For his desire was, and ever he prayed, (if it were the Lord's will,) that he might suffer for the gospel of Christ. Then they took him, and led him to Berry the commissary, who among other matters asked him, "Dost thou not believe in the sacrament of the altar? What is it?" "It is worms' meat," quoth Hudson: "my belief is Christ crucified." "Doth thou not believe the mass to put away sins?" "No, God forbid! it is a patched monster, and a disguised puppet; more longer a piecing than ever was Solomon's temple." At which words Berry stamped, fumed, and showed himself as a madman, and said, "Well, thou villain, thou! I will write to the bishop, my good lord: and, trust unto it, thou shalt be handled according to thy deserts." Then he asked the said Hudson whether he would recant or no; unto which he said, "The Lord forbid! I had rather die many deaths than do so."

Then, after long talk, the said Berry, seeing it bootied not to persuade with him, took his pen and ink, and wrote letters to the bishop thereof, and sent this Hudson to Norwich, bound like a thief, which was eight

miles from thence, who with joy and singing cheer went thither as merry as ever he was at any time before. In prison he was a month, where he did continually read and invoke the name of God. These three Christians and constant martyrs, after they were condemned the 19th day of May, were carried out of prison to the place where they should suffer, which was without Bishop's-gate at Norwich, called Lollards'-pit; and being all there they made their humble petitions unto the Lord. That being done, they rose and went to the stake; and standing all there with their chains about them, immediately this said Thomas Hudson cometh forth from them under the chain, to the great wonder of many; whereby divers feared and greatly doubted of him. For some thought he would have recanted; others judged rather that he went to ask further day, and to desire conference; and some thought he came forth to ask some of his parents' blessing. So some thought one thing, and some another: but his two companions at the stake cried out to comfort him what they could, exhorting him in the bowels of Christ to be of good cheer, etc. But this sweet Hudson felt more in his heart and conscience than they could conceive in him: for, alas, good soul! he was compassed (God knoweth) with great dolour and grief of mind, not for his death, but for lack of feeling of his Christ: and therefore, being very careful, he humbly fell down upon his knees, and prayed vehemently and earnestly unto the Lord, who at the last (according to his old mercies) sent him comfort; and then rose he with great joy, as a man new changed even from death to life, and said: "Now, I thank God, I am strong, and pass not what man can do unto me." So, going to the stake to his fellows again, in the end they all suffered most joyfully, constantly, and manfully the death together, and were consumed in fire, to the terror of the wicked, the comfort of God's children, and the magnifying of the Lord's name, to whom be praise for ever.

After this, the foresaid commissary Berry made great stir about others which were suspected within the said town of Aylsham, and caused two hundred to creep to the cross at Pentecost, besides other punishments which they sustained. On the Sunday after queen Mary was dead, being the 19th of November, 1558, the said Berry went to church; and in going from church homeward after evensong, he fell down suddenly with a heavy groan, and never stirred after, neither showed any one token of repentance. The Lord grant we may observe his judgments!

About this time, or somewhat before, was one Joan Seaman, mother to the foresaid William Seaman, being of the age of threescore and six years, persecuted of the said sir John Tyrrel also out of the town of Mendlesham, because she would not go to mass, and receive against her conscience; which good old woman being from her house, was glad sometimes to lie in bushes, groves, and fields, and sometime in her neighbour's house. Her husband being at home, about the age of eighty years, fell sick; and she hearing thereof, with speed returned home, not regarding her life, but considering her duty; and showed her diligence to her husband most faithfully, until God took him away by death. Then by God's providence she fell sick also, and departed this life within her own house shortly after. And when Symonds the commissary heard of it, dwelling thereby, he commanded that she should be buried in no Christian burial, (as they call it,) where-through her friends were compelled to lay her in a pit, under a moat's side.

In the town of Wetheringset by Mendlesham, aforesaid, a very honest woman called mother Benet, a widow, was persecuted out of the same town because she would not go to mass; but, at the last, she returned home again secretly, and there departed this life joyfully. But sir John Tyrrel and master Symonds would not let her be buried in the church-yard: so was she laid in a grave by the highway side.

Thou hast heard, good reader, of the forenamed three that were burned at Norwich, whose blood quenched not the persecuting thirst of the papists: for immediately after, even the 26th of the same month, was seen the like murder at Colchester in Essex, of two good men and a woman, lying there in prison appointed ready to the slaughter, whose names were William Harris, Richard Day, and Christian George. These three good souls were brought unto the stake the day appointed, and there fervently and joyfully made their prayers unto the Lord. At the last, being settled in their places, and chained unto their posts, with the fire flaming fiercely round about them, they triumphantly praised God within the same, and offered up their bodies a lively sacrifice unto his holy Majesty; in whose habitation they have now their everlasting tabernacles: his name therefore be praised for evermore. Amen.

The said Christian George's husband had another wife burnt before, whose name was Agnes George, which suffered, as you have heard, with the thirteenth at Stratford-le-Bow. And, after the death of the said Christian, he married an honest godly woman again; and so they both (I mean the said Richard George and his last wife) in the end were taken also, and laid in prison, where they remained till the death of queen Mary; and at last were delivered by our most gracious sovereign lady queen Elizabeth, whom the Lord grant long to reign among us, for his mercies' sake. Amen.

In the month of June, 1558, came out a certain proclamation, short but sharp, from the king and queen, against wholesome and godly books, which, under the false title of heresy and sedition, there in the said proclamation were wrongfully condemned.

In a back close in a field by Islington, were gathered together a company of innocent persons, to the number of forty men and women. As they were sitting together at prayer, and virtuously occupied in the meditation of God's holy word, first cometh a certain man to them unknown, who looking over unto them, stayed and saluted them, saying, that they looked like men that meant no hurt. Then one of the company asked the man if he could tell whose close that was, and whether they might be so bold to sit there. He answered yes, because they seemed to be such persons as intended no harm; and so departed. Within a quarter of an hour after, came the constable of Islington, named King, with six or seven more, one with a bow, another with a bill, and the rest with weapons. The constable, and one with him, went before to view them; and going a little forward, and returning back again, ordered them to deliver their books. They understanding that he was a constable, refused not so to do. Then came up the rest of the gang, who bade them stand and not depart. They answered again, they would be obedient and go whithersoever they would have them. They accordingly carried them before Sir Roger Cholmley. But some of the women had escaped; for they were carried in such a manner as it was

not difficult for them to escape that would. In fine, they that were carried to sir Roger Cholmley were twenty-seven; which sir Roger Cholmley and the recorder taking their names in a bill, and calling them one by one, so many as answered to their names he sent to Newgate, which were twenty-two. These were in the said prison seven weeks before they were examined, to whom word was sent by Alexander the keeper, that if they would hear mass, they should be delivered. Of these foresaid two-and-twenty were burnt thirteen: in Smithfield seven, at Brentford six. Two died in prison in Whitsun week; and the other seven escaped with their lives, although not without much trouble, (one of them, named Hinshawe, being scourged by Bonner himself, so long as the fat-paunched bishop could endure with breath;) yet, as God would, without burning.

The first seven were brought to examination before Bonner in his consistory on the 14th of June, to make answer to such articles and interrogatories as by the said bishop should be ministered unto them. The names of these seven were, Henry Pond, Reinald Eastland, Robert Southam, Matthew Ricarby, John Floyd, John Holiday, and Roger Holland. After the articles were ministered unto them, and they had again given their answers, they were assigned by the bishop to appear before him on the 17th day of June. Being there present as they were commanded, the articles were again recited, and they all declared they would stand to their answers made to the same. Whereupon the bishop dissevering them apart one from another, proceeded with them severally, first beginning with Reinald Eastland, who there declared that he had been uncharitably handled and talked withal since his first imprisonment. Then being required to reconcile himself again to the catholic faith, and go from his opinions, he said that he knew nothing why he should recant; and therefore would not conform himself. And so the sentence was read against him, and he given to the secular power.

After him was called in John Holiday, who likewise being advertised to renounce his heresies, (as they called them,) and to return to the unity of their church, said, that he was no heretic, nor did hold any heresy, neither any opinion contrary to the catholic faith, and so would offer himself to be judged therein. Whereupon he likewise persisting in the same, the sentence was pronounced against him, condemning him to be burnt.

Next to him was condemned, with the like sentence, Henry Pond, because he would not submit to the Romish church, saying to Bonner, that he had done or spoken nothing whereof he was or would be sorry; but that he did hold the truth of God, and no heresy, etc. After whom next followed John Floyd, who likewise denied to be of the pope's church, and said his mind of the Latin service, that the prayers made to saints are idolatry, and that the service in Latin is profitable to none, but only to such as understand the Latin. Moreover, being charged by Bonner of heresy, and saying, that whatsoever he and such others now-a-days do, all is heresy; for this he was condemned with the same butcherly sentence.

Then Robert Southam, after him Matthew Ricarby, and last of all Roger Holland, were severally produced. This Roger Holland with his fellows (as ye heard) standing to their answers, and refusing to acknowledge the doctrine of the Romish church, were altogether condemned, the sentence being read against them; and so all seven, by secular magistrates being sent away to Newgate the 17th of June, not long after, about the

27th day of the said month, were had to Smithfield, and there ended their lives in the glorious cause of Christ's gospel. The day they suffered, a proclamation was made that none should be so bold to speak or talk any word unto them, or receive anything of them, or to touch them upon pain of imprisonment, without either bail or mainprize; with divers other cruel threatening words, contained in the same proclamation. Notwithstanding the people cried out, desiring God to strengthen them; and they likewise still prayed for the people, and the restoring of his word.

Not long after the death of the forenamed, were the six other faithful witnesses of the Lord's true testament martyred at Brentford, seven miles from London, the 14th day of July, in this same year 1558. Their names were Robert Mills, Stephen Cotton, Robert Dynes, Stephen Wight, John Slade, and William Pikes or Pikes. These six had their articles ministered unto them by Thomas Darbyshire, Bonner's chancellor, at sundry times; and though they were several times examined, yet had they all one manner of articles administered unto them, yea and the selfsame that were ministered unto the other seven aforesaid. In the end, the chancellor commanded them to appear before him again the 11th of July after, in the said place at Paul's. Where when they came, he required of them whether they would turn from their opinions to mother holy church; and if not, that then whether there were any cause to the contrary, but that he might proceed with the sentence of condemnation. Whereunto they all answered, that they would not go from the truth, nor relent from any part of the same while they lived.

Then he charged them to appear before him again the next day in the afternoon to hear the definitive sentence read against them, according to the ecclesiastical laws then in force. At which time, he sitting in judgment talking with these godly and virtuous men, at last came into the said place sir Edward Hastings and sir Thomas Cornwallis, knights, two of queen Mary's officers of her house; and being there, they sat them down over against the chancellor, in whose presence the said chancellor condemned those good poor lambs, and delivered them over to the secular power, who received and carried them to prison immediately, and there kept them in safety till the day of their death.

In the mean time this naughty chancellor slept not, I warrant you, but that day in which they were condemned, he made certificate into the lord chancellor's office, from whence the next day after was sent a writ to burn them at Brentford aforesaid, which accordingly was accomplished in the same place, the said 14th day of July; whereunto they being brought, made their humble prayers unto the Lord Jesus, undressed themselves, went joyfully to the stake, (whereunto they were bound,) and the fire flaming about them, they yielded their souls, bodies, and lives into the hands of the omnipotent Lord, for whose cause they did suffer, and to whose protection I commend thee, gentle reader. Amen.

Among these six was one William Pikes, (as ye have heard,) who sometime dwelt in Ipswich in Suffolk, by his occupation a tanner, a very honest godly man, and of a virtuous disposition, a good keeper of hospitality, and beneficial to the persecuted in queen Mary's days. This said William Pikes, in the third year of queen Mary's reign, a little after Midsummer, being then at liberty, went into his garden, and took with him a Bible of Rogers's



translation, where he, sitting with his face towards the south, reading on the said Bible, suddenly fell down upon his book, between eleven and twelve o'clock of the day, four drops of fresh blood, and he knew not from whence it came. Then he, seeing the same, was sore astonished, and could by no means learn (as I said) from whence it should fall: and wiping out one of the drops with his finger, he called his wife and said, "In the virtue of God, wife, what meaneth this? will the Lord have four sacrifices? I see well enough the Lord will have blood: his will be done, and give me grace to abide the trial! Wife, let us pray," said he, "for I fear the day draweth nigh." Afterward, he daily looked to be apprehended of the papists; and it came to pass accordingly, as ye have heard. Thus much thought I good to write thereof, to stir up our dull senses in considering the Lord's works, and reverently to honour the same. His name therefore be praised for evermore! Amen.

After the story of these twenty-two taken at Islington, proceeding now, (the Lord willing,) we will prosecute likewise the taking and cruel handling of Richard Yeoman, minister; which Yeoman had been, before, Dr. Taylor's curate, a godly devout old man of seventy years, which had many years dwelt in Hadley, well seen in the Scriptures, and giving godly exhortations to the people. With him Dr. Taylor left his cure at his departure: but as soon as master Newall had gotten the benefice, he drove away good Yeoman, as is before said, and set in a popish curate to maintain and continue their Romish religion, which now they thought fully stablished. Then wandered he long time from place to place, moving and exhorting all men to stand faithfully by 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 the adversaries, and with an undoubted hope to wait for the crown and reward of eternal felicity. But when he perceived his adversaries to lie in wait for him, he went into Kent, and with a little packet of laces, pins, and points, and such like things, he travelled from village to village, selling such things; and by that poor shift got himself somewhat to the sustaining of himself, his wife, and children.

At the last, a justice of Kent, called master Moyle, took poor Yeoman, and set him in the stocks a day and a night; but having no evident matter to charge him with, he let him go again. So came he again to Hadley, and tarried with his poor wife, who kept him secretly in a chamber of the town-house, commonly called the Guildhall, more than a year; all the which time the good old father abode in a chamber, locked up all the day, and spent his time in devout prayer, and reading the Scriptures, and in carding of wool, which his wife did spin. His wife also did go and beg bread and meat for herself and her children, and by such poor means sustained they themselves. Thus the saints of God sustained hunger and misery, while the prophets of Baal lived in jollity, and were costly pampered at Jezebel's table.

At the last parson Newall (I know not by what means) perceived that Richard Yeoman was so kept by his poor wife, and, taking with him the bailiff's deputies and servants, came in the night-time, and brake up five doors upon Yeoman, whom he found in a bed with his poor wife and children: whom when he had so found, he irefully cried, saying, "I thought I should find a harlot and a whore together." And he would

have plucked the clothes off from them; but Yeoman held fast the clothes, and said unto his wife, "Wife, arise, and put on thy clothes." And unto the parson he said, "Nay parson, no harlot, nor whore, but a married man and his wife, according unto God's ordinance; and blessed be God for lawful matrimony. I thank God for this great grace, and I defy the pope and all his popery." Then led they Richard Yeoman unto the cage, and set him in the stocks until it was day.

There was then also in the cage an old man named John Dale, who had sitten there three or four days, because when the said parson Newall with his curate executed the Romish service in the church, he spake openly unto him, and said, "O miserable and blind guides, will ye ever be blind leaders of the blind? will ye never amend? will ye never see the truth of God's word? will neither God's threats nor promises enter into your hearts? will the blood of martyrs nothing mollify your stony stomach? O indurate, hard-hearted, perverse, and crooked generation! O damnable sort, whom nothing can do good unto!"

These and like words he spake in ferventness of spirit against the superstitious religion of Rome. Wherefore, parson Newall caused him forthwith to be attached, and set in the stocks in the cage. So was he there kept till sir Henry Doyle, a justice, came to Hadley.

Now when poor Yeoman was taken, the parson called earnestly upon sir Henry Doyle to send them both to prison. Sir Henry Doyle earnestly laboured and entreated the parson, to consider the age of the men, and their poor estate: they were persons of no reputation, nor preachers; wherefore he would desire him to let them be punished a day or two, and so to let them go—at the least John Dale, who was no priest; and therefore, seeing he had so long sitten in the cage, he thought it punishment enough for this time. When the parson heard this, he was exceeding mad, and in a great rage called them pestilent heretics, unfit to live in the commonwealth of Christians. "Wherefore I beseech you, sir," quoth he, "according to your office, defend holy church, and help to suppress these sects of heresies, which are false to God, and thus boldly set themselves, to the evil example of others, against the queen's gracious proceedings." Sir Henry Doyle, seeing he could do no good in the matter, and fearing also his peril, if he should too much meddle in this matter, made out the writ, and caused the constables to carry them forth to Bury gaol. For now were all the justices, were they never so mighty, afraid of every shaven crown, and stood in as much awe of them as Pilate did stand in fear of Annas and Caiaphas, and of the Pharisaical brood, which cried, "Crucify him, Crucify him! If thou let him go, thou art not Cæsar's friend." Wherefore, whatsoever their consciences were, yet, if they would escape danger, they must needs be the popish bishops' slaves and vassals. So they took Richard Yeoman and John Dale, pinioned; and bound them like thieves, set them on horseback, and bound their legs under the horses' bellies, and so carried them to the gaol at Bury, where they were tied in irons; and for that they continually rebuked popery, they were thrown into the lowest dungeon, where John Dale, through sickness of the prison, and evil keeping, died in prison, whose body, when he was dead, was thrown out and buried in the fields. He was a man of forty-six years of age, a weaver by his occupation, well learned in the holy Scriptures, faithful and

honest in all his conversation, steadfast in confession of the true doctrine of Christ set forth in king Edward's time; for the 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 that John Dale was dead, Richard Yeoman was removed to Norwich prison, where, after strait and evil keeping, he was examined of his faith and religion. Then he boldly and constantly confessed himself to be of the faith and confession that was set forth by the late king of blessed memory, holy king Edward the sixth; and from that he would in no wise vary. Being required to submit himself to the holy father the pope, "I defy him," quoth he, "and all his detestable abominations: I will in no wise have to do with him, nor anything that appertaineth to him." The chief articles objected to him, were his marriage and the mass-sacrifice. Wherefore when he continued steadfast in confession of the truth, he was condemned, degraded, and not only burnt, but most cruelly tormented in the fire. So ended he his poor and miserable life, and entered into the blessed bosom of Abraham, enjoying with Lazarus the comfortable quietness that God hath prepared for his elect saints.

There was also in Hadley a young man, named John Alcock, which came to Hadley seeking work, for he was a sheerman by his occupation. This young man after the martyrdom of Dr. Taylor, and taking of Richard Yeoman, used first in the church of Hadley to read the service in English, as partly is above touched. At length, after the coming of parson Newall, he, being in Hadley church upon a Sunday, when the parson came by with procession, would not once move his cap, nor show any sign of reverence, but stood behind the font. Newall, perceiving this, when he was almost out of the church door, ran back again, and caught him, and called for the constable. Then came Robert Rolfe, with whom this young man wrought, and asked, "Master parson! what hath he done, that ye are in such a rage with him?" "He is a heretic and a traitor," quoth the parson, "and despiseth the queen's proceedings. Wherefore I command you in the queen's name, move him to the stocks, and see he be forthcoming." "Well," quoth Rolfe, "he shall be forthcoming: proceed you in your business, and be quiet." "Have him to the stocks," quoth the parson. "I am constable," quoth Rolfe, "and may bail him, and will bail him; he shall not come in the stocks, but he shall be forthcoming." So went the good parson forth with his holy procession, and so to mass.

At afternoon Rolfe said to this young man, "I am sorry for thee, for truly the parson will seek thy destruction, if thou take not good heed what thou answerest him." The young man answered, "Sir, I am sorry that it is my hap to be a trouble to you. As for myself, I am not sorry, but I do commit myself into God's hands, and I trust he will give me mouth and wisdom to answer according to right." "Well," quoth Rolfe, "yet beware of him; for he is malicious and a blood-sucker, and beareth an old hatred against me; and he will handle you the more cruelly, because of displeasure against me." "I fear not," quoth the young man. "He shall do no more to me than God will give him leave; and happy shall I be if God will call me to die for his truth's sake."

After this talk, they then went to the parson, who at the first asked him, "Fellow, what sayest thou to the sacrament of the altar?" "I say,"

quoth he, "as ye use the matter, ye make a shameful idol of it; and ye are false idolatrous priests all the sort of you." "I told you," quoth the parson, "he was a stout heretic." So after long talk, the parson committed him to ward, and the next day rode he up to London, and carried the young man with him. And so came the young man no more again to Hadley; but, after long imprisonment in Newgate, where, after many examinations and troubles, for that he would not submit himself to ask forgiveness of the pope, and to be reconciled to the Romish religion, he was cast into the lower dungeon, where with evil keeping and sickness of the house, he died in prison. Thus died he a martyr for Christ's verity, which he heartily loved and constantly confessed, and received the garland of a well-foughten battle at the hand of the Lord. His body was cast out, and buried in a dunghill; for the papists would in all things be like themselves. Therefore would they not so much as suffer the dead bodies to have honest and convenient sepulture.

Thomas Benbridge, a gentleman, single and unmarried, in the diocese of Winchester, although he might have lived a pleasant life in the possessions of this world, yet to follow Christ had rather enter into the strait gate of persecution, to the heavenly possession of life in the Lord's kingdom, than here to enjoy pleasures present, with unquietness of conscience. Wherefore manfully standing against the papists for the defence of the sincere doctrine of Christ's gospel, he spared not himself to confirm the doctrine of the gospel. For the which cause he being apprehended for an adversary of the Romish religion, was forthwith had to examination before Dr. White, bishop of Winchester, where he sustained sundry conflicts for the truth against the said bishop and his colleagues.

The articles being ministered unto him, and he continuing steadfast in his answers, the said bishop proceeded to his condemnation. After which he was brought to the place of martyrdom by the sheriff, sir Richard Pecksal; where he, standing at the stake, began to untie his points, and to prepare himself. Then he gave his gown to the keeper, being belike his fee. His jerkin was laid on with gold lace, fair and brave, which he gave to sir Richard Pecksal, the high sheriff. His cap of velvet he took off from his head, and threw it away. Then lifting his mind to the Lord, he made his prayers. That done, being now fastened to the stake, Dr. Seaton willed him to recant, and he should have his pardon. But when he saw it prevailed not to speak, the said dreaming and doltish doctor willed the people not to pray for him unless he would recant, no more than they would pray for a dog.

Master Benbridge, standing at the stake with his hands together in such manner as the priest holdeth his hands in his memento, the said Dr. Seaton came to him again, and exhorted him to recant: unto whom he said, "Away, Babylonian, away!" Then said one that stood by, "Sir, cut out his tongue;" and another, being a temporal man, railed on him worse than Dr. Seaton did a great deal, who, as is thought, was set on by some other. Then when they saw he would not yield, they bade the tormentors to set to fire; and yet he was nothing like covered with fagots. First, the fire took away a piece of his beard, whereat he nothing shrank at all. Then it came on the other side, and took his legs; and the nether stockings of his hose being leather, made the fire to pierce the sharper, so that

the intolerable heat thereof made him to cry, "I recant." And suddenly therewith he thrust the fire from him; and having two or three of his friends by, that wished his life, they stepped to the fire, and helped to take it from him also; who for their labour were sent to prison. The sheriff also of his own authority took him from the stake, and sent him to prison again, for the which he was sent unto the Fleet, and there lay a certain time. But before he was taken from the stake, the said Seaton wrote articles to have him to subscribe unto them, as touching the pope, the sacrament, and such other trash. But the said master Benbridge made much ado ere he would subscribe them, insomuch that Dr. Seaton willed them to set to fire again. Then with much pain and grief of heart he subscribed to them upon a man's back. That being done, he had his gown given him again, and so was led to prison. Being in prison he wrote a letter to Dr. Seaton, and recanted those words he spake at the stake, unto which he had subscribed; for he was grieved that ever he did subscribe unto them. Whereupon expressing his conscience, he was, the same day seven-night after, burnt indeed, where the vile tormentors did rather broil him than burn him. The Lord give his enemies repentance!

In the last year of queen Mary's reign, Dr. Hopton being bishop of Norwich, and Dr. Spenser bearing the room of his chancellor, about St. James's tide, at St. Edmund's Bury were wrongfully put to death four Christian martyrs: to wit, John Cooke, a sawyer; Robert Milles, alias Plummer, shearman; Alexander Lane, wheelwright; and James Ashley.

Master Noone, a justice in Suffolk, dwelling in Martlesham, hunting after good men to apprehend them, at the length had understanding of one Gouch of Woodbridge, and Driver's wife of Grundisburgh, to be at Grundisburgh together, a little from his house; and immediately took his men with him, and went thither, and made diligent search for them, where the poor man and woman were compelled to step into an hay-golph, to hide themselves from their cruelty. At the last they came to search the hay for them, and by gauging thereof with pitchforks at the last found them: so they took them, and led them to Melton gaol, where they, remaining a time, at the length were carried to Bury, against the assizes at St. James's tide; and being there examined of matters of faith, did boldly stand to confess Christ crucified, defying the pope, with all his papistical trash. Among other things, Driver's wife likened queen Mary in her persecution to Jezebel; for which cause sir Clement Higham, being chief judge there, adjudged her ears immediately to be cut off, which was accomplished accordingly; and she joyfully yielded herself to the punishment, and thought herself happy that she was counted worthy to suffer anything for the name of Christ.

After the assize at Bury, they were carried to Melton gaol again, where they remained a time. From thence they were carried to Ipswich; and there examined before Dr. Spenser, the chancellor of Norwich, chiefly of the sacrament and other ceremonies of the popish church. They were both condemned, committed to the secular power, and burnt at Ipswich the 4th day of November. Being come to the place where the stake was set, by seven of the clock in the morning, (notwithstanding they came the self-same morning from Melton gaol, which is six miles from Ipswich,) being in their prayers, and singing of psalms both of them together, sir Henry

Dowell then being sheriff, was very much offended with them, and willed the bailiffs to bid them make an end of their prayers, (they kneeling upon a broom fagot.) Then one of the bailiffs commanded them to make an end, saying, "On, on, have done; make an end; nail them to the stake:" yet they continued in prayer.

Then sir Henry sent one of his men, that they should make an end. Then Gouch stood up and said unto the sheriff, "I pray you, master sheriff, let us pray a little while, for we have but a little time to live here;" and the sheriff said, "Come off, have them to the fire!" Then the said Gouch and Alice Driver said, "Why, master sheriff and master bailiff, will you not suffer us to pray?" "Away," said sir Henry; "to the stake with them!" Gouch answered, "Take heed, master sheriff. If you forbid prayer, the vengeance of God hangeth over your heads." Then they being tied to the stake, and the iron chain being put about Alice Driver's neck, "Oh!" said she, "here is a goodly neckerchief; blessed be God for it." Then divers came and took them by the hand as they were bound, standing at the stake. The sheriff cried, "Lay hands on them, lay hands on them!" With that a great number ran to the stake; and the sheriff, seeing that, let them all alone, so that there was not one taken.

Although our history hasteth apace (the Lord be praised) to the happy death of queen Mary, yet she died not so soon, but some there were burnt before, and more should have been burnt soon after them, if God's providence had not prevented her with death. In the number of them which suffered in the same month when queen Mary died, were three that were burnt at Bury, whose names were Philip Humfrey, John David, and Henry David, his brother.

Although in such an innumerable company of godly martyrs, which in sundry quarters of this realm were put to torments of fire in queen Mary's time, it be hard so exactly to recite every particular person that suffered, but that some escape us, either unknown or omitted; yet I cannot pass over a certain poor woman, the wife of one Prest, dwelling not far from Launceston, burnt under the said reign in the city of Exeter. She dwelt sometime about Cornwall, having a husband and children there much addicted to the superstitious sect of popery, who many times drove her to the church, to their idols and ceremonies, to shrift, to follow the cross in procession, to give thanks to God for restoring antichrist again in this realm, etc.; which, when her spirit could not longer abide to do, she departed from them, seeking her living by labour and spinning as well as she could, here and there for a time. At length she was brought home to her husband, where she was accused by her neighbours, and so brought to Exeter to be presented before the bishop and his clergy. The name of the bishop was Turberville: his chancellor (as I gather) was Blackstone. The chiefest matter whereupon she was charged and condemned was for the sacrament (which they call of the altar,) and for speaking against idols.

Blackstone and others persuaded the bishop that she was a mazed creature, and not in her perfect wit, (which is no new thing for the wisdom of God to appear foolishness to carnal men of this world;) and therefore they consulted together that she should have liberty. So the keeper of the bishop's prison had her home to his house, where she fell to spinning and carding, and did all other work as a servant in the said keeper's house,

and went about the city, when and whither she would, and divers had delight to talk with her. And ever she continued talking of the sacrament of the altar, which of all things they could least abide. Then was her husband sent for, but she refused to go home with him.

After that, divers of the priests had her in handling, persuading her to leave her wicked opinion about the sacrament of the altar, the natural body and blood of our Saviour Christ. But she made them answer, that it was nothing but very bread and wine, and that they might be ashamed to say that a piece of bread should be turned by a man into the natural body of Christ, which bread doth vinow [grow musty], and mice oftentimes do eat it, and it doth mould and is burned: "And," said she, "God's own body will not be so handled, nor kept in prison, or boxes, or aumbries. Let it be your God, it shall not be mine; for my Saviour sitteth on the right hand of God, and doth pray for me. And to make that sacramental or significative bread, instituted for a remembrance, the very body of Christ, and to worship it, it is very foolishness and devilish deceit." "Now truly," said they, "the devil hath deceived thee." "No," said she, "I trust the living God hath opened mine eyes, and caused me to understand the right use of the blessed sacrament, which the true church doth use, but the false church doth abuse." Much other talk there was between her and them, which here were two tedious to be expressed.

In the mean time, during this her month's liberty granted to her by the bishop, it happened that she entering into St. Peter's church, beheld there a cunning Dutchman, how he made new noses to certain fine images which were disfigured in king Edward's time: "What a mad man art thou," said she, "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 then was she sent for, and clapped fast; and after that time she had no more liberty.

During the time of her imprisonment divers resorted to her, some sent of the bishop, some of their own voluntary will; and albeit she was of such simplicity, and without learning, yet you could declare no place of Scripture but she would tell you the chapter; yea, she would recite you the names of all the books in the Bible.

At the last, when they perceived her to be past remedy, and had consumed all their threatenings, that neither by prisonment nor liberty, by menaces nor flattery, they could bring her to sing any other song, nor win her to their vanities and superstitious doings, then they cried out, "An Anabaptist, an Anabaptist!" Then, at a day, they brought her from the bishop's prison to the Guildhall; and after that delivered her to the temporal power, according to their custom, where she was by the gentlemen of the country exhorted yet to call for grace, and to leave her foul opinions. In fine, when they had played the part of the cat with the mouse, they at length condemned her, and delivered her over to the secular power. Then the indictment being given and read, which was, that she should go to the place whence she came, and from thence be led to the place of execution, then and there to be burned with flames till she should be consumed, she lifted up her voice, and thanked God, saying, "I thank thee, my Lord, my God; this day have I found that which I have long sought. But such outrages as there were again, and such mockings, were never seen upon a

poor silly woman; all which she most patiently took. Then was she delivered to the sheriff; and innumerable people beholding her, she was led by the officers to the place of execution, without the walls of Exeter, called Southernhay, where again these superstitious priests assaulted her; and she prayed them to have no more talk with her, but cried still, "God be merciful to me a sinner, God be merciful to me a sinner!" And so, while they were tying her to the stake, thus still she cried, and would give no answer to them; but with much patience took her cruel death, and was with the flames and fire consumed. Thus was the mortal life ended of as constant a woman in the faith of Christ as ever was upon earth; for whose constancy God be everlastingly praised. Amen.

In writing of the blessed saints which suffered in the bloody days of queen Mary, I had almost overpassed the names and story of three godly martyrs, which with their blood gave testimony likewise to the gospel of Christ, being condemned and burnt in the town of Bristol: Richard Sharp, Thomas Benion, and Thomas Hale.

First, Richard Sharp, weaver, of Bristol, was brought the 9th day of March, anno 1556, before master Dalby, chancellor of the town or city of Bristol; and, after examination, concerning the sacrament of the altar, was persuaded by the said Dalby and others to recant; and the 29th of the same month was enjoined to make his recantation before the parishioners in his parish church. Which when he had done, he felt in his conscience such a tormenting hell, that he was not able quietly to work in his occupation, but decayed and changed both in colour and liking of his body; who shortly after, upon Sunday, came into his parish church, called Temple, and after high mass, came to the choir-door, and said with a loud voice, "Neighbours! bear me record that yonder idol," and pointed to the altar, "is the greatest and most abominable that ever was; and I am sorry that ever I denied my Lord God." Then the constables were commanded to apprehend him; but none stepped forth, but suffered him to go out of the church. After, by night, he was apprehended and carried to Newgate; and shortly after he was brought before the lord chancellor, denying the sacrament of the altar to be the body and blood of Christ; and said, it was an idol; and therefore was condemned to be burnt, by the said Dalby. He was burnt the 7th of May, 1557; and died godly, patiently, and constantly, confessing the articles of our faith.

The Thursday, in the night, before Easter, anno 1557, came one master David Herris, alderman, and John Stone, to the house of one Thomas Hale, a shoemaker of Bristol, and caused him to rise out of his bed, and brought him forth of his door. To whom the said Thomas Hale said, "You have sought my blood these two years, and now much good do you with it:" who, being committed to the watchman, was carried to Newgate the 24th of April, the year aforesaid, was brought before master Dalby the chancellor, committed by him to prison, and after by him condemned to be burnt, for saying the sacrament of the altar to be an idol. He was burned the 7th of May with the foresaid Richard Sharp; and godly, patiently, and constantly embraced the fire with his arms. Richard Sharp and Thomas Hale were bound back to back.

Thomas Benion, a weaver, at the commandment of the commissioners, was brought by a constable the 13th day of August, anno 1557, before



master Dalby, chancellor of Bristol, who committed him to prison for saying there was nothing but bread in the sacrament, as they used it. Wherefore, the 20th day of the said August, he was condemned to be burnt by the said Dalby, for denying five of their sacraments, and affirming two, that is, the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, and the sacrament of baptism. He was burnt the 27th of the said month and year; and died godly, constantly, and patiently, with confessing the articles of our Christian faith.

The last that suffered in queen Mary's time, were five at Canterbury, burnt about six days before the death of queen Mary, whose names follow hereunder written: John Corneford, of Wrotham; Christopher Brown, of Maidstone; John Herst, of Ashford; Alice Snoth; and Katherine Knight, otherwise called Katherine Tynley, an aged woman. These five (to close up the final rage of queen Mary's persecution,) for the testimony of that word for which so many had died before, gave up their lives meekly and patiently, suffering the violent malice of the papists; which papists, although they then might have either well spared them, or else deferred their death, knowing of the sickness of queen Mary; yet such was the implacable despite of that generation, that some there be that say, the archdeacon of Canterbury the same time being at London, and understanding the danger of the queen, incontinently made all post-haste home to despatch these, whom, before then, he had in his cruel custody.

The matter why they were judged to the fire was for confessing that an evil man doth not receive Christ's body, "Because no man hath the Son except it be given him of the Father." That it is idolatry to creep to the cross; and St. John forbidding it, saith, "Beware of images." For confessing that we should not pray to our Lady, and other saints, because they be not omnipotent. For these and other such articles of Christian doctrine were these five condemned. Against whom when the sentence should be read, and they excommunicate, after the manner of the papists, John Corneford, stirred with a vehement spirit of the zeal of God, proceeding in a more true excommunication against the papists, in the name of them all, pronounced sentence against them in these words as follow: "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 do 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 feigned 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." These godly martyrs, in their prayers which they made before their martyrdom, desired God that their blood might be the last that should be shed, and so it was.

If bloody torments and cruel death of a poor innocent, suffering for no cause of his own, but in the truth of Christ and his religion, do make a martyr, no less deserveth the child of one John Fetty to be reputed in the catalogue, who in the house of bishop Bonner unmercifully was scourged to death, as by the sequel of this story here following may appear.

Amongst the persecuted for the gospel, and yet delivered by the interposing Providence of God, was John Fetty, a poor man dwelling in Clerkenwell. He was accused unto one Brokenbury, a parson of the same parish, by his own wife, because he would not come to the church, and be partaker of their idolatry; and therefore, through the said priest's procurement, he was apprehended. However, immediately upon his apprehension, his wife, apparently by the just judgment of God, was stricken mad, which declared a dreadful example of the justice of God against such unnatural treachery. And although this example little moved the consciences of these men to cease their persecution, yet natural pity towards that ungrateful woman so wrought in their hearts, that for the preservation and support of her and her two children, they for the present let her husband alone, and would not carry him to prison, but suffered him to remain quietly in his house. During this time, forgetting the unkind fact of his wife, he did yet so cherish and provide for her, that within the space of three weeks she had recovered some stay of her wit and sense. But such was the power of Satan in the malicious heart of the woman, that so soon as she had recovered her health she did again accuse her husband; whereupon he was the second time apprehended, and carried before Sir John Mordaunt, one of the queen's commissioners, and he upon examination sent him unto the Lollards' Tower; where he was put into the stocks.

After Fetty had thus lain in prison for fifteen days, hanging in the stocks, sometimes by one leg and one arm, sometimes by the other, and sometimes by both, it happened that one of his children, a boy of the age of eight or nine years, came unto the bishop's house to speak with his father. At his coming thither, one of the bishop's chaplains met with him, and asked him what he would have. The child answered, that he came to see his father; the chaplain asked again who was his father. The boy then told him, and pointing towards Lollards' Tower, shewed him that his father was there in prison. "Why," said the priest, "thy father is a heretic!" The child being of a bold and quick spirit, answered, "My father is no heretic; for you have Balaam's mark!" On that the priest took the child by the hand, and carried him into the bishop's house, where amongst them they did most shamefully, and without pity, so whip and scourge this tender child, that he was in one gore of blood. They then caused Cluny, having his coat upon his arm, to carry the child in his shirt unto his father in prison.

On his coming to his father the child fell upon his knees and asked his blessing. The poor man, seeing him so cruelly arrayed, cried out for sorrow, and said, "Alas, who hath done this to thee?" The boy then explained; and while his father was condoling with him, Cluny violently plucked him out of his hands, and carried him back into the bishop's house, where they kept him three days after. At the three days end, Bonner (minding to make the matter whole, and somewhat to appease the poor man for this their horrible fact) determined to release him; and therefore caused him early in a morning to be brought out of Lollards' Tower into his bed-chamber. While this Fetty was there waiting, he espied hanging about the bishop's bed a great pair of 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, immediately after, Fetty espied a little crucifix, and asked the bishop what it was; and he answered that it was Christ. "Was he handled so cruelly as he is here pictured?" quoth Fetty. "Yea, that he was," said the bishop. "And even so cruelly," replied the other, "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 that I have, unto my gown." "Nay, my lord," said Fetty, "ye were better to give it a poor body, that he may pray for you."

But yet Bonner, bethinking in himself of the danger that the child was in by their whipping, and what peril might ensue thereupon, thought better to discharge him. Whereupon, after this and such like talk, the bishop at last willed him to go home, and carry his child with him; which he so did, and that with a heavy heart, to see his poor boy in such extreme pain and grief. But within fourteen days after, the child died, whether through this cruel scourging or other infirmity, I know not. But howsoever it was, the Lord yet used their cruel and detestable fact as a means of his providence for the delivery of this good poor man and faithful Christian: his name be ever praised there-for. Amen.

Among those who were persecuted, and yet escaped and passed through the pikes,\* (being yet, as I hear say, alive,) was one Elizabeth Young, who, coming from Embden to England, brought with her divers books, and dispersed them abroad in London: for the which she being at length espied and laid fast, was brought to examination thirteen times before the catholic inquisitors of heretical pravity. Her first examination was before one master Hussy, who examined her of many things: first, where she was born, who was her 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 such things as I came for. You have not, I think, put me in prison to know who is my father and mother. But, I pray you, go to the matter I came hither for.

*Hussy.* Wherefore wentest thou out of the realm? and when wast thou at mass?

*Young.* To keep my conscience clean, I departed; and have not been at mass these three years.

*Hussy.* Then wast thou not there three years before that? How old art thou?

*Young.* No, Sir, nor yet three years before that: for if I were I had evil luck. I am forty years old and upwards.

*Hussy.* Twenty of those years you went to mass: why not go now?

\* In the goodly company of those persecuted in divers ways for the cause of Christ's gospel, in the cruel reign of queen Mary, who also escaped the fire, may be numbered the following: John Hunt, Richard White, John Willes, Robert Willes, Thomas Hinshaw, R. Bailey, Hudleys, T. Coast, Roger Sandy, Richard Wilmot, Thomas Fairfax, Thomas Green, James Harris, Robert Williams, William and Julian Living, John Lithal, Edward Grew, William Brown, Elizabeth Lawson, Thomas Christenmass, William Wats, John Glover, Alexander Wimshurst, Dabney, lady Knevet, John Davis, mistress Roberts, mistress Ann Lacy, one Crossman's wife, Edward Benet, Jeffrey Hurst, William Wood, the duchess of Suffolk, Thomas Horton, Thomas Sprat, John Cornet, Thomas Bryce, Gertrude Crokhay, William Maldon, Robert Horneby, mistress Sands, Thomas Rose, doctor Sands or Sandys, etc.

*Young.* Yea, and twenty more I may, and yet come home as wise as I went thither first, for I understand it not. My conscience will not suffer me: for I had rather all the world should accuse me than mine own conscience.

*Hussy.* What if an insect stick upon thy skin, and bite thy flesh? thou must make a conscience in taking her off, is there not a conscience in it?

*Young.* That is but a sorry argument to displace the scriptures, and especially in such a part as my salvation dependeth upon; for it is but an easy conscience that a man can make.

*Hussy.* But why wilt thou not swear upon the evangelists before a judge?

*Young.* Because I know not what a book-oath is.

Then he began to teach her the book-oath.

*Young.* Sir, I do not understand it, and therefore I will not learn it.

“Thou *wilt* not understand it,” said he; and with that he went his way.

At her second examination before Dr. Martin, he said to her, “Thou rebel and traitorly whore, thou shalt be so racked and handled, that thou shalt be an example to all such traitorly whores and heretics; and thou shalt be made to swear by the holy evangelists, and confess to whom thou hast sold all and every one of these heretical books that thou hast sold: for we know what number thou hast sold and to whom; but thou shalt be made to confess it in spite of thy blood.”

*Young.* Here is my carcase: do with it what you will. And more than that you cannot have, master Martin: ye can have no more but my blood.

Then said he, “Martin! why callest thou me Martin?”

*Young.* Sir, I know well enough: for I have been before you ere now. Ye delivered me once at Westminster.

*Martin.* Where didst thou dwell then?

*Young.* I dwelt in the Minorities.

*Martin.* I delivered thee and thy husband both; and I thought then, that thou wouldest have done otherwise than thou dost now. For if thou hadst been before any bishop in England, and said the words that thou didst before me, thou hadst fried a fagot: and though thou didst not burn then, thou art like to burn or hang now.”

*Young.* Sir, I promised you then, that I would never be fed with an unknown tongue, and no more will I yet.

*Martin.* I shall feed thee well enough. Thou shalt be fed with that (I warrant thee) which shall be smally to thine ease.

*Young.* Do what God shall suffer you to do: for more ye shall not.

And then he arose, and so departed, and went to the keeper's house, and said to the wife, “Whom hast thou suffered to come to this vile traitorly whore and heretic, to speak with her?” Then said she, “As God receive my soul, here came neither man, woman, nor child to ask for her.”

*Martin.* If any man, woman, or child come to ask for her, I charge thee, in pain of death, that they be laid fast; and give her one day bread, and another day water.

*Young.* If ye take away my meat, I trust God will take away my hunger.

And so he departed and said, “that was too good for her:” and then was she shut up under two locks in the Clink, where she was before, unto

the time of further examinations: for she was brought before the bishop, the dean, and the chancellor, and other commissioners, first and last, thirteen times. In her fifth examination before the bishop's chancellor, he asked her, "When thou receivest the sacrament of the altar, dost thou not believe that thou dost receive Christ's body?"

*Young.* Sir, when I do receive the sacrament which Christ instituted the night before he was betrayed, and left to his disciples, I believe that spiritually and by faith I receive Christ. And of this sacrament, I know Christ himself to be the author, and none but he. And this same sacrament is an establishment to my conscience, and an augmenting to my faith.

*Chan.* Why, did not Christ take bread, and give thanks, and brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying—"Take, eat, this is my body that is given for you?" Did he give them his body, or no?

*Young.* He also took the cup, and gave thanks to his Father, and gave it to his disciples, saying—"Drink ye all hereof: for this is the cup of the new Testament in my blood, which shall be shed for many." Now, I pray you, sir, let me ask you one question: Did he give the cup the name of his blood, or the wine that was in the cup?

*Chan.* Dost thou think that thou hast a hedge-priest in hand?

*Young.* No, sir, I take you not to be a hedge-priest; I take you for a doctor.

*Chan.* So I think. Thou wilt take upon thee to teach me.

*Young.* No, sir, but I let you know what I know; and by argument one shall know more. Christ said—"As oft as ye do this, do it in remembrance of me;" but a remembrance is not of a thing present, but absent. Likewise St. Paul saith—"So oft as ye shall eat of this bread and drink of this cup, ye shall shew forth the Lord's death till he come;" then we must not look for him here, until his coming again at the latter day. Again, is not this article of our belief true—"He sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty; from thence he shall come to judge both the quick and the dead?" But if he come not before he come to judgment, how then is he present in your sacrament of the altar? Wherefore I believe that the human body of Christ occupieth no more than one place at once: for when he was here, he was not there.

In this year, 1558, thirty-nine persons were brought to the stake: and the whole number burnt during the reign of Mary, amounted to two hundred and eighty-four; and near four hundred fell a sacrifice on these sad occasions, including those who died by imprisonment and famine. There were burnt, five bishops, twenty-one divines, eight gentlemen, eighty-four artificers, one hundred husbandmen, servants, and labourers, twenty-six wives, twenty widows, nine virgins, two boys, and two infants. Sixty-four more were persecuted for their religion, whereof seven were whipped, sixteen perished in prison, and twelve were buried in dunghills. It is to be observed, that the persecution raged most in Bonner's diocese (London) and in Kent. Several protestant books printed on the continent, were secretly conveyed to England; upon which a proclamation was issued, enacting, that any person who might receive such books, and did not instantly burn them, without either reading, or shewing them to any person, should be forthwith executed by martial law.

## SECTION XVII.

GOD'S PROVIDENCE IN PRESERVING THE LADY ELIZABETH—UNPROSPER-  
 OUSNESS OF QUEEN MARY'S REIGN—DIVINE JUDGMENTS ON PERSE-  
 CUTORS—CONCLUSION.

WHEN all hath been said and told touching the admirable working of God's present hand in defending and delivering any one person out of thralldom, never was there since the memory of our fathers any example wherein the Lord's mighty power hath more admirably and blessedly showed itself than in the miraculous custody and outescape of the lady Elizabeth, in the strait time of queen Mary her sister. The princess Elizabeth was born at Greenwich anno 1533, being the daughter of Henry the eighth and his queen Anne Boleyn. She was baptized in the Grey Friars' church at Greenwich, having to her godfather Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury. After that, she was committed to godly tutors and governors, under whom she increased in all manner of virtue and knowledge of learning. One of her schoolmasters reported of her to a friend, that he learned every day more of her than she of him: "I teach her words," quoth he, "and she me things. I think she is best inclined and disposed of any in all Europe." Likewise an Italian, which taught her his tongue, said once, that he found in her two qualities which are never, lightly, yokefellows in one woman; which were, a singular wit, and a marvellous meek stomach.

When Mary was first queen, before she was crowned, she would go no whither but would have the lady Elizabeth by the hand, and send for her to dinner and supper; but, after she was crowned, she never dined nor supped with her, but kept her aloof from her. After this it happened upon the rising of sir Thomas Wyat, that the lady Elizabeth, at that time lying in queen Mary's house at Ashridge, and the lord Courteney were charged with false suspicion. Whereupon the queen, whether for that surmise, or for what other cause I know not, the next day after sent to her three of her councillors; and howbeit she was then very sick, they willed her to prepare against the next morning, at nine of the clock, to go with them to London. On the next morrow, at the time prescribed, they had her forth as she was, very faint and feeble, and in such case that she was ready to swoon three or four times between them. Proceeding in her journey from Ashridge, all sick in the litter, she came to Redbourn, where she was guarded all night. From thence to St. Alban's, to sir Ralph Rowlet's house, where she tarried that night, both feeble in body and comfortless in mind. From that place they passed to master Dodde's house at Mimms, where also they remained that night: and so from thence she came to Highgate, where she, being very sick, tarried that night and the next day; during which time there came many pursuivants and messengers from the court, but for what purpose I cannot tell. From that place she was conveyed to the court, where by the way came to meet her many gentlemen, accompanying her highness, which were very sorry to see her in that case. But especially a great multitude of people by the way, flocking about her litter, lamented and bewailed greatly.

Now when she came to the court, her grace was straightways shut up, and kept as close prisoner a fortnight, seeing neither king nor queen, nor lord nor friend, all that time; but only the lord chamberlain, sir John Gage, and the vice-chamberlain, which were attendant unto the doors. The Friday before Palm Sunday, the bishop of Winchester, with nineteen other of the council, came unto her from the queen, and burdened her with Wyat's conspiracy, which she utterly denied, affirming that she was altogether guiltless therein. They, being not contented with this, charged her with business made by sir Peter Carew, and the rest of the gentlemen of the west country: which also she utterly denying, cleared her innocency therein.

In conclusion, after long debating of matters, they declared unto her that it was the queen's will and pleasure that she should go unto the Tower, while the matter was further tried and examined. Whereat she, being aghast, said that she trusted the queen's majesty would be a more gracious lady unto her, and that her highness would not otherwise conceive of her but that she was a true woman: declaring furthermore to the lords, that she was innocent in all those matters wherein they had burdened her, and desired them therefore to be a further mean to the queen her sister, that she might not be committed to so notorious and doleful a place; protesting that she would request no favour at her hand if she should be proved to have consented unto any such kind of matter as they laid unto her charge. Whereunto the lords answered again, that there was no remedy, for that the queen's majesty was fully determined that she should go unto the Tower: wherewith the lords departed with their caps hanging over their eyes.

Within the space of an hour or little more, came the lord treasurer, the bishop of Winchester, the lord steward, and the earl of Sussex, with the guard; who, warding the next chamber to her, secluded all her gentlemen and yeomen, ladies and gentlewomen; saving that for one gentleman-usher, three gentlewomen, and two grooms of her chamber, were appointed, in their rooms, three other men of the queen's, and three waiting-women to give attendance upon her, that none should have access unto her grace. Upon Saturday following, the earl of Sussex and one other lord of the council came and certified that forthwith she must go unto the Tower, the barge being prepared for her, and the tide now ready, which tarrieth for nobody. In heavy mood her grace requested the lords that she might tarry another tide, trusting that the next would be better and more comfortable; but one of them replied, that neither time nor tide was to be delayed. And when she requested that she might be suffered to write to the queen's majesty, he answered that he durst not permit that; adding, that in his judgment it would rather hurt than profit her grace in so doing. But the other lord, more courteous and favourable, (who was the earl of Sussex,) kneeling down, told her grace that she should have liberty to write, and, as he was a true man, he would deliver it to the queen's highness, and bring an answer of the same, whatsoever came thereof. Whereupon she wrote: albeit she could in no case be suffered to speak with the queen, to her great discomfort. And thus the time and tide passing away that season, they privily appointed all things ready that she should go the next tide, which fell about midnight; but for fear she should be taken by the way, they durst not. So they stayed till the next day, being Palm Sunday,

when about nine of the clock these two returned again, declaring it was time for her grace to depart. She answered, "If there be no remedy, I must be contented;" willing the lords to go on before. Being come forth into the garden, she cast her eyes towards the window, thinking to have seen the queen, which she could not. In the mean time, commandment was given in all London, that every one should keep the church, and carry their palms; while in the mean season she might be conveyed, without all recourse of people, into the Tower.

After this she took her barge, with the two foresaid lords, three of the queen's gentlewomen, and three of her own, her gentleman-usher, and two of her grooms. At landing she first stayed, and denied to land at those stairs where all traitors and offenders customably used to land, neither well could she, unless she should go over her shoes. The lords were gone out of the boat before, and asked why she came not. One of the lords went back again to her, and brought word she would not come. Then said one of the lords, which shall be nameless, that she should not choose: and because it did then rain, he offered to her his cloak, which she, putting it back with her hand with a good dash, refused. So she coming out, having one foot upon the stair, said, "Here landeth as true a subject, being prisoner, as ever landed at these stairs; and before thee, O God! I speak it, having no other friends but thee alone." To whom the same lord answered again, that if it were so, it was the better for her.

At her landing there was a great multitude of their servants and warders standing in their order. "What needed all this?" said she. "It is the use," said some, "so to be, when any prisoner comes thither." "And if it be," quoth she, "for my cause, I beseech you that they may be dismissed." Whereat the poor men kneeled down, and with one voice desired God to preserve her grace; who the next day were released of their cold coats. After this, passing a little further, she sat down upon a cold stone, and there rested herself. To whom the lieutenant then being said, "Madam, you were best to come out of the rain; for you sit unwholesomely." She then replying, answered again, "It is better sitting here than in a worse place; for God knoweth, I know not whither you will bring me." With that her gentleman-usher wept: she demanding of him what he meant so uncomfortably to use her, seeing she took him to be her comforter, and not to dismay her; especially for that she knew her truth to be such, that no man should have cause to weep for her. But forth she went into the prison. The doors were locked and bolted upon her, which did not a little discomfort and dismay her grace: at what time she called to her gentlewoman for her book, desiring God not to suffer her to build her foundation upon the sands, but upon the rock, whereby all blasts of blustering weather should have no power against her. The doors being thus locked, and she close shut up, the lords had great conference how to keep ward and watch, every man declaring his own opinion in that behalf, agreeing straitly and circumspectly to keep her.

Then one of them, which was the lord of Sussex, swearing said, "My lords, let us take heed, and do no more than our commission will bear us out in, whatsoever shall happen hereafter. And further, let us consider that she was the king our master's daughter: and therefore let us use such dealing, that we may answer it hereafter, if it shall so happen: for



just dealing," quoth he, "is always answerable." Whereunto the other lords agreed that it was well said of him, and thereupon departed. Being in the Tower, within two days commandment was, that she should have mass within her house. One master Young was then her chaplain, and because there were none of her men so well learned to help the priest to say mass, the mass stayed for that day.

Within five days after, the bishop of Winchester, Stephen Gardiner, with divers others of the council came unto her, and examined her of the talk that was at Ashridge, betwixt her and sir James Croft, concerning her removing from thence to Donnington-castle, requiring her to declare what she meant thereby. At the first she, being so suddenly asked, did not well remember any such house; but within awhile, well advising herself, she said, "Indeed, I do now remember that I have such a place, but I never lay in it in all my life. And as for any that hath moved me thereunto, I do not remember."

Then to force the matter, they brought forth sir James Croft. The bishop of Winchester demanded of her, what she said to that man. She answered, that she had little to say to him, or to the rest that were then prisoners in the Tower. "But my lords," quoth she, "you do examine every mean prisoner of me, wherein, methinks, you do me great injury. If they have done evil, and offended the queen's majesty, let them answer to it accordingly. I beseech you, my lords, join not me, in this sort, with any of these offenders. And as concerning my going unto Donnington-castle, I do remember that master Hobby and mine officers, and you sir James Croft, had such talk; but what is that to the purpose, my lords, but that I may go to mine own houses at all times?" The lord of Arundel kneeling down, said, "Your grace saith true, and certainly we are very sorry that we have so troubled you about so vain matters." She then said, "My lords, you do sift me very narrowly: but well I am assured, you shall not do more to me than God hath appointed; and so God forgive you all." At their departure sir James Croft kneeled down, declaring that he was sorry to see the day in which he should be brought as a witness against her grace. "But I assure your grace," said he, "I have been marvellously tossed and examined touching your highness, which (the Lord knoweth) is very strange to me: for, I take God to record before all your honours, I do not know anything of that crime that you have laid to my charge, and will thereupon take my death, if I should be driven to so strict a trial.

After this sort, having lien a whole month there in close prison, and being very evil at ease therewithal, she sent for the lord chamberlain, and the lord Chandos, to come and speak with her; who coming, she requested them that she might have liberty to walk in some place, for that she felt herself not well. To the which they answered, that they were right sorry that they could not satisfy her grace's request: for that they had commandment to the contrary, which they durst not in any wise break. Furthermore, she desired of them, if that could not be granted, that she might walk but into the queen's lodging. No, nor yet that (they answered) could by any means be obtained without a further suit to the queen and her council. "Well," said she, "my lords, if the matter be so hard, that they must be sued unto for so small a thing, and that friendship be so

strict, God comfort me." And so they departed, she remaining in her old dungeon still, without any kind of comfort but only God.

The next day after the lord Chandos came again unto her grace, declaring unto her, that he had sued unto the council for further liberty. Some of them consented thereunto, divers other dissented, for that there were so many prisoners in the Tower. But, in conclusion, they did all agree that her grace might walk into those lodgings, so that he and the lord chamberlain, and three of the queen's gentlewomen did accompany her, the windows being shut, and she not suffered to look out at any of them: wherewith she contented herself, and gave him thanks for his good will in that behalf. Afterwards there was liberty granted to her grace to walk in a little garden, the doors and gates being shut up, which notwithstanding was as much discomfort unto her, as the walk in the garden was pleasant and acceptable. At which times of her walking there, the prisoners on that side straitly were commanded not to speak or look out at the windows into the garden, till her grace were gone out again, having, in consideration thereof, their keepers waiting upon them for that time. Thus her grace, with this small liberty, contented herself in God, to whom be praise there-for.

The 5th day of May, the constable of the Tower was discharged of his office of the Tower, and one sir Henry Benifield placed in his room, a man unknown to her grace, and therefore the more feared; which so sudden mutation was unto her no little amaze. He brought with him a hundred soldiers, in blue coats, wherewith she was marvelously discomforted, and demanded of such as were about her, whether the lady Jane's scaffold were taken away or no; fearing, by reason of their coming, lest she should have played her part. To whom answer was made, that the scaffold was taken away, and that her grace needed not to doubt of any such tyranny; for God would not suffer any such treason against her person. Wherewith being contented, but not altogether satisfied, she asked who sir Henry Benifield was; and whether he was of that conscience, or no, that if her murdering were secretly committed to his charge he would see the execution thereof. She was answered, that they were ignorant what manner of man he was. Howbeit they persuaded her that God would not suffer such wickedness to proceed. "Well," quoth she, "God grant it be so. For thou, O God, canst mollify all such tyrannous hearts, and disappoint all such cruel purposes; and I beseech thee to hear me, thy creature, which am thy servant and at thy commandment, trusting by thy grace ever so to remain."

In conclusion, on Trinity Sunday, being the 19th day of May, she was removed from the Tower, the lord treasurer being then there, for the lading of her carts, and discharging the place of the same; where sir Henry Benifield (being appointed her jailer) did receive her, with a company of rake-hells to guard her, besides the lord of Derby's band, waiting in the country about, for the moonshine in the water. Unto whom at length came my lord of Tame, joined in commission with the said sir Henry, for the safe guiding of her to prison; and they together conveyed her grace to Woodstock, as hereafter followeth. The first day they conducted her to Richmond, where she continued all night, being restrained of her own men, which were lodged in out-chambers, and sir Henry Benifield's soldiers appointed in their rooms to give attendance on her person. Whereat she

being marvellously dismayed, thinking verily some secret mischief to be a-working towards her, called her gentleman-usher, and desired him with the rest of his company to pray for her: "For this night," quoth she, "I think to die." Wherewith he being stricken to the heart, said, "God forbid that any such wickedness should be pretended against your grace." So, comforting her as well as he could, at last he burst out into tears, and went from her down into the court, where were walking the lord of Tame, and sir Henry Benifield.

Then he, coming to the lord of Tame, (who had proffered to him much friendship,) desired to speak with him a word or two; unto whom he familiarly said, he would with all his heart. Which when sir Henry, standing by, heard, he asked what the matter was. To whom the gentleman-usher answered, "No great matter, sir," said he, "but to speak with my lord a word or two." Then when the lord of Tame came to him, he spake on this wise: "My lord," quoth he, "you have been always my good lord, and so I beseech you to remain. The cause why I come to you at this time is, to desire your honour unfeignedly to declare unto me, whether any danger is meant towards my mistress this night, or no; that I and my poor fellows may take such part as shall please God to appoint: for certainly we will rather die, than she should secretly and innocently miscarry." "Marry," said the lord of Tame, "God forbid that any such wicked purpose should be wrought; and rather than it should be so, I with my men are ready to die at her foot also." And so (praised be God) they passed that doleful night, with no little heaviness of heart.

Afterwards, passing over the water at Richmond, going towards Windsor, her grace espied certain of her poor servants standing on the other side, which were very desirous to see her. Whom when she beheld, turning to one of her men standing by, she said, "Yonder I see certain of my men: go to them and say these words from me, 'Tanquam ovis;'" that is, Like a sheep to the slaughter. So she passing forward to Windsor, was lodged there that night in the dean of Windsor's house, a place more meet indeed for a priest than a princess. And from thence her grace was guarded and brought the next night to master Dormer's house, where, much people standing by the way, some presented to her one gift, and some another, so that sir Henry was greatly moved therewith, and troubled the poor people very sore, for showing their loving hearts in such a manner, calling them rebels and traitors, with such vile words. Besides, as she passed through the villages, the townsmen rang the bells, as being joyful of her coming, thinking verily it had been otherwise than it was indeed, as the sequel proved after to the said poor men. For immediately the said sir Henry, hearing the same, sent his soldiers thither, who apprehended some of the ringers, setting them in the stocks, and otherwise uncourteously misusing other some, for their good wills.

On the morrow, her grace, passing from master Dormer's, (where was, for the time of abode there, a strait watch kept,) came to the lord of Tame's house, where she lay all the night, being very princely entertained both of knights and ladies, gentlemen and gentlewomen. The next day she took her journey from Ricot to Woodstock, where she was enclosed, as before in the Tower of London, the soldiers guarding and warding both within and without the walls, every day to the number of sixty, and in the night,

without the walls, forty, during the time of her imprisonment there. At length she had gardens appointed for her walk, which was very comfortable to her grace. But always, when she did recreate herself therein, the doors were fast locked up, in as strict manner as they were in the Tower, being at the least five or six locks between her lodging and her walks; sir Henry himself keeping the keys, and trusting no man therewith. Whereupon she called him her jailer; and he, kneeling down, desired her grace not to call him so, for he was appointed there to be one of her officers. "From such officers," quoth she, "good Lord deliver me!" Hearing upon a time out of her garden at Woodstock a certain milkmaid singing pleasantly, the said lady Elizabeth wished herself to be a milkmaid as she was; saying, that her case was better, and life more merry than was hers, in that state as she was.

After her grace had been there a time, she made suit to the council that she might be suffered to write to the queen; which at last was permitted. So sir Henry Benifield brought her pen, ink, and paper; and standing by her while she wrote, (which he straitly observed,) always, she being weary, he would carry away her letters, and bring them again when she called for them. In the finishing thereof, he would have been messenger to the queen of the same; whose request her grace denied, saying, one of her own men should carry them; and that she would neither trust him nor any of his therein. Then he answered again, saying, "None of them durst be so bold," he trowed, "to carry her letters, being in that case." "Yes," quoth she, "I am assured I have none so dishonest that would deny my request in that behalf, but will be willing to serve me now as before." "Well," said he, "my commission is to the contrary, and I may not so suffer it." Her grace, replying again, said, "You charge me very often with your commission; I pray God, you may justly answer the cruel dealing you use towards me." Then he, kneeling down, desired her grace to think and consider how he was a servant, and put in trust there by the queen to serve her majesty; protesting that if the case was hers, he would as willingly serve her grace, as now he did the queen's highness. For the which his answer her grace thanked him, desiring God that she might never have need of such servants as he was; declaring further to him, that his doings towards her were not good nor answerable; but more than all the friends he had would stand by. To whom sir Henry replied and said, that there was no remedy but his doings must be answered, and so they should, trusting to make good account thereof. The cause which moved her grace so to say, was for that he would not permit her letters to be carried four or five days after the writing thereof. But, in fine, he was content to send for her gentleman from the town of Woodstock, demanding of him whether he durst enterprise the carriage of her grace's letters to the queen, or no; and he answered, "Yea, sir, that I dare; and will with all my heart:" whereupon sir Henry, half against his stomach, took them unto him.

Then about the 8th of June came down Dr. Owen and Dr. Wendy, sent by the queen to her grace, for that she was sickly; who, ministering to her, and letting her blood, tarried there and attended on her grace five or six days. Then she being well amended, they returned again to the court, making their good report to the queen and the council of her grace's

behaviour and humbleness towards the queen's highness; which her majesty hearing, took very thankfully: but the bishops thereat repined, looked black in the mouth, and told the queen, they marvelled that she submitted not herself to her majesty's mercy, considering that she had offended her highness.

About this time, her grace was requested by a secret friend, to submit herself to the queen's majesty, which would be very well taken, and to her great quiet and commodity. Unto whom she answered, that she would never submit herself to them, whom she never offended. "For," quoth she, "if I have offended and am guilty, I then crave no mercy, but the law; which I am certain," quoth she, "I should have had ere this, if it could be proved by me. For I know myself (I thank God) to be out of the danger thereof, wishing that I were as clear out the peril of my enemies; and then I am assured I should not be so locked and bolted up within walls and doors as I am. God give them a better mind when it pleaseth him."

About this time there was a great consulting among the bishops and gentlemen, touching a marriage for her grace, which some of the Spaniards wished to be with some stranger, that she might go out of the realm with her portion; some saying one thing, and some another. A lord, who shall be here nameless, being there, at last said, that the king should never have any quiet commonwealth in England, unless her head were stricken from the shoulders. Whereunto the Spaniards answered, saying, God forbid that their king and master should have that mind, to consent to such a mischief.

This was the courteous answer of the Spaniards to the Englishmen, speaking after that sort against their own country. From that day the Spaniards never left off their good persuasions to the king, that the like honour he should never obtain, as he should in delivering the lady Elizabeth's grace out of prison; whereby at length she was happily released from the same. Here is a plain and evident example of the good clemency and nature of the king and his councillors toward her grace (praised be God there-for!) who moved their hearts therein. Then hereupon she was sent for, shortly after, to come to Hampton Court.

While the said lady Elizabeth was a prisoner in the Tower, a writ came down, subscribed with certain hands of the council, for her execution; which, if it were certain, as it is reported, Winchester (no doubt) was deviser of that mischievous drift. And, doubtless, the same Abithophel had brought his impious purpose that day to pass, had not the fatherly providence of Almighty God (who is always stronger than the devil) stirred up master Bridges, lieutenant the same time of the Tower, to come in haste to the queen, to give certificate thereof, and to know further her consent, touching her sister's death. Whereupon it followed, that all that device was disappointed, and Winchester's devilish platform, which he said he had cast, through the Lord's great goodness came to no effect.

Now, after these things thus declared, to proceed further there where we left before, sir Henry Benifield and his soldiers, with the lord of Tame, and sir Ralph Chamberline, guarding and waiting upon her, the first night from Woodstock she came to Ricot; in which journey such a mighty wind did blow, that her servants were fain to hold down her clothes about her: insomuch that her hood was twice or thrice blown from her head. Where-

upon she, desiring to return to a certain gentleman's house there near, could not be suffered by sir Henry Benifield so to do, but was constrained, under a hedge, to trim her head as well as she could. After this, the next night they journeyed to master Dormer's, and so to Colnbrooke, where she lay all that night at the George; and by the way, coming to Colnbrooke, certain of her grace's gentlemen and yeomen met her, to the number of three-score, much to all their comforts, which had not seen her grace of long season before: notwithstanding they were commanded, in the queen's name, immediately to depart the town, to both their and her grace's no little heaviness, who could not be suffered once to speak with them. So that night all her men were taken from her, saving her gentleman-usher, three gentlewomen, two grooms, and one of her wardrobe, the soldiers watching and warding about the house, and she close shut up within her prison.

The next day following, her grace entered Hampton Court on the back side, into the prince's lodging, the doors being shut to her; and she, guarded with soldiers as before, lay there a fortnight at the least, ere any had recourse unto her. At length came the lord William Haward, who marvellous honourably used her grace. Whereat she took much comfort, and requested him to be a mean that she might speak with some of the council; to whom, not long after, came the bishop of Winchester, the lord of Arundel, the lord of Shrewsbury, and secretary Peter, who, with great humility, humbled themselves to her grace. She again, likewise, saluting them, said, "My lords, I am glad to see you: for methinks I have been kept a great while from you desolately, alone. Wherefore I would desire you to be a mean to the king and queen's majesties, that I may be delivered from prison, wherein I have been kept a long space, as to you, my lords, it is not unknown."

When she had spoken, Stephen Gardiner, the bishop of Winchester, kneeled down, and requested that she would submit herself to the queen's grace; and in so doing he had no doubt but that her majesty would be good to her. She made answer, that rather than she would so do, she would lie in prison all the days of her life; adding, that she craved no mercy at her majesty's hand, but rather desired the law, if ever she did offend her majesty in thought, word, or deed. "And besides this, in yielding," quoth she, "I should speak against myself, and confess myself to be an offender, which I never was, towards her majesty, by occasion whereof the king and the queen might ever hereafter conceive of me an evil opinion. And therefore I say, my lords, it were better for me to lie in prison for the truth, than to be abroad and suspected of my prince." And so they departed, promising to declare her message to the queen.

On the next day the bishop of Winchester came again unto her grace, and kneeling down declared, that the queen marvelled that she would so stoutly use herself, not confessing that she had offended: so that it should seem that the queen's majesty had wrongfully imprisoned her grace. "Nay," quoth the lady Elizabeth, "it may please her to punish me as she thinketh good." "Well," quoth Gardiner, "her majesty willeth me to tell you, that you must tell another tale ere that you be set at liberty." Her grace answered, that she had as lieve be in prison with honesty and truth, as to be abroad suspected of her majesty: "and this that I have said, I will," said she, "stand unto; for I will never belie myself." Win-

chester again kneeled down, and said, "Then your grace hath the vantage of me, and other the lords, for your wrong and long imprisonment." "What vantage I have," quoth she; "you know: taking God to record, I seek no vantage at your hands for your so dealing with me; but God forgive you and me also!" With that the rest kneeled, desiring her grace that all might be forgotten, and so departed, she being fast locked up again.

A sevensnight after, the queen sent for her grace, at ten of the clock in the night, to speak with her: for she had not seen her in two years before. Yet, for all that, she, amazed at the sudden sending for, thinking it had been worse than afterwards it proved, desired her gentlemen and gentlewomen to pray for her; for that she could not tell whether ever she should see them again or no. At which time sir Henry Benifield with mistress Clarencius coming in, her grace was brought into the garden, unto a stair's foot that went into the queen's lodging, her grace's gentlewomen waiting upon her, her gentleman-usher and her grooms going before with torches; where her gentlemen and gentlewomen being commanded to stay all, saving one woman, mistress Clarencius conducted her to the queen's bed-chamber, where her majesty was. At the sight of whom her grace kneeled down, and desired God to preserve her majesty, not mistrusting but that she should try herself as true a subject towards her majesty, as ever did any; and desired her majesty even so to judge of her: and said, that she should not find her to the contrary, whatsoever report otherwise had gone of her. To whom the queen answered, "You will not confess your offence, but stand stoutly to your truth: I pray God it may so fall out." "If it doth not," quoth the lady Elizabeth, "I request neither favour nor pardon at your majesty's hands." "Well," said the queen, "you stiffly still persevere in your truth. Belike you will not confess but that you have been wrongfully punished." "I must not say so, if it please your majesty, to you." "Why then," said the queen, "belike you will to others." "No, if it please your majesty," quoth she, "I have borne the burden, and must bear it. I humbly beseech your majesty to have a good opinion of me, and to think me to be your true subject, not only from the beginning hitherto, but for ever, as long as life lasteth." And so they departed with very few comfortable words of the queen in English: but what she said in Spanish, God knoweth. It is thought that king Philip was there behind a cloth, and that he showed himself a very friend in that matter.

Thus her grace departing, went to her lodging again, and that day sevensnight was released of sir Henry Benifield, (her jailer as she termed him,) and his soldiers. And so her grace being set at liberty from imprisonment, went into the country, and had appointed to go with her sir Thomas Pope, one of queen Mary's councillors, and one of her gentlemen-ushers, master Gage; and thus straitly was she looked to, all queen Mary's time. And this is the discourse of her highness's imprisonment.

After so great afflictions falling upon this realm from the first beginning of queen Mary's reign, we are come at length (the Lord be praised!) to the 17th day of November, which day as it brought to the persecuted members of Christ rest from their mourning, so it easeth me somewhat likewise of my laborious writing, by the death, I mean, of queen Mary; who, being long sick before, upon the said 17th day of November, 1558,

about three or four o'clock in the morning yielded life to nature, and her kingdom to queen Elizabeth her sister. As touching the manner of her death, some say that she died of a tympany, some (by her much sighing before her death) supposed she died of thought and sorrow. Whereupon her council, seeing her sighing, and desirous to know the cause that they might minister the more ready consolation, feared, as they said, that she took that thought for the king's majesty her husband, which was gone from her. To whom she said, "Indeed that may be one cause, but that is not the greatest wound that pierceth my oppressed mind:" but what that was she would not express to them. Albeit, afterward, she opened the matter more plainly to master Rise and mistress Clarencius (if it be true that they told me, which heard it of master Rise himself;) who being familiar with her and most bold about her, said also that they feared she took thought for king Philip's departing from her. "Not that only," said she; "but when I am dead and opened, you shall find Calais lying in my heart."

Now forasmuch as queen Mary, during all the time of her reign, was such a vehement adversary and persecutor against the sincere professors of Christ Jesus and his gospel: for the which there be many which do highly magnify and approve her doings therein, reputed her religion to be sound and catholic, and her proceedings to be most acceptable and blessed to Almighty God: to the intent therefore that all men may understand how the blessing of God did not only not proceed with her proceedings, but contrariwise how his manifest displeasure ever wrought against her, in plaguing both her and her realm, and in subverting all her counsels and attempts, whatsoever she took in hand, we will bestow a little time therein.

Gamaliel, speaking his mind in the council of the Pharisees, concerning Christ's religion, gave this reason: that if it were of God it should continue, whosoever said nay; if it were not, it could not stand. So may it be said of queen Mary and her Romish religion; that if it were so perfect and catholic as they pretend, and the contrary faith of the gospellers so detestable and heretical as they make it, how cometh it then, that this so catholic a queen, such a necessary pillar of his spouse the church, continued no longer, till she had utterly rooted out of the land this heretical generation? yea, how chanced it rather, that Almighty God, to spare these poor heretics, rooted out queen Mary so soon from her throne, after she had reigned but only five years and five months?

Now furthermore, how God blessed her ways and endeavours in the mean time, until she thus persecuted the true servants of God, remaineth to be discussed; where this is first to be noted, that when she first began to stand for the title of the crown, and yet had wrought no resistance against Christ and his gospel, but had promised her faith to the Suffolkmen, to maintain the religion left by king Edward her brother, so long God went with her, advanced her, and, by the means of the gospellers, brought her to the possession of the realm. But after that she, breaking her promise with God and man, began to take part with Stephen Gardiner, and had given over her supremacy unto the pope, by-and-by God's blessing left her, neither did anything well thrive with her afterward, during the whole time of her regiment.



For first, incontinently, the fairest and greatest ship she had, called Great Harry, was burnt; such a vessel as in all these parts of Europe was not to be matched. Then would she needs bring in king Philip, and by her strange marriage with him, to make the whole realm of England subject unto a stranger. And all that notwithstanding, (that she either did, or was able to do,) she could not bring to pass to set the crown of England upon his head. With king Philip also came in the pope and his popish mass; with whom also her purpose was to restore again the monks and nuns unto their places; neither lacked there all kind of attempts to the uttermost of her ability; and yet therein also God stopped her of her will, that it came not forward. After this, what a dearth happened in her time here in her land! the like whereof hath not lightly in England been seen, insomuch that in sundry places her poor subjects were fain to feed off acorns, for want of corn. Furthermore, where other kings are wont to be renowned by some worthy victory and prowess by them achieved, let us now see what valiant victory was gotten in this queen Mary's days. King Edward the sixth, her blessed brother, how many rebellions did he suppress in Devonshire, in Norfolk, in Oxfordshire, and elsewhere! What a famous victory in his time was gotten in Scotland, by the singular working (no doubt) of God's blessed hand, rather than by any expectation of man! King Edward the third, (which was the eleventh king from the conquest,) by princely puissance purchased Calais unto England, which had been kept English ever since, till at length came queen Mary, the eleventh likewise from the said king Edward, which lost Calais from England again; so that the winnings of this queen were very small—what the losses were let other men judge.

Hitherto the affairs of queen Mary have had no great good success, as you have heard. But never worse success had any woman, than had she in her child-birth. For seeing one of these two must needs be granted, that either she was with child or not with child: if she were with child and did travail, why was it not seen? if she were not, how was all the realm deluded! And in the meanwhile, where were all the prayers, the solemn processions, the devout masses of the catholic clergy? why did they not prevail with God, if their religion were so godly as they pretend? If their masses, "ex opere operato," be able to fetch Christ from heaven, and to reach down to purgatory, how chanced then they could not reach to the queen's chamber, to help her in her travail, if she had been with child indeed? if not, how then came it to pass, that all the catholic church of England did so err, and was so deeply deceived?

Queen Mary, after these manifold plagues and corrections, which might sufficiently admonish her of God's disfavour provoked against her, would not yet cease her persecution, but still continued more and more to revenge her catholic zeal upon the Lord's faithful people, setting fire to their poor bodies by half dozens and dozens together. Whereupon, God's wrathful indignation increasing more and more against her, ceased not to touch her more near with private misfortunes and calamities. For after that he had taken from her the fruit of children, (which chiefly and above all things she desired,) then he bereft her of that, which of all earthly things should have been her chief stay of honour, and staff of comfort, that is, withdrew from her the affection and company even of her own husband, by whose

marriage she had promised before to herself whole heaps of such joy and felicity. But now the omnipotent Governor of all things so turned the wheel of her own spinning against her, that her high buildings of such joys and felicities came all to a castle-come-down; her hopes being confounded, her purposes disappointed, and she now brought to desolation; who seemed neither to have the favour of God, nor the hearts of her subjects, nor yet the love of her husband; who neither had fruit by him while she had him, neither could now enjoy him whom she had married, neither yet was at liberty to marry any other whom she might enjoy. Mark here, Christian reader, the woeful adversity of this queen, and learn withal what the Lord can do, when man's wilfulness will needs resist him, and will not be ruled.

At last, when all these fair admonitions would take no place with the queen, nor move her to revoke her bloody laws, nor to stay the tyranny of her priests, nor yet to spare her own subjects, but that the poor servants of God were drawn daily by heaps most pitifully as sheep to the slaughter, it so pleased the heavenly majesty of Almighty God, when no other remedy would serve, by death to cut her off; which in her life so little regarded the life of others, giving her throne, which she abused to the destruction of Christ's church and people, to another, who more temperately and quietly could guide the same, after she had reigned here the space of five years and five months. The shortness of which years and reign, scarce we find in any other story of king or queen since the conquest or before, (being come to their own government,) save only in king Richard III.

And thus much here, as in the closing up of this story, I thought to insinuate, touching the unlucky and rueful reign of queen Mary: not for any detraction to her place and state royal, whereunto she was called of the Lord, but to this only intent and effect: that forsomuch as she would needs set herself so confidently to work and strive against the Lord and his proceedings, all readers and rulers may not only see how the Lord did work against her there-for, but also by her may be advertised and learn what a perilous thing it is for men and women in authority, upon blind zeal and opinion, to stir up persecution in Christ's church, to the effusion of Christian blood, lest it prove in the end with them, (as it did here,) that while they think to persecute heretics, they stumble at the same stone as did the Jews, in persecuting Christ and his true members to death, to their own confusion and destruction.

Leaving now queen Mary, being dead and gone, I come to them which under her were the chief ministers and doers of this persecution, the bishops and priests to whom the queen gave all the execution of her power, as did queen Alexandra to the Pharisees after the time of the Maccabees, of whom Josephus says: "She only retained to herself the name and title of the kingdom, but all her power she gave to the Pharisees to possess." Touching which prelates and priests here is to be noted in like sort the wonderful and miraculous providence of Almighty God, which as he abridged the reign of their queen, so he suffered them not to escape unvisited. First beginning with Stephen Gardiner, the arch-persecutor of Christ's church, whom he took away about the midst of the queen's reign, of whom sufficient hath been touched before. After him dropped others away also, some before the death of queen Mary, and some after; as

Morgan, bishop of St. David's, who sitting upon the condemnation of bishop Farrar, unjustly usurping his room, not long after was stricken by God's hand after such a strange sort, that his meat would not go down, but rise and pick up again, sometimes at his mouth, sometimes blown out at his nose, most horrible to behold; and so he continued till his death. This foresaid bishop Morgan bringeth me also in remembrance of justice Morgan, who sat upon the death of the lady Jane, and not long after fell mad, and was bereft of his wits; and so died, having ever in his mouth, "Lady Jane, lady Jane!"

Before the death of queen Mary died Dr. Dunning, the wretched chancellor of Norwich, who after he had most rigorously condemned and murdered so many simple and faithful saints of the Lord, died in Lincolnshire, being suddenly taken, as some say, sitting in his chair. The like sudden death fell also upon Berry, commissary in Norwich, as is before showed in the story of Thomas Hudson. Bishop Thornton, suffragan of Dover, after he had exercised his cruel tyranny upon so many godly men at Canterbury, coming upon a Saturday from the chapter-house at Canterbury to Bourne, and there, upon the Sunday following, looking upon his men playing at the bowls, fell suddenly in a palsy, and so had to bed, was willed to remember God: "Yea, so I do," said he, "and my lord cardinal too." After him succeeded another bishop, ordained by the foresaid cardinal, who brake his neck falling down a pair of stairs in the cardinal's chamber at Greenwich, as he had received the cardinal's blessing.

To these examples may be added the terrible judgment of God upon the parson at Crundale in Kent, of which read before. Not long before the death of queen Mary, died Dr. Capon, bishop of Salisbury; and about the same time followed the unprepared death of Dr. Jeffrey, chancellor of Salisbury, who in the midst of his buildings, suddenly being taken by the mighty hand of God, yielded his life, which had so little pity of other men's lives before. Here is to be noted that the foresaid chancellor departing upon a Saturday, the next day before the same he had appointed to call before him ninety persons, and not so few, to examine them by inquisition; had not the goodness of the Lord prevented him with death, providing for his poor servants in time. Such is the merciful dealing of the Almighty with his people, whom after he scourged a little, in his displeasure, at length he burned the rod.

And now to come from priests to laymen, we find in them also no less terrible demonstration of God's heavy judgment upon such as have been vexers and persecutors of his people. In the story of master Bradford, mention was made of master Woodroofe the sheriff, who used much to rejoice at the death of the poor saints in Christ; and so hard he was in his office, that when master Rogers was in the cart going toward Smithfield, and in the way his children were brought unto him, the people making a lane for them to come, master Woodroofe bade the carman's head should be broken, for staying his cart. But what happened? He was not come out of his office the space of a week, but he was stricken by the sudden hand of God, the one half of his body; in such sort, that he lay benumbed and bedridden, not able to move himself but as he was lifted of others; and so continued in that infirmity the space of seven or eight years, till his dying day.

Likewise touching Ralph Lardin, the betrayer of George Eagles, it is thought of some, that the said Ralph afterward was attached himself, arraigned, and hanged; who, being at the bar, had these words before the judges there, and a great multitude of people: "This is most justly fallen upon me," saith he, "for that I have betrayed the innocent blood of a good and just man, George Eagles, who was here condemned in the time of queen Mary's reign, through my procurement, who sold his blood for a little money." Not much unlike stroke of these severally was showed upon William Swallow of Chelmsford, and his wife; also upon Richard Potto, and justice Brown, cruel persecutors of the said George Eagles, concerning whose story read before.

Alexander the keeper of Newgate, a cruel enemy to those that lay there for religion, died very miserably, being so swollen that he was more like a monster than a man, and so rotten within, that no man could abide the smell of him. This cruel wretch, to hasten the poor lambs to the slaughter, would go to Bonner, Storey, Cholmley, and others, crying out, "Rid my prison; rid my prison! I am too much pestered with these heretics."

The son of the said Alexander called James, having left unto him by his father great substance, within three years wasted all to nought: and when some marvelled how he spent those goods so fast, "Oh!" said he, "evil gotten, evil spent." And shortly after, as he went in Newgate-market, he fell down suddenly, and there wretchedly died. John Peter, son-in-law to this Alexander, and a horrible blasphemer of God, and no less cruel to the said prisoners, rotted away, and so most miserably died; who commonly when he would affirm anything, were it true or false, used to say, "If it be not true, I pray God I rot ere I die."—Witness the printer hereof, with divers others.

And thus much concerning those persecutors, as well of the clergy-sort as of the laity, which were stricken, and died before the death of queen Mary. With whom also are to be numbered in the race of persecuting bishops, which died before queen Mary, these bishops following: Cotes, bishop of Chester; Parfew, bishop of Hereford; Glyn, bishop of Bangor; Brookes, bishop of Gloucester; King, bishop of Tame; Petow, elect of Salisbury; Day, bishop of Chichester; Holyman, bishop of Bristol.

Now, after the queen, immediately following, or rather waited upon her, the death of cardinal Pole, who the next day departed: of what disease, although it be uncertain to many, yet by some it is suspected, that he took some Italian physic, which did him no good. Then followed these bishops in order: John Christopherson, bishop of Chichester; Hopton, bishop of Norwich; Morgan, bishop of St. David's; John White, bishop of Winchester; Ralph Bayne, bishop of Lichfield and Coventry; Owen Oglethorpe, bishop of Carlisle; Cuthbert Tonstall, bishop of Durham; Thomas Reynolds, elect of Hereford, after his deprivation died in prison. Besides these bishops, first died at the same time, Dr. Weston, dean of Westminster, afterwards dean of Windsor; chief disputer against Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer. Master Slethurst, master of Trinity college in Oxford, who died in the Tower. Seth Holland, dean of Worcester, and warden of All Souls' college in Oxford. William Cobinger, monk of Westminster, who bare the great seal before Stephen Gardiner, after the death of the said Gardiner made himself monk in the house of

Westminster; and shortly after fell mad, and died in the Tower. Dr. Steward, dean of Winchester.

To behold the working of God's judgments, it is wondrous. In the first year of queen Mary, when the clergy were assembled in the Convocation-house, and also afterward, when the disputation was in Oxford against Drs. Cranmer and Ridley, and master Latimer, he that had seen then Dr. Weston the prolocutor in his ruff, how highly he took upon him in the schools, and how stoutly he stood in the pope's quarrel against simple and naked truth, full little would have thought, and less did he think himself, I dare say, that his glory and lofty looks should have been brought down so soon, especially by them of his own religion, whose part he so doughtily defended.

But such is the reward and end commonly of them who presumptuously oppose themselves to strive against the Lord, as by the example of this doctory prolocutor right well may appear. For not long after the disputation above mentioned against bishop Cranmer and his fellows, God so wrought against the said Dr. Weston, that he fell in great displeasure with cardinal Pole and other bishops, because he was unwilling to give up his deanery, and house of Westminster, unto the monks and religious men, whom indeed he favoured not, although in other things he maintained the church of Rome: who notwithstanding, at last, through importunate suit, gave up Westminster, and was dean of Windsor; where, not long after, he was apprehended in adultery, and for the same was by the cardinal put from all his spiritual livings. Wherefore he appealed to Rome, and purposed to have fled out of the realm, but was taken by the way, and committed to the Tower of London; and there remained until queen Elizabeth was proclaimed queen, at which time he being delivered, fell sick and died. The common talk was, that if he had not so suddenly ended his life, he would have opened and revealed the purpose of the chief of the clergy, (meaning the cardinal,) which was to have taken up king Henry's body at Windsor, and to have burned it. And thus much of Dr. Weston. The residue that remained of the persecuting clergy, and escaped the stroke of death, were deprived, and committed to prisons.

Concerning Dr. Chedsey here is to be noted, that in the beginning of king Edward's reign, he recanted, and subscribed to thirty-four articles, wherein he then fully consented and agreed, with his own handwriting, to the whole form of doctrine approved and allowed then in the church, as well concerning justification by faith only, as also the doctrine of the two sacraments then received; denying as well the pope's supremacy, transubstantiation, purgatory, invocation of saints, elevation and adoration of the sacrament, the sacrifice and veneration of the mass, as also all other like excrements of popish superstition, according to the king's book then set forth.

Wherefore the more marvel it is, that he, being counted such a famous and learned clerk, would show himself so fickle and unstable in his assertions, so double in his doings, to alter his religion according to time, and to maintain for truth, not what he thought best, but what he might most safely defend. So long as the state of the lord protector and of his brother stood upright, what was then the conformity of this Dr. Chedsey, his own articles in Latin, written and subscribed with his own hand, do declare, which I have to show, if he will deny them. But after the decay

of the king's uncles, the fortune of them turned not so fast, but his religion turned withal; and afterwards he took upon him to dispute against Peter Martyr, in upholding transubstantiation at Oxford, which, a little before, with his own handwriting he had overthrown. After this ensued the time of queen Mary, wherein Dr. Chedsey, to show his double diligence, was so eager in his commission to sit in judgment, and to bring poor men to their death, that in the last year of queen Mary, when the lord chancellor, sir Thomas Cornwallis, lord Clinton, and divers other of the council had sent for him, by a special letter, to repair unto London out of Essex, he, writing again to the bishop of London, sought means not to come at the council's bidding, but to continue still in his persecuting progress. The copy of whose letter I have also in my hands, if need were, to bring forth.

To these add also the stinking death of Edmund Bonner, commonly named the bloody bishop of London; who, not many years ago, in the time and reign of queen Elizabeth, after he had long feasted and banqueted in durance at the Marshalsea, as he wretchedly died in his blind popery, so as strikingly and blindly, at midnight, was he brought out and buried in the outside of all the city, amongst thieves and murderers, a place right convenient for such a murderer; with confusion and derision both of men and children, who, trampling upon his grave, well declared how he was hated both of God and man. What else be all these, I say, but plain visible arguments, testimonies, and demonstrations even from heaven, against the pope, his murdering religion, and his bloody doctrine? For who can deny their doings not to be good, whose end is so evil? If Christ bid us to know men by their fruits, and especially seeing by the end all things are to be tried, how can the profession of that doctrine please God, which endeth so ungodly? Esaias, prophesying of the end of God's enemies, which would needs walk in the light of their own setting up, and not in the light of the Lord's kindling, threateneth to them this final malediction, "In doloribus," saith he, "dormietis;" i. e. "In sorrow shall ye sleep." Innumerable examples more to the same effect might be added, but these may suffice, which I here notify unto the children of the murdering mother church of Rome, (of whom it may well be said, "Your hands be full of blood,") to the intent that they by the example of their fellows may be admonished to follow the prophet's counsel, "Be you washed, and make yourselves clean," etc; and not to presume too far upon their own security, nor think themselves the further off from God's hand, because man's hand forbearth them.

I know and grant, that man hath no further power upon any than God from above doth give. And what the laws of this realm could make against them, as against open murderers, I will not here discuss, because they shall not say that we desire their blood to be spilt, but rather to be spared; but yet this I say, and wish them well to understand, that the sparing of their lives which have been murderers of so many is not for want of power in magistrates, nor for lack of any just law against them, whereby they might justly have been condemned; but because Almighty God peradventure in his secret purpose, having something to do with these persecutors, hath spared them hitherto; not that they should escape unpunished, but that he will take his own cause into his own hand, either by death to take them away, (as he did by Bonner and others,) or else to

make them persecute themselves; or stir up their consciences to their own confusion, in such sort as the church shall have no need to lay any hands upon them. Wherefore with this short admonition to close up the matter, I wish all whom God's lenity suffereth yet to live wisely to ponder with themselves, that as their cruel persecution hurteth not the saints of God, whom they have put to death, so the patience of Christ's church suffering them to live doth not profit them, but rather heapeth the greater judgment of God upon them in the day of wrath, unless they repent in time, which I pray God they may.

And now to re-enter again to the time of queen Elizabeth. It cannot sufficiently be expressed what felicity and blessed happiness this realm hath received in receiving her at the Lord's almighty and gracious hand; whose coming in was not only so calm, so joyful, and so peaceable, without shedding any blood, but also her reign, during the first twenty-four years and more, so quiet, that all that time her sword was spotted and polluted with no drop of blood. In commendation of her clemency also, here might be added how mildly her grace forgave the foresaid sir Henry Benifield, suffering him to enjoy goods, life, lands, and liberty.

Towards the end of March, 1559, a conference was held by command of the queen's most excellent majesty at Westminster, between the papists and the protestants; eight persons, that is to say, four bishops and four doctors, being appointed on either side. The matter of the conference was comprehended in these three propositions: 1. It is against the word of God, and the custom of the ancient church, to use a tongue unknown to the people, in common prayers, and the administration of the sacraments. 2. Every church hath authority to appoint, take away, and change ceremonies and ecclesiastical rites, so the same be to edification. 3. It cannot be proved by the word of God, that there is, in the mass, offered up a sacrifice propitiatory for the quick and the dead.

About this time also was a parliament summoned at Westminster, wherein was much debating about matters touching religion; and although some diversity there was of judgment and opinion between parties, yet, notwithstanding, through the merciful goodness of the Lord, the true cause of the gospel had the upper hand, the papists' hope was frustrate, and their rage abated, the order and proceedings of king Edward's time concerning religion were revived again, the supremacy of the pope abolished, the articles and bloody statutes of queen Mary repealed; briefly, the furious firebrands of cruel persecution, which had consumed so many poor men's bodies, were now extinct and quenched.

Finally, the old bishops were deposed, for that they refused the oath in renouncing the pope, and not subscribing to the queen's just and lawful title: in whose rooms and places, first for cardinal Pole succeeded Dr. Matthew Parker, archbishop of Canterbury. In the place of Heath succeeded Dr. Young. Instead of Bonner, Edmund Grindall was bishop of London. For Hopton, Thirlby, Tonstall, Pates, Christopherson, Petow, Cotes, Morgan, Voysey, White, Oglethorpe, etc., were placed Dr. John Parkhurst in Norwich, Dr. Coxe in Ely, Jewell in Salisbury, Pilkinton in Durham, Dr. Sands in Worcester, master Downham in West-Chester, Bentham in Coventry and Lichfield, Davies in St. David's, Alley in

Exeter, Horne in Winchester, Scory in Hereford, Best in Carlisle, Bullingham in Lincoln, Scambler in Peterborough, Barkley in Bath, Guest in Rochester, Barlow in Chichester, etc.

And now to conclude, good Christian reader, this present tractation, not for lack of matter, but to shorten rather the matter for largeness of the volume, I here stay for this present time, without further addition of more discourse, either to overweary thee with longer tediousness, or overcharge the book with longer prolixity; having hitherto set forth the acts and proceedings of the whole church of Christ, namely, of the church of England, although not in such particular perfection, that nothing hath overpassed us; yet in such general sufficiency, that I trust not very much hath escaped us, necessary to be known, touching the principal affairs, doings, and proceedings of the church and churchmen. Wherein may be seen the whole state, order, descent, course, and continuance of the same, the increase and decrease of true religion, the creeping in of superstition, the horrible troubles of persecution, the wonderful assistance of the Almighty in maintaining his truth, the glorious constancy of Christ's martyrs, the rage of the enemies, the alteration of times, the travails and troubles of the church, from the first primitive age of Christ's gospel, to the end of queen Mary, and the beginning of this our gracious queen Elizabeth. During the time of her happy reign, which hath hitherto continued (through the gracious protection of the Lord) the space now of twenty-four years, as my wish is, so I would be glad the good will of the Lord were so, that no more matter of such lamentable stories may ever be offered hereafter to write upon. But so it is, I cannot tell how, the elder the world waxeth, the longer it continueth, the nearer it hasteneth to its end, the more Satan rageth; giving still new matter of writing books and volumes: insomuch that if all were recorded and committed to history, that within the said compass of this queen's reign hitherto hath happened, in Scotland, Flanders, France, Spain, Germany, besides this our own country of England and Ireland, with other countries more, I verily suppose one Eusebius, or Polyhistor, which Pliny writeth of, would not suffice thereunto.

But of these incidents and occurrents hereafter more, as it shall please the Lord to give grace and space. In the mean time, the grace of the Lord Jesus work with thee, gentle reader, in all thy studious readings. And while thou hast space, so employ thyself to read, that by reading thou mayest learn daily to know that which may profit thy soul, may teach thee experience, may arm thee with patience, and instruct thee in all spiritual knowledge more and more to thy perpetual comfort and salvation in Christ Jesus our Lord; to whom be glory *in secula seculorum*. Amen.



# APPENDIX.

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## SECTION I.

### MASSACRES IN THE VALTELINE, AND CRUEL PERSECUTIONS OF THE FAITHFUL IN DIVERS OTHER PLACES.

IN 1620, a dreadful massacre occurred in the Valteline, a fertile valley of Switzerland, inhabited chiefly by Roman catholics. The ringleaders entered the valley one night about six o'clock, taking care that all the ways and passages were well guarded, that their bloody purpose might not be defeated. Four muskets were discharged before the palace of the seignior Podesta, principal magistrate of Tyrane, and the great bell rung, upon which signal the inhabitants took the alarm, and made toward the palace. The murderers then ordered the bridge to be broken which lay towards Bruce, and there planted a strong guard: all this was done before day. At dawn of day the bells rang another peal at the church of Marelio. The wretches ranged themselves together, so that when the protestants, without fear or suspicion, came out of their houses to see what was the matter, they were instantly shot. Others by force entered the houses, dragged their victims from their beds, and slew them. One poor gentleman hid himself in a garret, but the villains finding him threw him out of window, and afterwards dispatched him with the blow of a club. Antonia de Salva, chancellor in that valley, a man of great authority, was dragged out of his house, and shot. The governor of Teglio, a man of great worth, very learned and skilled in many languages, being by chance at Tyrane, was also with his servant strangled, in the chamber where he was found.

The pastor of the church of Tyrane, and the pastor of Marelio, withdrew themselves into a hall, where they were discovered and murdered. The wretches cut off the head of the former, and carried it into the church, fixing it upon a pole in the pulpit where he used to preach. The palace of the chequer of Tyrane was besieged, John de Cappaul being at that time governor. The chancellor Michael Lazarone was hated by the papists for his piety, and pursued even thither by these hell-hounds, who threatened to fire the palace, unless he were delivered into their hands. Lazarone, seeing that, secretly left the house in the evening, and hid himself about the banks of the river Adda, wherein he covered himself, and lay close three hours. His enemies, however, at length found him, and dragged him out of the water; and though in tears he begged for his life, in consideration of his children, they answered, that this was no time for pity and favour: but if he would swear by the pope's bull, and abjure his faith, they would grant him his life. He answered, "God forbid that I, for the love of this temporal life, should deny my Lord Jesus Christ, who with his precious

blood, did at so dear a rate redeem me. I say, God forbid!" Upon this they immediately murdered him.

The same evening, the gate of the palace was burnt to the ground by these rebels, who the next morning entered into it, raging with fury, and took the governor prisoner, with his young son; spoiling and maiming wives and maidens, and carrying away all they could lay hands on. The governor was taken away, and after he had remained a long time prisoner, was shot. In endeavouring to resist, one John Antonio Mazano and his wife defending him, was with herself and two young children cruelly killed. John Antonio Schlosser, a Gardonese, having made long resistance, and killed one of the rebels, was at last taken, tied to a tree, and shot. In brief, these rebels had regard to neither young, old, weak, or strong, many of all sorts were either shot to death, or cut in pieces, or in one manner or other destroyed.

The ladies who were not slain, were constrained to change their religion, and to go to mass, except the wife of the Lazarone and her daughters, and niece, who by the assistance of Almighty God continued in safety. On the 8th of August, these were released, and retired themselves into Retia, leaving behind them in the Valteline one daughter and two young sons, who could not obtain leave to depart the country.

At the massacre of Teglio were murdered about sixty persons. A number of wicked wretches, appalled in red cassocks, and well mounted on horseback, marched in the morning to Tellat, at the hour when the sermon was, and ran like wolves to the Volta church; the protestants who were assembled, observing the evil intention of those villains, arose suddenly from their seats, endeavoured to shut the door, and to barricade the place with the benches. They without laboured with all their power to enter the church; but not being able so speedily to do it, some climbed up into the windows, and discharged their muskets among the people without respect of any person, and killed many. At last they opened the door, entered, and slew all they found, except a few who promised to go to mass. Some of the men and women with their children fled into the belfry to save themselves; but they set fire to the place, and burnt all that were within.

At the massacre at Sondres, in the mountain of Sondrium and Malenk, were left dead about one hundred and forty persons. Annaidai Lita, wife of Anthoni Grotti, of Chio, in the territory of Vincentine, of an honourable and ancient house, was come out of Italy but a few years before for the liberty of her conscience. She was first exhorted to change her religion; but constantly persevering therein, she was admonished to have a care of her young infant which she held in her arms, being about two months old; otherwise she and her babe too should die: but with an undaunted courage she answered, that she had not departed from her native country, neither had she forsaken all the estate she had, to renounce at last that faith which had been inspired into her by the Lord Jesus Christ. "And how"—said she—"should I have regard in this cause of my infant, since God spared not his only Son, but delivered him up to death for the love of me and of all sinners?" Then giving them the child, she said—"Behold the child! the Lord God, who hath the care of the birds of the air, will much more be able to save this poor creature,

although by you it were left in those wild mountains." So unlacing her gown, she said—"Here is the body which you have power to kill; but my soul, on which you have no power to lay hands, that I commend to my God." Immediately she was cut in pieces, being thirty-five years of age. The infant, because it was a lovely babe to look on, was suffered to live, and was delivered to a popish woman to nurse. The husband of this gentlewoman was murdered for the faith a little before.

Some women were by force taken up to the tops of high and craggy mountains, and threatened to be thrown down headlong with their children, unless they would go to mass. And yet those that were moved and terrified with the horrors of death, and had consented to change their religion, yet were they murdered for all that without any pity at all. An aged man of sixty-seven years was set upon an ass, his face turned to the tail, which he held in his hand instead of a bridle, and in his other hand a book, whom in this manner they carried through Sondres. Then they cut off his ears, nose and cheeks, boring holes into divers parts of his body, with a strange and unparalleled barbarity, until they had quite killed him.

Anthony de Prati, of the hills, was exhorted with many words to abjure his religion; but he refused with all the constancy of a martyr, and made a most powerful impression on all who witnessed his courage and calmness in his dying moments, calculated to establish them the more firmly in their most holy faith. They were astonished, and gave glory to God, publicly bearing witness of the martyr's triumphant end. Paulo Beretta, of Chio, in the province of Vicence, aged seventy-five years, a maiden lady of a noble and ancient family, who came twenty-seven years before to Sondres to embrace the gospel, was carried through Sondres in scorn, having a mitre of paper on her head, her face besmeared with dirt, and many buffets given on her cheeks. Being required to call upon the holy virgin and the saints, and to place her trust in them, she smiling readily answered them—"My trust and my salvation is in my Saviour Jesus Christ, and in him only will I trust." At last she was carried away to be sent to Milan. On the eighteenth of July an elderly woman was found murdered in the highway, in the plain of St. Gregory, in the Valteline, which was conjectured to be the body of this gentlewoman.

Many hid themselves in dens, and caves, and woods, out of which they durst not come but by night to get some food, and that with great fear and terror, on account of the watching of the enemy, while others for want of convenient food to eat, and others that fed only upon roots, leaves, and grass, made an end of their lives; and many were murdered in divers places, who had no burial at all; so that several carcasses were to be seen in groves and woods in the mountains, and in the waters in many places. At the massacre of Berbonne, were slain about eleven persons. And likewise at Caspano and Trahorn, about the same number; one of them, a tradesman, being discovered by his countrymen and kindred, was taken and carried to Morbegnio, and burnt, being sixty years old.

Giovan Pietro Malacrida, although he was little of stature, yet was he great and mighty in his confession of the truth, insomuch that for the love of his Saviour he suffered death with singular cheerfulness

being forty years of age. His example was devoutly and constantly imitated by Elizabeth his wife, who was killed in the thirty-eighth year of her age: and moreover these murderers not therewith content, observing a daughter of hers, an infant of three years old, to lie in the cradle, they took the innocent babe by the feet, and dashed out her brains against the wall. Upon impartial investigation it every way appears, that these several persons underwent their sufferings for the truth of the gospel, and were honest and faithful martyrs of Christ.

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## SECTION II.

### ATTEMPTS OF THE PAPISTS TO OVERTURN THE PROTESTANT GOVERNMENT —THE GUNPOWDER PLOT—HORRIBLE MASSACRES IN IRELAND.

RETURNING to our own country, we observe with much gratitude the auspicious measures commencing the reign of Elizabeth. The secure establishment of this princess on the throne of England, put a stop to the rage of the papists; for the authority of the pope vanished, and peace and liberty rested on the nation. But the papists thought it a sin to live peaceably under a heretical princess, especially one against whom two popes had thundered out excommunications, freeing her subjects from their allegiance, and threatening them with the wrath of God if they did assist her, and promising rewards to all persons who should lay hands upon her, which was to be paid out of the church, with full pardon of all their sins. But when they saw that the queen's subjects were too faithful to engage in any such villanous designs, they then proceeded to secret plots, as that wherein the duke of Norfolk and Robert Biddulph were engaged, in 1566, and for which the Duke suffered at York. In 1578, the invasion of Ireland, at the charge of the pope, was happily prevented. The next year James Fitz Morris was sent into Ireland, with Saunders the jesuit, who carried consecrated banners to them. The year following San Joseph was sent thither with 700 Spanish soldiers, and the pope's promise of a million of crowns, to carry on the work of rebellion; and to them joined the earl of Desmond and his brothers; but they being all happily defeated, they next conspired the death of the queen, and made several attempts to murder her; first by Somerville and Hall, two priests; one of whom being condemned, was found murdered for fear he should discover others. After this followed the devices of Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, with Throgmorton and Parry, who had letters, with plenary pardon, sent them by the pope for killing the queen. The same year, Savage and Babington, engaged to commit the like wicked act, by procurement of Ballard a jesuit; but being happily discovered, were condemned and executed, and were registered for martyrs in the Romish Calendar. Stafford and Moody were dealt withal to commit the like villany, proposing to lay a bag of gun-powder under the queen's bed-chamber, which, by the mercy of heaven, was detected, as well as all the other plots.

These schemes providentially failing, the pope instigated Philip II. of Spain to invade England, though in queen Mary's time he had affected great kindness towards the princess Elizabeth. For this purpose the pope furnished him with a consecrated banner, and fresh bulls for excommunicating the queen as a heretic, publishing a crusade against her, and absolving her subjects from their oath of allegiance. Philip equipped a most formidable armament, which the Spaniards, proud of their power and elated with the vain hopes of victory, named the Invincible Armada. It consisted of one hundred and thirty sail of ships, containing 57,808 tons, wherein were engaged 8,350 seamen, 19,290 soldiers, and two thousand and eighty galley slaves, besides gentlemen and volunteers in abundance; so that scarce a family in Spain but had either a son, brother, or cousin in the fleet. There were likewise on board 2,340 cannon, with powder, bullets, match, muskets, pikes, spears, swords, knives, daggers, chains, and whips, to torment and murder English protestants; and with them came swarms of capuchins, mendicants, and jesuits. There lay in Flanders 50,000 old soldiers, with 288 vessels ready to transport them, under the duke of Parma; all the king of Spain's best soldiers, even as far as America, being drawn forth for this boasted crusade. The whole of the expedition cost the Spaniards twelve millions of crowns; added to which the pope contributed a million of gold. But the mercy of God defended England, discomfiting this mighty armada, and driving it back with shame, loss, and confusion; so that of 134 ships which sailed out of Lisbon, only thirty eight returned; the Spaniards losing in this voyage eighty-one ships, 13,500 soldiers, and 2000 more taken prisoners in England, Ireland, and the Low-Countries: the rest of the navy being destroyed by the English and Dutch, the seas, rocks, sands, and tempests, all seeming to conspire to defeat this insolent attempt.

Yet these people no sooner recovered breath, than they sent over new commissioners and emissaries disguised in all shapes into England, with new contrivances. Lopez and his confederates, Cullen, York, Williams, Squire, Heskett, all entered into a conspiracy to kill the queen, being encouraged by the Jesuits and the Spanish ministers of state. These proving abortive, in 1599 the earl of Tyrone made a new rebellion in Ireland, having the same pardons to offer as were given by the popes to those who fight against the Turks. And in 1601, the king of Spain sent a great fleet to the same country, to assist the rebels. But notwithstanding all these designs, Elizabeth having outlived four kings and eight popes, died in a good old age. She had previously intimated her desire that the king of Scotland should succeed her, in which the whole nation seemed to concur. He mounted to the English throne with the title of James 1st. He was the son of Henry Stuart, lord Darnley, and Mary, queen of Scots, the only child of James V. of Scotland, son of James IV. and Margaret his queen, who was the eldest daughter of Henry VII. king of England. He arrived at the Charterhouse, in London, May 7th, and was crowned at Westminster, July 25th, 1603.

Among subsequent efforts to overturn the reformed government, the gunpowder conspiracy is the most signal. The chief persons concerned in this diabolical plot were Robert Catesby, a gentleman of Northamp-

tonshire; Thomas Percy, the earl of Northumberland's cousin; John Grant, Ambrose Rockwood, John and Christopher Wright, Francis Tresham, Guy Fawkes, Sir Everard Digby, Robert and Thomas Winter Thomas Bates, and Robert Keyes. Some of these consulting together at their first meeting how they might restore the popish religion in England, Percy, one of the most zealous, proposed to kill the king, and offered to perform it himself. To whom Catesby answered, that if the king was taken off, there were still two young princes and princesses, with the greatest part of the nobility and gentry, devoted to the protestant religion; and unless these were involved in the same fate with the king, they should render their condition rather worse than better, by attempting his majesty's life only. He proposed therefore the blowing up the king, queen, and prince, with both the houses of lords and commons, at the next assembly of the parliament, when the king should come to the house, to make his speech, at the opening of the sessions. This being approved by the rest as a most glorious undertaking, it was resolved to put it into execution; but some, scrupling the lawfulness of committing so terrible a slaughter on a religious account, they agreed, before they proceeded in it, to ask the opinion of their confessors; whereupon Henry Garnet, the superior, with Oswald Tesmond and John Gerard, two other priests of the Jesuits' order, were consulted; who did not only declare the enterprize lawful, but applauded the design as just, and even pious; since it was to be executed upon excommunicated heretics.

An oath of secrecy was then taken by the conspirators; and mass being celebrated by Gerard, they also took the sacrament to be true to each other, and promote the plot with all their powers; after which, Percy took a house adjoining to the house of lords, from whence they proposed to dig a mine under it, which would contain a sufficient quantity of gunpowder to blow up the whole building; and they began to work on their mine about Christmas 1604. But the parliament being prorogued, first to February, then to October, and again to the 5th of November, 1605, they had time enough, or rather too much, to effect their design, though they were obliged to dig through the foundation of a very thick wall. When the conspirators had almost conquered this difficulty, they were surprised to hear a noise and the talking of people near the place where they were at work, and began to conclude they were discovered; but sending out Guy Faukes for intelligence, he brought them word, that the voices they had heard were in an adjoining cellar, where coals were exposed to sale; and that it was exactly under the house of lords, and now offered to be let. Whereupon Percy went immediately and hired it, putting thirty-six barrels of gunpowder into it, which he had imported from Holland, and covered them with coals and fagots.

Having thus provided for their grand design, it was considered that though the king and prince might be taken off by this means, yet the duke of York and princess Elizabeth would be out of their power; and consequently the success of their enterprize would still be very doubtful: but Percy being one of the band of pensioners, and well acquainted with the palace, undertook to secure the duke of York; and it was looked

upon as no difficult matter to surprise the princess, who resided at the lord Harrington's, in Warwickshire, under a pretence of a hunting match. It was next considered, what money and horses they could raise towards effecting their purpose: whereupon Digby promised fifteen hundred pounds, Tresham two hundred, Percy the rents of Northumberland, which he was empowered to receive, and computed they would amount to 4000*l*. He also engaged to provide ten horses from the same quarter; and the rest of the conspirators promised to raise what money and troops they could, that they might be able to make a stand, and encourage their friends to take arms in defence of their religion, when the great blow was given. It was debated also, whether they should require the assistance of any princes of their communion; but it was thought necessary to defer this till after the act was committed, lest the plot should be discovered by being communicated to too many. It was resolved to proclaim the princess Elizabeth queen, when they had assembled their troops, a proclamation being drawn up with this view, in which they made no mention of the intended alteration of religion; this being agreed to be deferred till their forces should be joined by some of the catholic powers. In the mean time, they resolved to charge the Puritans with the destruction that was intended: and it is supposed they designed to assassinate the duke of York, by their promising to proclaim the princess Elizabeth.

The conspirators having thus formed their scheme, and proceeded so far in the execution of it, there remained little more for them to do, than to set fire to the train they had laid for blowing up the king, the queen the prince, the nobility, and the representatives of a great and flourishing people. When, on a sudden, an unaccountable fit of tenderness seized one of the party, who, by his endeavouring to rescue a friend, lord Montea<sup>g</sup>le, from this unparalleled destruction, discovered the design. The following is a copy of the letter which was sent about ten days before the meeting of parliament.

“My lord,

Out of the love I bear to some of your friends, I have regard to your preservation; therefore would advise you, as you tender your life, to invent some excuse to put off your attendance at this parliament; for God and man have concurred to punish the wickedness of these times. Think not slightly of this advice, but retire yourself into the country, where you may expect the event in safety; for though there be no appearance of any stir, yet, I say, they shall receive a terrible blow in this parliament, and shall not see who they are that hurt them. This counsel is not to be contemned, because it may do you good, and can do you no harm, for the danger is past, as soon as you have burnt the letter: and I hope God will give you the grace to make good use of it. To whose holy protection I commit you.”

His lordship carried the letter, the same evening he received it, to secretary Cecil; who communicated it to some other members of the council; but they did not think it of that consequence, to make any inquiries about the matter, till the king should return from Royston, where he was gone to hunt: he did not return till the last day of October.

The next day this letter was shewn to his majesty; who, upon perusing it, said, he did not think it was to be contemned: to which Cecil answered, he was of opinion, that it was written either by a fool or a madman, by that expression in it—"The danger is past, as soon as you have burnt the letter:" for, he observed, the warning given by it could be of no use, if the burning the letter would remove the danger; but the king interpreted it, That the danger would be over in as little time as he could burn the letter; having great regard to that passage, "They should receive a terrible blow this parliament," and yet, "should not see who hurt them." Which sudden blow, he apprehended, would be the effect of gunpowder; and therefore ordered all the cellars, and all other places near the parliament house, to be searched. The earl of Suffolk, who was then lord-chamberlain, and whose proper place it was to see all places prepared for the king's reception, put off the search till the day before the meeting of parliament; and then, taking the lord Monteagle with him, viewed all the rooms about the parliament-house, and particularly the cellar under the house of lords; which he found full of wood and coals: and having inquired who it belonged to, was answered, to lord Percy; who being a servant of his majesty, and one who made some figure at court, the earl returned, and acquainted the king in what state he found things, without searching further. But the king's suspicion being rather increased than diminished by this report, he ordered all the wood and coals in the cellar to be removed forthwith; and Sir Thomas Knevet, a justice of peace for Westminster, and gentleman of the privy-chamber, was ordered to see it done, though it was then late at night. This gentleman was so fortunate, as to discover the six and thirty barrels of powder hidden under the coals! He also found a man standing near the place, booted and spurred, with his cloak on, whom he searched, and found upon him a dark lanthorn and three matches. This person proved to be Guy Faukes, one of the conspirators, who passed for Percy's man; who seeing their hopeful plot discovered, swore, when he was apprehended, that had he been found within the cellar, he would have blown up himself, and them likewise. This discovery being made, the secretary and the lord-chamberlain immediately acquainted the king therewith, who was then in bed; and the prisoner, being examined before the council, was so far from being in any consternation, that he acknowledged the villanous design, took it all upon himself, said his religion and conscience prompted him to it, and would name none of his accomplices; only observing that the devil had betrayed a very good design, and that there was no crime in destroying a heretical king. However, being carried to the Tower the next day and threatened with the rack, he confessed the conspiracy, and named his accomplices; who having some intimation of the discovery, fled into Warwickshire; where some of their friends were preparing to rise in arms and surprise the princess Elizabeth, according to the scheme they had laid. They had actually broken open a stable belonging to one Benock, and seized seven or eight managed horses for their purpose: but understanding from their friends who fled from London, that the enterprize was entirely defeated, they assembled about a hundred horse, and endeavoured to persuade their brethren, the papists, to take arms in the



defence of their religion : but nobody joining them they fled, and were pursued by Sir Foulk Greville, deputy-lieutenant of Warwickshire, and the sheriff of that and the neighbouring counties, till the rebels took shelter in a house, at a place called Holbach, in Staffordshire. Here they endeavoured to defend themselves, when a spark of fire falling into a parcel of gunpowder, which they were drying by the fire, blew up part of the house ; whereupon they endeavoured to sally out at the gate, and make their way with their swords in their hands, but were repulsed. Catesby, Percy, and Winter, setting themselves back to back, resolved to die fighting : the two first had their desire, but Winter was wounded and taken ; Digby, Rockwood, Grant, and Boter surrendered. Mr. Tresham, Robert Winter, and Littleton, were apprehended at their lodgings in London, and all of them committed to the Tower.

Thomas Winter, upon his examination, confessed the whole conspiracy and acknowledged their crimes were too great to be forgiven ; while Digby, on the other hand, said they were provoked to this desperate attempt through the severe usage they met with from the government, after hopes had been given them of a toleration ; and Tresham, in his examination, accused Garnet the Jesuit as privy to the conspiracy, though he afterwards retracted it, and pretended he had not seen Garnet for sixteen years. Such was the terror in which the clergy held the laity of the catholic church in that day.

The protestants in Ireland were happily preserved from persecution in the reign of the cruel queen Mary, by the following singular providence. Mary, resolving to persecute them, appointed Dr. Cole, a bloody agent of Bonner, one of the commissioners for this purpose. He arrived at Chester with his commission, and the mayor of that city being a papist waited upon him ; when the doctor taking out of his cloak-bag a leathern box, said—" Here is a commission that shall lash the heretics of Ireland." The good woman of the house, being a protestant, and having a brother in Dublin, named John Edmonds, was greatly troubled at what she heard. But watching her opportunity, whilst the mayor was taking his leave, and the doctor complimenting him down stairs, she opened the box, took out the commission, and instead thereof laid a sheet of paper, with a pack of cards, and the knave of clubs at top. The doctor not suspecting any thing, put up the box, and arrived with it in Dublin in September 1558. Then waiting upon the lord Fitz-Walters, at that time viceroy, he presented the box to him, which being opened, nothing was found therein but a pack of cards. This startling all the persons present, the lord-deputy said—" We must procure another commission ; and in the mean time let us shuffle the cards." Dr. Cole was returning to England to get another commission ; but waiting for a wind, news came that queen Mary was dead, very happily for the protestants, who by this means escaped a most cruel persecution. The above relation is confirmed by historians of the greatest credit, who add, that queen Elizabeth settled a pension of forty pounds per annum upon Elizabeth Edmonds, for having thus saved the lives of her protestant subjects.

Another generation had, however, scarcely passed away before the protestants of Ireland were most cruelly visited with persecution.

So greatly had the Irish ecclesiastics increased under Charles I. by titular Romish archbishops, bishops, deans, &c. that in the year 1629, it was deemed necessary to forbid the public exercise of the popish rites and ceremonies. But notwithstanding this prohibition, soon after, the Romish clergy erected a new popish university in Dublin. They also proceeded to build monasteries and nunneries in various parts of the kingdom; in which the priests, and the chiefs of the Irish, held frequent meetings; and, from thence, used to pass, to and fro, to France, Spain, Flanders, Loraine. and Rome; where the plot of 1641, was maturing by the family of the O'Neil's and their followers. A short time before the conspiracy broke out, the papists of Ireland had presented a remonstrance to the lords-justices of that kingdom, demanding the free exercise of their religion, and a repeal of all laws to the contrary. To this both houses of parliament in England solemnly answered, that they would not allow any toleration to the popish religion in that kingdom.

Irritated by this, the papists hastened to put in execution the concerted plot, for the destruction of the protestants. The great design 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 23rd of October, 1641, the feast of Ignatius Loyala, 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; whose behaviour, in their visits to the protestants, at this time, was with more seeming kindness than they had hitherto shewn, which was done more completely to effect their inhuman and treacherous designs.

The carrying the conspiracy into effect was delayed till the approach of winter, that the sending of troops from England might be attended with greater difficulty. Cardinal Richelieu, the French minister, had promised the conspirators a considerable supply of men and money; and many Irish officers had given the strongest assurances, that they would heartily concur with their catholic brethren, as soon as the insurrection appeared. The day preceding that which was appointed for this horrid transaction arrived, when, happily for the metropolis of the kingdom, the conspiracy was discovered by one Owen O'Connelly, an Irishman.<sup>k</sup>

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. The metropolis was thus 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

<sup>k</sup> For this signal piece of service, the English parliament voted O'Connelly the sum of 500*l.* and a pension during life of 200*l.*

murdered. On the 22nd of October, Sir Phelim O'Neil, upon pretence of paying a visit to lord Charlemont, first perfidiously seized him in his castle, killed his servants before him, and, in a few days murdered his lordship, with some others, in cold blood, as clearly appeared on the trial of lord M'Guire, who was executed for high treason, in London, in 1664.

The scene of blood having been begun, it flowed all over the country. No age, no sex, no condition was spared. The wife weeping for her butchered husband, and embracing her helpless children, was pierced with them, and perished by the same stroke. The old, the young, the vigorous, and the infirm, underwent the same fate, and were blended in one common ruin. In vain did flight save from the first assault: destruction was every where let loose, and met the hunted victims at every turn. In vain was recourse had to relations, to companions, to friends: all connections were dissolved, and death was dealt by that hand, from which protection was implored and expected. Without provocation, without opposition, the astonished English, living in profound peace, and, as they thought, in full security, were massacred by their nearest neighbours, with whom they had long maintained a continued intercourse of kindness and good offices. Nay, even death was the slightest punishment inflicted by these monsters in human form: all the tortures which wanton cruelty could invent, all the lingering pains of body, the anguish of mind, the agonies of despair, could not satiate revenge excited without injury, and cruelly derived from no cause whatever. Depraved nature, even perverted religion, though encouraged by the utmost licence cannot reach to a greater pitch of ferocity than appeared in these merciless barbarians. Even the weaker sex, 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 defenceless children of the English.

Neither was the avarice of the Irish sufficient to produce the least restraint on their cruelty. Such was their frenzy, that the cattle they had seized, and by rapine had made their own, were, because they bore the name of English, wantonly slaughtered, or, when covered with wounds, turned loose into the woods, there to perish by slow and lingering torments. All the commodious habitations of the planters were laid in ashes, or levelled with the ground. And where the wretched owners had shut themselves up in the houses, and were preparing for defence, they perished in the flames, together with their wives and children. The bigoted and merciless papists had no sooner begun to imbrue their hands in blood, than they repeated the horrid tragedy day after day; and the protestants in all parts of the kingdom fell victims to their fury by deaths of the most unheard-of nature.

The vain and 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. Such was the general description of this unparalleled massacre ; but we must now proceed to particulars.

When the papists besieged the town and castle of Longford, and the inhabitants of the latter, who were protestants, surrendered on condition of being allowed quarter, the besiegers, the instant the townspeople appeared, attacked them in the most unmerciful manner, their priest, as a signal for the rest to fall on, first ripping open the body of the English protestant minister ; after which his followers murdered 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 thus treated by O'Connor Slygah ; who upon the protestants quitting their holds promised them quarter, and to convey them safe over the Carlow mountains, to Roscommon. But he first imprisoned them in a most loathsome gaol, allowing them only grains for their food. Afterwards, when some papists were merry over their cups, who were come to congratulate their wicked brethren for their victory over these unhappy creatures, those protestants who survived were brought forth by the White-friars, and were either killed, or precipitated over the bridge into a swift water, where they were soon destroyed. It is added, that this wicked company of White-friars went some time after, in solemn procession, with holy water in their hands, to sprinkle the river ; on pretence of cleansing and purifying it from the stains and pollution of the blood and dead bodies of the heretics, as they called the unfortunate protestants who were inhumanly slaughtered at this 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. Immediately 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 and the building in which they were confined open at the top, they suffered the most severe hardships.

In this situation they continued 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. He was at that time in the seventy-first

year of his age, and being afflicted with a violent ague caught in his late cold and desolate habitation on the lake, it soon threw him into a fever of the most dangerous nature. Finding his dissolution at hand, he received it with joy, like one of the primitive martyrs just hastening to his crown of glory. After having addressed his little flock, and exhorted them to patience in the most pathetic manner, as they saw their own last day approaching; after having solemnly blessed his people, his family and his children, he finished the course of his ministry and life together, on the 7th of February, 1642. Some of the better disposed of his foes, who had venerated him when living, attended his funeral, and when his remains were deposited in the grave, they discharged a volley of shot, crying out, *Requiescat in pace ultimus Anglorum*: that is—"May the last of the English rest in peace." Adding, that as he was one of the best, so he should be the last English bishop found among them.<sup>1</sup>

In the barony of Trelawney, the papists, at the instigation of their friars, compelled above forty English protestants, some of whom were women and children, to the hard fate either of falling by the sword or of drowning in the sea. These choosing the latter, were accordingly forced, by the naked weapons of their inexorable persecutors, into the deep, where, with their children in their arms, they first waded up to their chins, and afterwards sunk down and perished together. In the castle of Lisgoole upwards of 150 men, women, and children, were all burnt together; and at the castle of Moneah not less than 100 were all put to the sword. Great numbers were also murdered at the castle of Tullah, which was delivered up to M'Guire on condition of having fair quarter; but no sooner had that base villain got possession of the place, than he ordered his followers to murder the people, which was immediately done with the greatest cruelty.

Several others were put to death in the most horrid manner, such as could have been invented only by dæmons in the form of men. Some were laid with the centre of their backs on the axle-tree of a carriage, with their legs resting on the ground on one side, and their arms and head on the other. In this position one of the savages scourged the wretched object on the thighs and legs; 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. Several 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. Many were hung on lofty gibbets, and a fire being kindled under them, they finished their lives, partly by hanging, and partly by burning. Nor did the more tender sex escape the fullest share 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 par-

<sup>1</sup> Very extensive was his learning, and he would have given the world a greater proof of it, had he printed half that 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.

ticular 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. There were upwards of a hundred Scottish protestants at the town of Lissenskeath to whom were shewed no more mercy than to the English.

M'Guire, going to the castle of that town, desired to speak with the governor, when being admitted, he immediately burnt the records of the county, which were kept there. He then demanded a thousand pounds of the governor, which having received, he immediately compelled him to hear mass, and to swear that he would continue so to do. And to complete his horrid barbarities, he ordered the wife and children of the governor to be hung up before his face; besides massacreing at least one hundred of the inhabitants. There were more than a thousand men, women, and children, driven, in different companies, to Portendown bridge, which was broken in the middle, and they were compelled to throw themselves into the water: such as attempted to reach the shore were knocked on the head. In the same part of the country, at least four thousand persons were drowned in different places. The inhuman papists, after first stripping them, drove them like beasts to the spot fixed on for their destruction; and if any, through fatigue or 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 persecutors prevented their endeavours taking effect, by shooting them in the water.

At one place one hundred and forty English, after being driven for many miles in the most severe weather, were all murdered on the same spot, some being hanged, others 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 existence. They took other companies 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.

About one hundred and fifteen men, women, and children, were conducted, by order of Sir Phelim O'Neil, to Portendown bridge, where they were all forced into the river, and drowned. One woman, named Campbel, finding no probability of escaping, suddenly clasped one of the chief of the papists in her arms, and held him so fast, that they were both drowned together. Forty-eight families were massacred in Killoman, among whom twenty-two were burnt together in one house.

The rest were either hanged, shot, or drowned. The people of Kilmore comprised about two hundred families, and 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 country was one common scene of butchery, and many thousands perished in a short time, by sword, famine, fire, water, and all other the most cruel deaths that rage and malice could invent.

These bloody villains shewed so much favour to some as to dispatch them immediately; but they would by no means suffer them to pray. Others they imprisoned in filthy dungeons, putting heavy bolts on their legs, and keeping them there till they were starved to death. They thrust all the protestants at Cashel into a loathsome dungeon, where they kept them together for several weeks in the greatest misery. At length they were released, when some of them were barbarously mangled, and left on the highways to perish at leisure; others were hanged, and some were buried in the ground upright, with their heads above the earth; the papists, to increase their misery, treating them with derision during their sufferings.

Nine hundred and fifty-four protestants in the county of Antrim were murdered in one morning; and afterwards about twelve hundred more in that county. Twenty-four protestants were forced into a house, at a town called Lisnegary, which was fired, and they were all burned together, their outcries, in derision, being counterfeited by their foes. Among other acts of cruelty, they took two children belonging to an English woman, and dashed out their brains before her face; after which they threw the mother into a river, and she was drowned. They served many other children in the like manner, to the great affliction of their parents, and the disgrace of human nature.

All the protestants in Kilkenny, without exception, were put to death, and some of them in so cruel a manner, as perhaps, was never before thought of. They beat an English female protestant with such barbarity, that she had scarce a whole bone left; after which they threw her into a ditch; but not satisfied with this, they took her child, a girl about six years of age, and after stabbing it, threw it to its mother, there to languish till it perished. One man they forced to go to mass, after which they ripped open his body, and in that manner left him. They sawed another asunder, cut the throat of his wife, and after having dashed out the brains of their infant, threw it to the swine, who greedily devoured it.

Having committed these, and many other horrid cruelties, they took the heads of seven protestants, and among them that of a pious minister, all which they fixed up at the market cross. They put a gag into the minister's mouth, then slit his cheeks to his ears, and laying a leaf of a bible before it, bid him preach, for his mouth was wide enough. They did several other things by way of derision, and expressed the greatest satisfaction at having thus murdered, and exposed the unhappy protestants. It is in fact impossible to imagine 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 is thus sent 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 pierced the white skins of the protestants even to the hilt!

As soon as 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! In the church of 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." Many 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.

There were put to death several ministers in Munster, 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, to wander out their miserable existence. Many young men they also obliged to force their aged parents to a river, where they were drowned. One young man was compelled in one place to kill his father, and then was himself immediately hanged. In another they forced a woman to kill her husband, then obliged the son to kill her, and afterwards shot him through the head.

At a place called Glaslow, a popish priest, with some others, prevailed on forty protestants to be reconciled to the church of Rome. They had no sooner done this, than they told them they were in a good faith, and that they would prevent their falling from it, and turning heretics, by sending them out of the world, which they did by immediately putting them to death. Upwards of thirty protestants, men, women, and children, in the county of Tipperary, fell into the hands of the papists, who after stripping them naked, murdered them with stones, pole-axes, swords, and other instruments. 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.

Great numbers in Queen's County 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. Several were stripped naked, and being fastened to horses by ropes placed round their middles, were dragged through bogs till they expired in the greatest torture. Several were suspended by the feet to tenter-hooks driven into poles; and left till they perished in that wretched posture. Some 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 posture did they remain, as long as life would permit, pleasing spectacles to their blood-thirsty persecutors.

Seventeen men were buried alive at Clownes; and an Englishman, his wife, five children, and a servant maid, were all hung together, and their bodies afterwards thrown into a ditch. Many were hung 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. Others were fastened to windmills, and before they were half dead, the barbarians cut them in pieces with their swords. Some men, women, and children, they cut and hacked in various parts of their bodies, and left them wallowing in their blood to perish where they fell. One poor woman they hung on a gibbet, with her child, an infant about a twelvemonth old, the latter of whom was hung by the neck with the hair of its mother's head, and in that manner finished its short but miserable existence.

No less than three hundred protestants were drowned in one day in the county of Tyrone; and many others were hanged, burned, and otherwise put to death. The rector of Tyrone, Dr. Maxwell, lived at this time near Armagh, and suffered greatly from these merciless savages. This clergyman in his examination, taken upon oath before the king's commissioners, declared, that the Irish papists owned to him, that at several times they had destroyed, in one place, 12,000 protestants, whom they inhumanly slaughtered at Glynwood, in their flight from the county of Armagh. The river Bann being not fordable, and the bridge broken down, the Irish forced thither, at different times, a great number of unarmed and defenceless protestants, and with pikes and swords violently thrust above one thousand into the river, where they miserably perished.

The cathedral of Armagh did not 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 hundred of 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 all. Similar barbarities were practised on the wretched protestants in almost all parts of the kingdom; and, when an estimate was afterwards made of the number who were sacrificed to gratify the diabolical souls of the papists, it amounted to one hundred and fifty thousand!

Flushed with success and insolence, these desperate wretches soon got possession of the castle of Newry, where the king's stores and ammunition were lodged; and, with as little difficulty, made themselves masters of Dundalk. They afterwards took the town of Ardea, where they murdered all the protestants, and then proceeded to Drogheda. The garrison of Drogheda was in no condition to sustain a siege, not-

withstanding which, as often as the Irish renewed their attacks, they were vigorously repulsed, by a very unequal number of the king's forces, and a few faithful protestant citizens under sir Henry Tichborne, the governor, assisted by the lord viscount Moore. The siege of Drogheda began on the 30th of November, 1641, and held till the 4th of March, 1642, when sir Phelim O'Neil, and the Irish miscreants under him, were forced to retreat. During this proceeding, ten thousand troops were sent from Scotland to the relief of the remaining protestants in Ireland, which being properly divided in the most capital parts of the kingdom, happily overpowered the Irish savages; and the protestants, for a time, lived happy and unmolested.

In the reign of king James II., however, they were again interrupted, for in a parliament held at Dublin in the year 1689, great numbers of the protestant nobility, clergy, and gentry of Ireland, were attainted of high treason. The government of the kingdom was, at that time, invested in the earl of Tyrconnel, a bigoted papist, and an inveterate enemy to the protestants. By his order 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 of the city of Londonderry, and the town of Inniskillen, there had not one place remained for refuge to the distressed protestants in the whole kingdom; but all must have been given up to king James, and to the furious popish party.

On the 18th of April, 1689, the remarkable siege of Londonderry was opened 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. At first the besieged hoped 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 whatever they could procure.

While their miseries increased 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. Most seasonably and happily these succours were brought by the ship Mountjoy, of Derry, and the Phœnix, 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 unfit for service.

As the calamities of the besieged were very great, so likewise were the terrors and sufferings of their protestant friends and relations; all of whom 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. The succours from England happily arriving, put an end to their afflictions; and the siege was raised on the 31st of July, having been continued upwards of three months before. The day before the siege of Londonderry was raised, the Inniskilliners 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. In the following year, viz. 1690, the Irish took up arms in favour of James II., but were totally defeated by his successor king William III.

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### SECTION III.

THE FIRE OF LONDON—MURDER OF SIR EDMUND GODFREY—EXECUTION OF THE EARL OF ESSEX, LORD RUSSEL, ALGERNON SIDNEY, AND OTHERS.

MUCH controversy has been expended about the cause of the great fire of London. Without affecting to decide the question of its being caused in whole or in part by the papists, such incidents only are here inserted as tend to the affirmative. It broke out about two o'clock in the morning of Sept. 2, 1666, at a baker's house in Pudding-lane, near Fish-street-hill. It raged with extreme violence, by means of a strong north-east wind; so that notwithstanding all means used for extinguishing it, it spread far and near, and so continued for near four days, till it had burnt down 13,200 houses, which stood upon 337 acres of ground, within the walls, and 63 acres three rods without, besides 89 parish churches, the spacious cathedral of St. Paul, the Royal Exchange, the Guild-hall, the Custom-house, many other halls, several principal city-gates, and other public edifices. It was accompanied with the loss of vast quantities of rich household stuff, and goods of all sorts, but especially books, of which alone were lost near the value of 150,000 pounds; together with a great quantity of tobacco, sugar, wines, and plums: so that the whole loss was computed to be 9,900,000 pounds; and yet not above seven or eight persons, through God's providence, were burnt in this vast desolation.

On Sept. 18th, the parliament met, and the commons appointed a committee to examine into the causes of the fire, and to take informations concerning it; and in a short time many and considerable informations were brought in, that the papists were the contrivers and managers of this dreadful fire. Among other things, it plainly appeared

that several of the popish party<sup>m</sup> were made acquainted with it before it happened. Mr. Light, of Radcliff, deposed—That being in discourse with Mr. Richard Langham (afterwards executed for high-treason) in February before the fire, concerning religion, Langham took him by the hand, and said to him—"You expect great things in sixty-six, and think that Rome will be destroyed, but what if it be London!" A Frenchman told one Elizabeth Stiles, in April before the fire—That English maids would love Frenchmen better, when there was not a house left standing between Temple-bar and London-bridge; to which she replied—She hoped his eyes would never see that. He said, "This will happen betwixt June and October."

Robert Hubert, a French papist of Normandy, is said to have begun the fire of London, having been hired thereto by Stephen Piedadow, likewise a papist; but Hubert observing the ruin and desolation that followed, could not rest till he had freely discovered the whole matter; affirming, that by Piedadow's directions he had put a fire-ball to the end of a long pole, and lighting it with a piece of a match, put it into the baker's window, and staid till the house was in a flame. A French merchant went to Hubert in the White Lion prison in Southwark, and told him, he did not believe him guilty of what he had confessed. He replied—"Yes, sir, I am guilty of it, and have been brought to it by the instigation of Mr. Piedadow; yet not out of any malice to the English nation, but from a desire of reward which he promised me, upon my return into France." Hubert was tried and executed for this horrid fact, owning to the last his doing thereof by the instigation of Piedadow.

The Jesuits and their partizans finding the burning of London had not completed their work, since in a few years it rose more glorious than before, resolved, by the assistance of France, to extinguish the protestant cause, or what they were pleased to term, *the northern heresy*. This mighty project was to be accomplished by the murder of King Charles II. they finding him not to possess courage enough, though he shewed his inclination, for perfecting this pious design. But Dr. Titus Oates, who had been chaplain to the duke of Norfolk, being reconciled to the church of Rome, hearing some whisperings among the popish priests, of a vast contrivance in hand, and desiring to know the extent of it, he by opening some letters sent by the Jesuits to their confederates in Spain, became acquainted with the whole conspiracy, which upon his return into England he discovered to the king, council, and parliament; charging Edward Coleman, secretary to the duchess of York, of corres-

<sup>m</sup> Dr. Oates, in his narrative, says, that in July, 1678, one Strange, a Jesuit, told him, that they had got fourteen thousand pounds by the fire of London, in 1666, and spent seven hundred fire-balls to effect their villany; and that when the fire-merchants were at work, other papists, both men and women, were employed to plunder: that they had a warehouse in Wild-street, where some of their stolen goods were laid; and other goods were concealed in Somerset-house, as hollands, cambrics, fine cloth, and considerable quantities of plate, with a box of jewels. Dr. Oates asked Strange how the king came to escape? for it seems his death was designed then. He replied, "Indeed we were resolved to have cut him off, but seeing him so industrious about quenching the fire, we could not find in our hearts to do it." He further said, there were eighty-six employed in it; and J. Grove, afterwards executed for high treason, told Dr. Oates that he fired Southwark, and that the Jesuits got two thousand pounds by that fire.

ponding with father de la Chaise, confessor to the French king, for reducing these three kingdoms to popery and slavery; of which Coleman's letters that were seized, gave a full confirmation: and it appeared, that several noblemen and gentlemen had commissions to command in the army that was to be raised for effecting the business. It was afterwards discovered, that many cities and great towns in England were to be fired, upon the murder of king Charles; and a general massacre was intended by an army of 50,000 men, mostly French and Irish, who, they gave out, were enough, upon a surprise, to slay many thousand protestants; the militia of London and Westminster being at that time undisciplined. This and a great deal more being discovered, both houses of parliament were fully satisfied of the reality of the plot.

A singular and barbarous murder of a worthy gentleman named Sir Edmond Godfrey, now occurred. Sir Edmond appearing zealous in the discovery and prosecution of the popish plot, of which Dr. Oates had given him information upon oath, so enraged the conspirators, that they resolved to take him off, to deter all others from intermeddling therein. Several popish priests were concerned in contriving his death, which they at length accomplished. On October 12, 1678, Sir Edmond going, about nine o'clock in the evening, by Somerset-house in the Strand, Hill, servant to Dr. Godden, the jesuit, stepped out of the gate hastily, and intreated him for God's sake to come in, for that there were two men quarrelling, and he was afraid there would be blood shed. To give an appearance of truth to this, Kelly, an Irish priest, and Berry, porter to Somerset-house, pretended to quarrel on purpose. Sir Edmond at first refused to go in, but his importunity prevailing, Hill entered the gate first and after him Sir Edmond; Girald, another Irish priest, and Green, cushion-man to queen Catherine, followed just behind. Prance, the queen's goldsmith, watched at the gate, that nobody else should enter. Sir Edmond going towards those that pretended to quarrel, Green threw a cravat about his neck, and presently all four pulled it so that he could make no noise; they then violently beat him on the breast with their knees, and Green, with all his force, wrung his neck almost round. For the disposal of the body, they carried it into a little chamber of Hill's, another of the murderers, who had been, or was Dr. Godden's man, where it lay till Monday night, when they moved it into another room, and thence back again till Wednesday, when they carried him out in a sedan about twelve o'clock, and afterwards upon a horse, with Hill behind him, to support him, till they got to Primrose-hill, near a public 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. Thus making choice of a place, where they might 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 swore upon the trial of the murderers, with whom he acknowledged to have had several consultations before, concerning it; whose evidence was confirmed, not only by innumerable other circumstances, but 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 : he was also afterwards to have had a considerable part of it for carrying off the body. Green, Hill, and Berry were tried and executed for this murder. At the same time the following persons being found guilty, upon the fullest evidence of the conspiracy against the king's person, were also executed, namely Edward Coleman, William Ireland, Thomas Pickering, John Grove, Thomas Whitebread, William Harcourt, John Fenwick, John Gavan, Anthony Turner, Richard Langhorn, and Oliver Plunket. And about the same time the lord Stafford, being impeached by the house of commons, before his peers in Westminster-hall, was found guilty of high treason, and beheaded on Tower-hill.

The Roman catholics, incensed that their plot had miscarried, and that so many of their party had fallen in their cause, resolved, with the assistance of several great persons at court, to be revenged of their enemies. To bring this about, a pretended protestant plot was advanced, which was said to have the iniquitous design of murdering the king and the duke of York. To this, many of the best persons in England fell a sacrifice.

Mr. Arnold, a vigorous opponent of priests and Jesuits, was at this time assailed by their vigilance and malice, and would have suffered violent death at their hands but for some providential interposition more than once of friendly individuals to rescue him. The first assault was in the Temple-lane, of which he was seasonably apprised, and for which he was sufficiently prepared. The second and more serious attack was soon after near the same spot, when he would have been murdered but for the sudden appearance of a youth with a light, when the assassins fled.

The next who suffered was Mr. Stephen College, who was first known to the public at the trial of lord Stafford, being called up as collateral witness for Mr. Dugdale. He was accused by Heins and Macnamarra, and one or two of the apostate evidences of the popish plot. These persons swore against him the most extravagant things, such as his taking Whitehall, and dragging the king from it; in short, so incongruous was their story, and so ill were their own characters, that the London jury refused to find the bill, but returned it ignored. Notwithstanding this, contrary to all justice, he was tried again at Oxford, and condemned. His behaviour at his execution, was such as convinced many of his greatest enemies of his innocence. He maintained, that he was perfectly innocent of what he died for. "I did deny it," says he, "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 who 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." God is my wit-

<sup>n</sup> There was at this time a general, though perhaps, considering the disparity of numbers between the Roman catholics and the protestants in England, a groundless apprehension of this; yet, such were the impressions upon the public mind, that many prepared themselves with arms in case of danger.

ness, this is all I know. 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. 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."

The next sufferer in the protestant cause at this period was Arthur, earl of Essex, a person whom it was the highest interest of the popish faction to have out of the way. He had a 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 also been of several secret committees in the examination of the plot, for which very reason there was as much necessity for his dying as for Sir Edmond Godfrey being put to death. With respect to the immediate subject of his death, the manner and circumstances thereof: it must first be granted, that for the present only supposing he was murdered by the hands of the papists, they would, certainly, 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.

The earl of Essex was found with his throat cut in the Tower, on the 13th of July 1683, about eight or nine in the morning, at which time the duke of York, the king's brother, and a bigoted papist, his known and bitter enemy, was present. Every thing tended to excite a suspicion of his having been murdered, although, as in the case of Sir E. Godfrey it was intended that he should be thought to have killed himself. A deputy coroner only was present at the inquest, instead of a legal one; and none of the relations were called to attend the inquest. The body was removed from the place where it was first laid, stripped, the clothes taken away, the body and rooms washed from the blood, and the clothes denied the view of the jury! The principal witnesses examined were only Bomeny his man, and Russel his warder, who might be so justly suspected of being privy to, if not actors in it. 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, the case was adjourned. When even Sir Edmond Godfrey's jury were so much cried out against for their ill-management, they adjourned their verdict, and staid considerably before they brought it in. This was 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 this 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; and nothing could so immediately and critically tend to the earl of Essex's ruin. The news of his death was instantly, with much diligence, conveyed from the Tower to the Sessions-house, Bench, Bar, and Jury, and harped upon by the lord Howard and by others in after-trials, as by more than a thousand witnesses, as a proof of the finger of God. After this, the very centinel, who that day stood near the place, was found dead in the Tower ditch, and captain Hawley barbarously murdered at Rochester; and ill methods used to prevent the truth of

all from coming to light. Mr. Braddon was harassed, prosecuted, imprisoned, and fined for stirring in it. On the fair and impartial consideration of these things, every one of which is but notorious matter of fact, is it not evident he was murdered by the popish party?

From the manner, too, in which the deed was perpetrated, it appeared impossible, that the earl could have done it himself. His throat was cut from one jugular to the other, and lay the *aspera arteria* and windpipe, to the vertebræ of the neck, both the jugulars being thoroughly divided; so that from the great flux of blood which must necessarily have followed on the dividing of one jugular, as well as all those strong muscles which lie in the way, he must have fainted, and been rendered unable to go round to the other. In this evident and conclusive manner does guilt often attach itself with unerring certainty to its actual perpetrators; and leave the inference in the power of the simplest reasoner.

The next who fell under their cruelty, and to whose death that of the earl of Essex was but a prologue, was lord Russel; without all dispute one of the most accomplished gentlemen that ever England bred; and whose pious life and virtue was much more treason against the court, by affronting them with what was so much hated there, than any thing else that was sworn against him. That he must be viewed as a martyr to the cruelty of a rising papal faction, there can be no doubt. Being marked out, and among others destined for the slaughter, he was taken and imprisoned in the Tower, and brought to his trial the 13th of July, 1683, the very day on which Essex was murdered. He was brought to the Old Bailey, and the same morning tried for high treason. He earnestly desired that he might have respite, and not be tried that day, since he had some witnesses who could not be in town till the night: but they were so eager for his blood, that they would not stay so much a till the afternoon, pretending it was against precedent, and they could not do it without the attorney-general's consent. Just at that time, news was brought into the house, that my lord Essex had that morning prevented justice: and several of the jury afterwards confessed, that they had never found Russel guilty, had it not been for that accident. 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 the ancient government of this kingdom of England to change, alter, and wholly subvert, and to cause a miserable slaughter among the subjects of our said lord the king through his whole kingdom of England."

That all this was not intended as a matter of form only, is clear, by the king's counsel opening the evidence. The first said, "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 is the charge against him."

The attorney-general fell a little lower, and told them, that the meaning of all these tragical words, was a consultation about a rising, about



seizing the guards, and receiving messages from the earl of Shaftsbury concerning an insurrection. Yet the proof against him came not up so high even as this, though all care was used for that purpose, and kind questions put very frequently to lead and draw the evidence; only one of them witnessing to any one point in particular.

Colonel Rumsey first swore, That he was sent with a letter from lord Shaftsbury, who lay concealed at Wapping, to meet lord Russel, Ferguson and others, 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 was, that Mr. Trencher had failed them, and no more would be done at that time. That Mr. Ferguson spoke the most part of that answer; but that 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 refresh his memory, asking him, Whether he found my lord Russel averse, or agreeing to it? He answered, *Agreeing*. But being afterwards 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 said was, That when he came in, they were at the fire-side, and that they all came from the fire-side to hearken to his words.

The chief that Shepherd witnessed, was, That my lord Russel and others 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, that they were remiss, and the thing was seizable, if there were strength to do it. And upon being questioned too, as Rumsey before him, whether my lord Russel was there, he said he was at the time they talked of seizing the guards.

Lord Howard was the next witness. After a long and florid harangue, he at last made his evidence bear directly upon the point for which he came thither, and swore, 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 consisted of six persons, whereof my lord Russel and himself were two: that they met for that purpose at Mr. Hampden's house, and there adjusted the place and manner of the intended insurrection. That about ten days after, they had another meeting on the same business at my lord Russel's, where they resolved to send some persons to engage Argyle and the Scots in the design, and 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 the question—did he consent? “We did,” he said, “put it to the vote, it went without contradiction, and I took it that all there gave their consent accordingly.”

Now as to colonel Rumsey the first witness; my lord Cavendish proved on the trial, that lord Russel had a very ill opinion of him, and therefore

it was not likely he would intrust him with a secret of such importance. Then as the evidence, forced out of him, as it was, in both branches of the design, seizing the guards, and the rising of Taunton, he says in terms very general—That he was agreeing to one, and spoke about, and consented to the other. For his agreeing to the seizing of the guards, he might think, as the lord Howard did, that silence gives consent; for it did not appear, nor did he swear, that my lord spoke one word about it. But he himself, in his last speech, and which there is 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 to 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 account to the great God, the searcher of hearts, and judge of all things. In this last speech he protests, that at this time of which Rumsey swears, there was no undertaking of securing and seizing the guards, nor none appointed to view or examine them, only some discourse there was of the practicability of it; he heard it mentioned as a thing which might easily be effected, but never consented to it as a thing fit to be done.

Shepherd's evidence amounted to nothing: he spoke not a syllable to the purpose, or any thing which affected lord Russel. He could hardly tell whether he was there when there was the discourse of seizing the guards, but spake not a word of the prisoner's hearing, or in the least wise consenting to the same. With regard to lord Howard, his evidence was equally vague and undecisive. He said, that when they had inquired how matters stood in the country, and that the duke of Monmouth had found Trenchard and the west country failed them, the design was put off again, and this about the 17th or 18th of October. Now this same action Rumsey spoke of, but took 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 said, on this disappointment 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 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 others, should be chosen one of them; it is remarkable, that in their former greater consultations at Shepherd's, which he and Rumsey mentioned, the lord Howard was never present, nor did he so much as touch on it in his evidence; though here, if any where, the grand affair of seizing the guards, and the answer to Shaftsbury about Taunton was concerted. All that appears of truth in the matter, seems to be what lord Russel acknowledged, that those persons named, met very often; that there was no formed design, but only loose talk about those concerns. That there was no debate of any such thing as was sworn, nor putting any thing in a method; but my lord Howard being a man of voluble tongue, they were all delighted to hear his oratory.

It appears then from his own acknowledgement, that Howard, Armstrong, and such others, had sometimes discoursed of ill designs and

matters in his company: and as he said in his speech, "What the heats, wickedness, passions, and vanities of other men had occasioned, he ought not to be answerable for, nor could he repress them. Nay more, he did sufficiently disapprove those things which he heard discoursed of with more heat than judgment. But for himself, he declared solemnly, that he was never in any design against the king's life, or any man's whatever; nor ever in any contrivance of altering the government." It would after all this, 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 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 towards its preservation.

But 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 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 to be made 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 it should be asked, what was the reason of the prisoner being asked that question, What he had to say for himself? Was it only formality, or banter? He made an exception, which the judge himself confessed proper. But who was counsel for the prisoner? Was not the bench? Or, did it not pretend to be so? And why was not this observed by them in their direction to the jury? Being found guilty, against all truth, sentence was accordingly past upon him; and he was removed to Newgate. While there, the importunity of his friends, 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. 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 proceeds.

After fruitless applications for 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 did not leave his presence, till at last on Saturday the 21st of July, he 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

persons, he was one of the most unconcerned. Very few rejoiced at so doleful a spectacle, except 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. 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 Chenies in Buckinghamshire, where it was buried among his ancestors. During the day of his execution there was a great storm, and many loud claps of thunder.

The story of captain Walcot and his fellow-sufferers, should have been first related, they having been convicted before lord Russel, and executed on Friday, as he was on Saturday. But lord Russel's fate having so immediate a dependance on the earl of Essex's, and all the plot hanging on him; especially they being the most conspicuous of any who suffered on this occasion; it looked more natural and proper to begin with them, and reserve the other to this place.

Captain Walcot was a gentleman of a considerable estate in Ireland, and had eight children all living. The supposed crime for which Walcot suffered, and which West and others witnessed against him, was consulting the death of the king, and charging the guards at his return from Newmarket, while the dreadful blunderbuss was to be fired into the coach by Rumbald, or some others. His privity to discourses 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 who was 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 active in the assassination, because of the baseness of it, but offered to charge the guards, while others did it. This he denied with indignation in his speech, and appealed to all that knew him, whether they thought him such an idiot, that he should not understand it was the same thing to engage the king's guards, while others killed him, as to kill him with his own hands? Here then, it is plain, lay the truth of the business. West, Rumsey, and others, had been frequently discoursing at this villainous rate: West was most impatiently eager of having it done; he proposed the killing him at a play, which he said would be in their own calling.

Colonel Rumsey and West were the main pillars, and almost the only witnesses on which the credit of that action depended, who appear throughout the great and almost sole managers thereof, and who accuse others for being concerned in it. West said, that Walcot joined in the direction about the nature and size of the arms, intended for the assas-

sination of the king and duke; that he was very intimate and familiar with Rumbald, who was to be the principal actor in the assassination. But Rumbald's death cleared himself and Walcot, and shewed what West was. In another place he affirmed, that Walcot told him Ferguson had the chief management of the intended assassination. To sum up the whole, the world is left to its liberty to believe, at least three dying men's asseverations, against those who so plainly swore away the life of others to save their own.

All this duly considered, a fair supposition lies of the innocency of captain Walcot and others of what they were accused, found guilty, sentenced, and died for; it being on West's evidence, and such as his, that he and others were arraigned and condemned; the captain's defence being much the same with what he says in his speech. It is well known, that the witnesses against captain Walcot swore for their own lives with halters as it were 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 mark what captain Walcot in a most solemn manner with his last breath declared.

He 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 up him 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 marks might be set upon them, whether their end were in peace or misery and woe.

Rouse, who was tried with the captain, was charged with such a parcel of mad romance, as was scarce ever heard of; and one would wonder how perjury and malice, which used to be sober sins, could ever be so extravagant as to think of it. He was to seize the Tower, pay the rabble, uncase the aldermen, to be pay-master, 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 feasibility of the thing; but without the least intent of bringing it to action; that all he was concerned in any real design he had from Lea, and was getting more out of him, with an intention to make a discovery.

Hone was likewise accused, and owned himself guilty of a design to kill the king and the duke of York, or one, or neither, for it was 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 came to the occasion of his death; for which, he said he neither blamed the judges, jury, nor council, but only some men, that in reality were deeper concerned than he, who had combined together to swear him out of his life to save their own, and that they might do it effectually, contrived an untruth. He forgave the world and the witnesses; gave his friends advice to be more prudent than he had been; prayed that his

might be the last blood spilled on that account; wished the king would be merciful to others; said he knew nothing of Ireland; and concluded with praying God to have mercy on him. He had then some discourse with Cartwright, wherein he told him, that he was not for contriving the death of the king, nor for having any hand in it.

The next victim was colonel Algernon Sidney. He was of the ancient and noble family of the Sidneys, and deservedly famous to the utmost bounds of Europe. As the ingenious Mr. Hawles observed, he was merely talked to death, under the notion of a commonwealth man, and found guilty by a jury who were not much more proper judges of the cause, than they would have been had he written 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 appears, 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 although the indictment was never presented to them before they came into the hall, yet they immediately found it: the substance whereof was, for a conspiracy to depose the king, and stirring up rebellion, and writing a libel for that purpose. The most part of the evidence brought against him, was only hear-say, 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, lord Howard, who witnessed that he was one of the council of six, and engaged as one of the deepest in their consults. And more than this, he exercised his own faculty very handsomely, in an account of two speeches Mr. Hampden 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 let any man judge whom they are most like, Mr. Hampden, or my lord's own witty self.

A paper was the next evidence, said to be of Sidney's writing, which was found in his study. The subject was an enquiry into the forms of government and the reasons of their decay; the rights of the people, the bounds of sovereignty, and the origin of power. That which gave the greatest offence in it lies in the following sentence. "The king is subject to the law of God, as a man, and to the people who made him such, as a king." 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. If there were any mistakes, as he said in his speech, they ought to have been confuted by law, reason, and scripture, not scaffolds and axes. In the first place, it was not proved to be his writing, nor did he confess it; treason and life are critical things: one ought to be as fairly proved, as the other to be cautiously proceeded against. Though he might write it, he had the liberty of an Englishman, not to accuse himself: the very same thing which was

afterwards put in practice by those reverend persons, who, later than he, and cheaper too, defended their country's liberty with only the loss of their own. Still here being not a syllable in these papers respecting king Charles, any more than of the great mogul, against whom they might as well have made it treason; it was all supplied by the innuendo, that is, 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.

Such was my lord Howard's evidence, that had the jury been any but what they were, and Sidney describes them, they would not have hanged a Jesuit upon the credit of it; he having, one would think, taken a pride in damning himself deeper and deeper against every new appearance in public, on purpose to try the skill and face of the counsel in bringing him off again. To the evidence brought against him in my lord Russel's case, he had taken care to add the following:—That the earl of Clare witnessed, that he said, after Sidney's imprisonment, if questioned again, he would never plead, and that he thought colonel Sidney as innocent as any man breathing.

Now, 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 death, 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 reasoned or more evidently bantered the judges, and left them nothing but railing; yet 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 judges saying that he was born a traitor. Never was 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 upon the scaffold, as undauntedly as if he had been going to fight, and as lively as if he had been a Russel. In his last speech he gave almost the substance of those books which were lately written in the defence of the late transactions. He there said as much in a little space as ever man did—that magistrates were set up for the good of nations, not to the contrary. If that be treason, king Charles I. was guilty of it against himself, who said the same thing—that the power of magistrates was what the laws of the country made 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 juries being packed, and important points of law overruled; and ended with a most compendious prayer, in which he desired God would forgive his enemies, but keep them

from doing any more mischief; he then laid down his head in eternal repose.

Before this excellent character is dismissed, let the reader attend to the substance of an address delivered at his death. Having first 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 bear it, as because of the rigour of the season, and his infirmities; then after a short reflection upon the little said against him by other witnesses, and the little value that was to be put on the lord Howard's testimony, whom he charges with an infamous life, and many palpable perjuries, and to be biassed only by the promise of pardon, 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,<sup>o</sup> 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, he says, if Filmer might publish to the world, that men were born under a necessary and indispensable subjection to an absolute king, who could be restrained by no oath, whether he came to it by creation, inheritance, or any other right cause, nay, or even by usurpation; why might he—Algernon Sidney—not publish his opinion to the contrary, without the breach of any known law? This opinion, he professes, consisted in the following particulars:—That God hath left nations at the liberty of modelling their own governments. That magistrates were instituted for nations, and not *à contra*. That the right and power of magistrates were fixed by the standing laws of each country. That those laws, sworn to on both sides, were matter of a contract between the magistrates and people, and could not be broken without danger of dissolving the whole government. 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. That such usurpations commonly affecting the slaughter of the reigning person, the worst of crimes was thereby most gloriously rewarded. 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

<sup>o</sup> In his petition to the king, speaking of those papers, he says: "That whosoever wrote them, they were but a small part of a polemical discourse, in answer to a book written thirty years before, upon general propositions, applied to no time, nor to any particular case; that the confusion and errors in the writing showed that they had never been so much as revised; and that being written in a hand that no man could well read, they were not fit for the press, nor could be for some years. But they being only the crude and private thoughts of a man for the exercise of his own understanding in his studies, and never shown to any, or applied to any particular case, could not fall under the statute of Edward III., the statute falsely pleaded, and artfully perverted, for his condemnation and death."



could be safe, if his murderers may hope for 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 the 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, particularly by Louis XIV. 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 thing referred to a jury. That the book was never finished, 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 inuendoes, 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 applied by the then lawyers' inuendoes, to the then king of England; never considering, 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 shewn 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, which may be overpowered by superior force.

Notwithstanding the innocence and loyalty of that doctrine, he was told he must die, or the plot must die; and he complained that in order to the destroying the best protestants in England, the bench was filled with such as had been blemishes to the bar; and instanced that against law, they had advised with the king's counsel about bringing him to death, had suffered a jury to be picked by the king's solicitors: refused him a copy of his indictment, or to suffer the act of the 46th of Edward III. to be read, which allows it hath over-ruled 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 Edward III. by which they pretended to try him, was reserved only to the parliament; and so praying God to forgive them, and to avert the evils that threatened the nation, to sanctify those sufferings to him, and though he fell a sacrifice to idols, not to suffer idolatry to be established in this land. He concluded 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. Such was the substance of the writing delivered to the sheriffs a minute before his execution.

Our next victim to the tyranny of the day was Mr. James Holloway. This gentleman was by profession a merchant; but the greater part of his trade lay in linen manufacture, which, as it appears from his papers, he had brought to such a height 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*l.* a year

advantage to the public revenue. The return of the *Habeas Corpus* writ stated him, late of London, merchant, though he lived mostly at Bristol. He seems to be a person of sense, courage, 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, that we have no firm authority to assure us all therein contained was his own writing; and perhaps it might be thought convenient that 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; some truth they might utter, though displeasing, to gain credit to the rest.

Mr. Holloway 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 told the king, was more for fear, that if he were taken up, his creditors would never let him come out of gaol, than any thing else. After some time he got to sea in a little vessel, went over to France, and so to the West-Indies, among the Caribee 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. 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 shew cause why execution should not be awarded against him, as is usual in that case; he opposed nothing against it, only saying, if an ingenuous confession of truth could merit the king's pardon he hoped he had done it. The attorney 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 Jeffrey, was for having judgment first pass against him, which is never done in such cases. He was executed at Tyburn April the 30th.

Sir Thomas Armstrong was not long after called to sacrifice his life in the same cause. He had been all his life a firm servant and friend to the royal family, in their exile and afterwards: 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 as 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 what the lord Howard witnessed in Russel's trial, of his going to kill the king when their first design failed. But this was only imaginary, though advanced into a formal accusation, and aggravated by the attor-

ney, as the reason why he had a trial denied him, when Holloway had one offered, both of them being alike outlawed. On which outlawry Sir Thomas was kidnapped in Holland, brought over in chains, and robbed by the way in the bargain. Being brought up, and asked what he had to plead that sentence should not pass upon him, he pleaded the 6th of Edward 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. But this availed him nothing: sentence was passed upon him and he suffered on the following Friday.

At the place of execution he deported himself with courage becoming a great man, and with the seriousness and piety suitable to a Christian. Sheriff Daniel told him, he had leave to say what he pleased, and should not be interrupted, unless he upbraided the government; Sir Thomas thereupon told him that he should not say any thing by way of speech; but delivered him a paper, which he said contained his mind; he then called for Dr. Tennison, who prayed with him, and then he prayed alone.

He thus expressed himself in his paper, 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, namely, with 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. He then concluded with observing, that if he had been tried, he could have proved lord Howard's base reflections upon him, to be notoriously false; he concluded, that he had lived, and now died of the reformed religion, and heartily wished he had lived more strictly up to what he believed: that he had found the great comfort of the love and mercy of God, in and through the blessed Redeemer, in whom alone he 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.

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#### SECTION IV.

ACCESSION OF JAMES II.—MONMOUTH'S REBELLION, WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF THOSE WHO WERE UNJUSTLY PUT TO DEATH.

THE duke of York, having ascended the English throne under the title of James II., soon manifested his tyranny and his intentions. In violation of a statute-law, he erected a new ecclesiastical commission court; had a Jesuit confessor; and filled all the places, both civil and military, with papists. The interests of Rome engrossed his attention, and such was his zeal for the

catholic religion, that Pope Innocent XI. to whom he had sent his favourite agent, Beryl, cautioned him not to be too hasty. Although, on his accession, he had in his address, declaimed all arbitrary principles, and promised to protect the honour of the nation, and deserve its confidence, he soon evinced his insincerity. In a sort of triumph, he produced some papers of his brother Charles II. by which it appeared, that he had died a Roman catholic, and in contempt of the feelings of the people, on the first Sunday of his reign, James went publicly to mass. The duke of Norfolk, who carried the sword of state, stopt at the chapel door. "My lord," said the king, "your father would have gone further."—"Your majesty's father," replied the spirited nobleman, "would not have gone so far." While James was proceeding thus, and indulging himself in the prospect of subverting the established religion, the duke of Monmouth, who, on the death of lord Russel, had gone over to Flanders, trusting to the affections he possessed in the hearts of the protestants, whose cause he had ever espoused, formed the design of bringing about a revolution. To this rash and unhappy enterprise, he was chiefly instigated by the active spirit of the duke of Argyle. Having prepared a squadron of six vessels, badly manned, and very ill supplied, they divided, and with three each, sailed for the places of their destination: Monmouth landed at Lyme, in Dorsetshire, on the 13th of June 1683, with 150 men, and marching thence to Taunton, his army increased to 6000.

In the mean while, the duke of Argyle had landed in Argyleshire, where he found the militia prepared to oppose him. But being immediately joined by his brave vassals and faithful partizans, he instantly penetrated into the western counties, hoping to be joined by the disaffected covenanters. But his little squadron being captured, and his brave followers having lost their baggage in a morass in Renfrewshire, every hope was extinguished, and they were necessitated to disperse for immediate preservation. The unfortunate nobleman assumed a disguise, but was soon taken by two peasants, and conducted to Edinburgh, where he was executed. At his death, he discovered all that heroic firmness, which he had uniformly manifested in his life, together with a great degree of piety. "Job tells us" said he, "that man that is born of a woman is of few days and full of trouble; and I am a clear instance of it. I know afflictions spring not out of the dust: they are not only foretold, but promised to Christians; and they are not only tolerable but desirable. We ought to have a deep reverence and fear of God's displeasure, but withal, a firm hope and dependance on him for a blessed issue, in compliance with his will; for God chastens his own to refine, and not to ruin them. We are neither to despise, nor to faint under afflictions. I freely forgive all who have been the cause of my being brought to this place; and I entreat all people to forgive me wherein I have offended. and pray with me, that the merciful God would sanctify my present trial, and for Christ's sake, pardon all my sins, and receive me to his eternal glory."

The fatal news of the above nobleman and his followers, no sooner reached the duke of Monmouth than he sunk into despondency. He now began to see the temerity of his undertaking. To provide for his

safety was not quite impossible. He therefore began to retreat till he re-entered Bridgewater, while the royal army being in his rear. Here he ascended a tower, from whence viewing the army of Feversham, his hopes again revived, while he meditated an attack. He accordingly made most skilful arrangements, but committing an important post to lord Grey, that dastardly soldier betrayed him. Seeing the conflict hopeless, he galloped off the field, and continued his flight for twenty miles until his horse sunk under him, while the unfortunate noble, almost exhausted as the animal, wandered on foot for a few miles further, and then sunk down with hunger and fatigue. In the battle, two thousand of Monmouth's troops were slain, and a great number made prisoners, of whom some hundreds were afterwards executed. Five days after, the poor duke was discovered lying in a ditch, almost in a lifeless state. On being recovered, the remembrance of the recent incident, affected him so powerfully, that he wept aloud. He was conveyed to London, and on the 15th of July, was brought to the scaffold being in the thirty-sixth year of his age.

Previously to his death, he said that he repented of his sins, and was more particularly concerned for the blood that had been spilt on his account. "Instead" said he, "of being accounted factious and rebellious, the very opposing of popery and arbitrary power, will sufficiently apologize for me. I have lived, and now die in this opinion, that God will work a deliverance for his people. I heartily forgive all who have wronged me, even those who have been instrumental to my fall, earnestly praying for their souls. I hope that king James will shew himself to be of his brother's blood, and extend his mercy to my children, they being not capable to act, and, therefore, not conscious of any offence against the government. He entreated the executioner to spare him the second blow; but the man, whose heart was unfit for his office, failed to strike off his head at the first blow, on which the duke gently turning himself round, cast a look of tender reproach upon him, and then again meekly submitted his head to the axe, while the tears of the spectators spoke how well he was beloved.

That ambition had a share in moving both these unfortunate noblemen to the step, which ended in their death, cannot be denied: but, among their partisans, numbers were doubtless actuated by purer motives, even the love of the cause of truth; and though we cannot but lament that ignorance and mistaken zeal, that led them to assume the sword, in order to advance the glory of Him, whose weapons are not carnal, but spiritual, we must not refuse to enrol their names with those of the martyrs: their offences, however, and the manner of their death being the same, much enlargement is needless.

The unjust execution of Alderman Cornish, and the cruel mode and place of that outrage are well known, and in the view of protestants generally have given that worthy citizen a rank among modern martyrs. The alderman was seized in October 1685: and the Monday after his commitment, which was on the previous Friday, he was arraigned for high-treason, having no notice given him till Saturday noon. His charge was for conspiring to kill the king, and promising to assist the duke of Monmouth, &c. in their treasonable enterprises. He desired his trial

might be deferred, because of the short time for preparation; and that he had a considerable witness a hundred and forty miles off, and that the king had left it to the judges, whether it should be put off or not. But it was denied him; the attorney telling him, he had not deserved so well of the government as to have his trial delayed. Rumsey and Goodenough were evidences against him. They both swore to things that were most flagrantly extravagant and false; the first contradicting the evidence he had given at the trial of lord Russel, and the last swearing that Cornish had talked with him of seizing the Tower, when it was proved, that the alderman had ever entertained so ill an opinion of Goodenough, that he would not have trusted him with the most trifling secret.

He was found guilty in spite of all, and condemned, and even that Christian serenity of mind and countenance, wherewith it was visible he bore his sentence, the bench turned to his reproach. Nevertheless he continued in the same excellent temper whilst in Newgate, and gave the world a noble instance of the happiness of such persons as live a pious life, when they come to make an end of it, let the way be ever so violent and unjust.

Approaching the press-yard, on his way to execution, and seeing the halter in the officer's hand, he said—"Is this for me?" The officer answered in the affirmative. The alderman replied—"Blessed be God," and kissed it; and after said—"O blessed be God for Newgate, I have enjoyed God ever since I came within these walls, and blessed be God who hath made me fit to die. I am now going to that God who will not be mocked, to that God who will not be imposed upon, to that God who knows the innocence of his poor creature." And a little after he said—"Never did any poor creature come unto God with greater confidence in his mercy, through Jesus Christ; for there is no other name given under heaven whereby we can be saved, but the name of Jesus." Then speaking to the officers, he said—"Labour every one of you to be fit to die, for I tell you, you are not fit to die: I was not before I came hither; but blessed be God, he hath made me fit and willing to die! In a few moments I shall have the fruition of the blessed Jesus, and that not for a day, but for ever. I am going to the kingdom, where I shall enjoy the presence of God the Father, and of God the Son, and of God the Holy Spirit, and of all the holy angels: I am going to the general assembly of the first-born, and of the spirits of just men made perfect. O that God should ever do so much for me! blessed be his name! this was his design from all eternity, to give his only Son to die for poor miserable sinners." Then the officers going to tie his hands, he said—"What, must I be tied then? Well, a brown thread might have served the turn; you need not tie me at all, I shall not stir from you, for thank God I am not afraid to die." As he was going out, he said—"Farewell, Newgate: farewell all my fellow prisoners here; the Lord comfort you, the Lord be with you all."

He was then led to the place of execution, which, to the outrage of all humanity, was before his own door near Guildhall. If any thing was wanting in his trial, from the haste of it, for the clearing his innocence, he sufficiently made it up in solemn asseverations on the scaffold. "God

is my witness," said he, "the crimes laid to my charge were falsely and maliciously sworn against me by the witnesses; for I never was at any consultation or meeting where matters against the government were discussed of. I never heard or read any declaration tending that way. Again, as for the crimes for which I suffer, upon the words of a dying man, I am altogether innocent." The cruelty of his enemies was not satiated by his death. His quarters were set up on Guildhall, *in terrorem*, and for the same reason, no doubt, he was executed so near it—to strike early terror into the hearts of the numerous protestants of the city, who could not be well affected towards the popery of the new king; but who betrayed not the least symptom of confederacy against his government or his person.

Alderman Cornish was condemned as a sharer in the preceding plot: and one more individual suffered for that inexplicable affair. He was a surgeon of considerable repute, and a man of a liberal and enlarged understanding: his name was Bateman. During his imprisonment he sunk into a deep melancholy, and when brought to trial, he was quite deranged, so that he was unable to speak in his own defence, and to confront his accusers, who were Rouse, Lee, and Goodenough. His own son, therefore, undertook to plead his cause; and could but what he brought for him have been allowed its due weight, he must have escaped. But he was found guilty; and just before his execution very much recovered himself, dying as much like a christian, and with as great a presence of mind as most of the others. From all these instances, it appears that some violent actions were intended by some designing men, who had artfully insinuated themselves into the confidence of these protestant patriots; but who, when detected, in order to save their own worthless lives, betrayed those virtuous men, and charged upon them the guilt which was meant to be put in execution only by themselves.

The cruel assassination of Mr. Dangerfield, next claims our attention. His father, a gentleman of Waltham, had been a great sufferer in the cause of Charles I. He died about the time of the discovery of the plot, and with his last breath charged his son to have no hand in any thing against the government; which he promised and faithfully observed. He was a man of business and courage, and therefore employed by the papists, while among them, in their desperate and most dangerous concerns. The great thing which brought him before the public, was Mrs. Celier's business, called the Meal-Tub plot. The papists had designed to kill two birds with one stone, divert the laws and people from themselves, and ruin their enemies; for which end they had amongst them made a plot to bring the best patriots of the nation into a pretended design against the king and government, by a kind of an association, like that which afterwards took better effect. For this transaction Mr. Dangerfield was made choice of, a list of their names, with the design, being by him, according to order, conveyed into colonel Mansel's chamber. But he was discovered, and seized in the design, and acknowledged all the intrigue, giving so clear an account of it, that they had never the impudence to pretend any contradiction. But there was somewhat yet deeper in the case, which he afterwards revealed in his depositions before the parliament, namely, that he was employed

by the same party to kill the king, and encouraged and promised impunity and reward, and part of it given him by a great person for that purpose.

While the stream ran violently for popery, he went over, for security, into Flanders, but continued not long there. Returning back, he was some time after seized, and carried before the council, where, before the king himself, persisting in all his former evidence, he was committed to Newgate; and after having lain there for some time, petitioned for a trial, which they could not do upon any account but *Scandalum Magnatum*, and that in a matter which lay only before the parliament to whom he had revealed it. Yet for that he was tried, and found guilty, as Williams the speaker was afterwards for licensing his narrative by order of parliament. He was to undergo a whipping. Before he went out, he had strong forebodings of his death, and chose the following text for his funeral sermon—"There the wicked cease from troubling and there the weary are at rest." After the sentence was executed on him, on his return home, one Francis, stabbed him in the eye, and the instrument touching his brain, he was hardly sensible after, but died of the wound in a few hours, not without great suspicion of poison, his body being swelled and black, and full of great blains. The murderer fled, but was pursued by the rabble, who had torn him to pieces, had not the officers rescued him. He defended and justified the act whilst in Newgate, saying, he had the greatest men in the kingdom to stand by him; to whom, after his trial, and being found guilty upon clear evidence, great applications were made, which had been successful for his pardon, had not Jeffreys himself gone to Whitehall, and told the king he must die, for that the rabble were now thoroughly heated, and, that great danger might ensue; accordingly, the poor state martyr was put to death.

We now come to the sufferings of Benjamin and William Hewling, two most accomplished and amiable youths, and who, from first to last displayed such heroic constancy and christian piety, that a general officer in the royal army, used frequently to exclaim, "If you would learn to die, go to the young men of Taunton"—at which place the elder suffered on the 12th of September 1685. The elder of these brothers was a superior scholar, well versed in the mathematics and philosophy generally. He had the command of a troop of horse in the duke's army in Holland; while his brother was a lieutenant of foot. They signalised themselves in several partial actions; but were too late in joining the duke's army at Sedgemore to save him from defeat and destruction. After attempting to escape by sea, they were driven back, apprehended, and committed to Exeter goal. The younger brother, who was under twenty, suffered at Lyme on the same day that the elder was put to death at Taunton. Let the junior be judged of by the following extract from his last letter—"I am going to launch into eternity, and I hope and trust into the arms of my blessed Redeemer, to whom I commit you and all my dear relations." The elder possessed an equally pious as well as protestant spirit, and both were examples of as pure a patriotism as ever glowed in the bosom of an Englishman. We cannot withhold one extract from Benjamin's letter to his mother, but *two hours*



*before his death.* “Honoured mother—I know there has been nothing left undone by you for saving my life, for which I return my hearty thankfulness. Pray give my duty to all my relations, and friends. Tell them all how precious an interest in Christ is when we come to die, and advise them never to rest in a christless state. For if we are his, it is no matter what the world do to us—they can but kill the body, while the soul is out of their reach: though I question not but their malice wishes the death of that also, which has too evidently appeared by their deceitful flattering promises. The Lord God of heaven be your comfort under these sorrows, and your refuge from these miseries, the Lord carry you through this vale of tears with a resigned submissive spirit, and at last bring you to himself to glory—*where I question not you will meet your dying sons.*”

Next to these heroic youths we mention Mr. Christopher Battiscomb, a gentleman of good family and fine prospects in the world. He had been confined in Dorchester goal from the time of Lord Russel's death; but released upon nothing being proved against him. He joined the duke of Monmouth to resist the aggression of popery and arbitrary power, and after his defeat was again imprisoned at Dorchester. Tried by the infamous Jeffreys he was not likely to escape. Because he had studied in the temple for the bar, the cruel judge was for hanging him without trial; but some form and plea of justice were necessary, which were followed by condemnation and execution. He suffered at Lyme with great fortitude. When his friends left him, he said with the utmost serenity—“Though we part here, we shall meet in heaven.”

Mr. William Jenkyn follows. For his protestant and patriotic sentiments, freely avowed, his father had been committed to Newgate, where close confinement soon deprived him of life. The son partook of the parent's spirit, and uniting himself with those whom his conscience deemed the true friends of his country and his God, he fell into the hands of the papal faction, and paid the forfeiture of his life at Dorchester. Some of his last words were—“Parting with my friends, and their grief for me, are my greatest difficulty; but it will be only for a very short time, and we shall meet again in endless joys, where my dear father is already entered, whom I shall presently and triumphantly embrace.”

Lady Alicia Lisle, from the inexorable temper of judge Jeffreys, who, like another Bonner, delighted in blood, was most cruelly sacrificed. She was condemned by one of those dormant laws that were scarcely known, and seldom executed. Her pretended offence was, that of holding a correspondence with Nelthorpe, an outlawed person, and for giving him shelter in her house. She was so old, that she slept during her trial, yet notwithstanding, she found no mercy, but was beheaded at Winchester. Nelthorpe, at his death, afterwards declared, that he was wholly a stranger to her, and had never even heard her name till he was taken. Juvenal says of Priam, when he was sacrificed, that he had scarce blood enough left to tinge the knife of the sacrificer. So it might have been said of Lady Lisle. Her extreme age, however, found no pity in the bosom of her foes, while her perfect serenity enraged them even more than her pretended crime. Parliament, convinced of the

injustice of her death reversed the sentence; but it was too late—her hoary head had received a crown of glory.

The individual with whom she was charged with corresponding, but who deposed his entire ignorance of her, Mr. Richard Nelthorpe, suffered at London. He had been outlawed, for being in the plot for assassinating the late king. He, however, solemnly averred his utter detestation of any such design, neither did he know of such a thing being in agitation. He often avowed it his duty to sacrifice life for the maintenance of the protestant faith and the consequent liberties of England. His dying speech was excellent but too long to be inserted entire, and we are fearful of marring its effects by slight quotations. It thus concludes—“Grant me thy love, O God my dearest father! stand by me in the hour of death, and give thine angels charge over me. Deliver me from the rage of the evil one, and receive me into thine eternal kingdom.”

Mrs. Elizabeth Gaunt was burnt at Wapping. She was a woman zealous for the protestant cause, and full of charity to such of its professors as stood in need of relief. She was most basely betrayed by a person named Barton, whom, with his wife and family, she had preserved from starving; and although he was an outlaw, and his outlawry was not reversed, his evidence, contrary to all justice, was admitted against her.

We now come to Scotland, to notice a few examples of patient suffering in the same hallowed cause in that country. The duke of Argyle is entitled to the first place in this catalogue, in point of time as well as rank. He was put to death at Edinburgh on the 30th of June 1685. His speech on the scaffold was mostly scripture, and has been called a sermon of considerable ingenuity as well as seriousness. Nearly at the same time Colonel Rumbold suffered. He was proceeding in his last address to explain some parts of his political conduct, when drums were beaten to drown his voice. His character may be judged by the following loyal and christian sentiments. “For the cause of the king, were every hair of my head and beard a life, I would joyfully sacrifice them all. I was never anti-monarchical in my principles, but for a king and free parliament; the king having power enough to make him great, and the people to make them happy. I die in the defence of the just laws and liberties of the nation.” And being asked if he thought not his sentence dreadful? he answered, “I wish I had a limb for every town in Christendom.”

Mr. John King was executed at Edinburgh, on the 14th of August, 1679. He, at his death, made a long and interesting address to the people—too long for insertion, yet too good for abridgement. On the same day also, and at the same place, Mr. John Kidd suffered. He likewise addressed the spectators at considerable length, and discovered great resignation and piety. The following were his last words, “O that God would pass by Scotland once again, and make our time a time of love! come, Lord Jesus, come quickly! The Lord is my light and life, my joy, and song, and salvation; whom then can I fear? 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.”

Mr. Matthew Bragg suffered death at Dorchester. This gentleman's case was particularly severe, as he had never intended to join in the rebellion; but being met by a party of the duke's horse, they forced him to escort them to the house of a Roman catholic, which they wanted to plunder for arms. They also detained his horse for the service of the duke, and strove to persuade him to join them. This, however, he refused, and went home on foot. His having been among the duke's party thus accidentally, being made public by some malicious persons, he was brought to trial and condemned. His condemnation was followed in two days by a barbarous execution. The short interval, including the sabbath, was spent in remarkably fervent and doubtless sincere devotions, in which he was joined by an excellent clergyman, who afterwards testified to the eminent piety he evinced, and the distinguished preparation for heaven which preceded his departure from earth.

Among those who innocently suffered with Mr. Bragg, was Mr. Smith of Chardstock; and Mr. Speed of Collumpton. Both from their confessions and characters appear to have been men of eminent piety. In his last address, Mr. Smith spoke thus—"God forgive my passionate judge, and my cruel hasty jury. Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do! God bless the king; and though his judges have no mercy on me, I hope he may find mercy when he most standeth in need of it." Concerning Mr. Speed, it is sufficient to observe that the guards around the scaffold were so struck with his magnanimity and resignation that they relented in their tyranny, and were constrained to acknowledge the convictions of his innocence and excellence.

At Bridport, Mr. John Sprage, suffered death, with twelve others. At Lyme, among the first who was brought to death was captain Holmes, a man very zealous for the duke, and withal very brave. He suffered in company with eleven more persons whom he embraced at the place of execution, and strengthened them with spiritual advice. He said, among other things—"It is a glorious sun-shining day, and I doubt not, though our breakfast be sharp and bitter, it will make us meet for a comfortable supper with our God and Saviour in heaven, where all sin and sorrow shall be done away for ever. You see I am imperfect, having left one arm in the field; I therefore want some assistance to help me up this tragical stage."

About the same time, also, suffered Mr. Samuel Larke, a man greatly beloved for the goodness of his life; and with him, Mr. Christopher Battiscomb, Dr. Temple, captains Matthews, Madders, and Kidd, Mr. Joseph Tyler, and five others. These were executed in Somerset and Devonshire. At Bristol Mr. Tyler and Mr. Cox suffered; the latter, with his two sons had joined the duke on his first landing; both the youths were condemned as well as their father; but they were providentially preserved. In Sherborne, twelve persons suffered death, for their adherence to the same cause. Among these were Messrs. Glisson, Savage, Hall, Sprague, and Clegg. At Axminster were executed Mr. Rose and Mr. Evans. The former was a gunner, and had come over with the duke: he was a man of great resolution, and, finding the hopes of his master frustrated, appeared to prefer death to life. Mr. Port, a young surgeon, and very amiable man, suffered at Honiton, and discovered at his death, a great share of christian piety, with a knowledge of eternal

things, surpassing his years, he being about twenty. At the same place, soon after, suffered the Rev. J. Evans, who, between the time of his sentence and its execution, devoted himself wholly to the teaching of eternal things, and received his death with a cheerfulness, that manifested his hopes of eternal glory.

Mr. Simon Hamling suffered at Taunton. He was so far from joining in the rebellion, that he had walked from his house in the country, about three miles from Taunton, on purpose to persuade his son to take no part in the affair; judging all resistance in a professor of Christ, as unlawful; but, being a protestant dissenter, he was seized, and not offering to his corrupt judges any money for his ransom, he was condemned and executed. Mr. Cratchett also suffered innocently; he being a constable of the hundred, was surprised by a party of the duke's horse, who shewed him a warrant to bring in provisions for the army, and threatened in case of refusal to burn his house: so that, for his immediate preservation, he was obliged to comply. Among many other sufferers, in various parts, were Mr. Samuel Robins, Mr. Charles Speak, Mr. Parrot, Mr. Henry Bodly, and Mr. John Hicks. This last gentleman made a long and peculiarly eloquent harangue, in justification of himself, of the wickedness of the times, and in exhorting his hearers to follow after the things that regarded their eternal welfare.

At Taunton, besides those already named, with many others, Mr. J. Gatchill, Mr. Simon Hamling, and Mr. Hucker, were executed. In addition numbers perished in prison, while several were brought to death without any trial, especially by the cruel and sanguinary Kirk, so well known in the records of blood. At Bath, more exempt from blood than most cities of the realm, Mr. William Hussey, seventy years old, and Mr. Thomas Paul, nearly of the same age, were executed. Likewise, a young man named Trip, who was carried to his execution in blankets, being at the point of death of a malignant fever. This act of cruelty, however, met its reward, as many of the soldiers, and those concerned in his death, caught the disease, and from them it spread far and wide about the country.

Great numbers of those who suffered through this enterprise of the duke of Monmouth,<sup>a</sup> were innocent of the offence, many of them never having taken any part in it, and many others having been forced into it, in order to save their properties and their lives. It has been remarked, and may be remarked again with confidence, that whatever political and civil pleas were urged for their condemnation and death, most of them were hurried violently out of the world through fear of the influence of their example as sound protestants, and men esteemed in their generation.

Chief-justice Jeffreys, and the corrupt judges under him, seemed actuated by the spirit of furies, and whole parishes were, by their means,

<sup>a</sup> "The cruelty of the king's officers towards the prisoners which they took at Sedgemoor, exceeds all credit. The earl of Feversham ordered about twenty to be hung immediately after the action. Nineteen others were put to death at Bridgewater, by colonel Kirke, an inhuman wretch, who continued to execute others occasionally for his diversion, with circumstances of wanton barbarity. Judge Jeffreys was now sent the western circuit, to finish the horrid tragedy. At Dorchester he ordered nine and twenty persons to be executed immediately after conviction. He prosecuted the same work of carnage at Exeter and Taunton; and two hundred and fifty persons are said to have been sacrificed, in this circuit, under colour of justice."—*Clarendon*.

depopulated. Nor was his rage and violence displeasing at court. King James was so delighted at his success, that in a proclamation for a thanksgiving, he declared that now nothing remained, which could possibly disturb the future quiet of his reign. He then procured the opinion of his judges—That it was in his power to dispense with the penal laws; upon which followed a declaration for liberty of conscience, and suspending the taking the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and several papists were put into offices. Soon after, the vice-chancellor of Cambridge, and the fellows of Magdalen College in Oxford, were suspended and turned out, for not admitting popish priests and friars, contrary to their oaths. The bishop of London was suspended for refusing to suspend Dr. Sharp, for preaching against popery. Seven bishops were committed to the Tower for refusing to order the declaration for liberty of conscience to be read in their several dioceses: they were tried at Westminster-hall, and brought in “Not Guilty,” to the great joy of the people.

In this sad state was the protestant religion in 1688; and, to crown all, it was pretended the queen had a son, who was declared prince of Wales, and was designed by the papists to finish the work his father might not have time to do; namely, to entail popery and slavery upon the nation for ever hereafter. The ancient glory of the English nation, and the liberties and properties of all degrees therein, seeming now to be in inevitable danger, the nobility and gentry of the kingdom having no where else under heaven to place their hope and confidence but in her highness, the heiress apparent to the crown, and in the celebrated virtue and renown of his highness the prince of Orange, for military conduct and heroic magnanimity. They humbly represented their grievances so effectually to them, that at length the prince was induced to appear in their defence, and landed with an army of 15000 men. Being joined by great numbers of the nobility and gentry at Exeter, and afterwards by several of James's own army, the king was so affrighted, that he sent the queen and the pretended prince of Wales to France; and father Peters, with the rabble of priests, monks, and friars, packed up their trinkets to shift for themselves. The lord chancellor Jeffreys fled likewise, but was taken, and died in the Tower; king James himself soon after abdicated, and retired into France. After this the whole nation by their representatives, made it their humble request, that the prince of Orange with his royal consort, would be pleased to accept of the crown; and they were accordingly proclaimed king and queen, with great joy, on February 13, 1688, whereby the nation was restored to its ancient liberties, and freed from the dangers of popery and slavery.

Casting an eye as we conclude on the continent, an affecting instance of wholesale persecution and virtual martyrdom distinguished and disgraced the eighteenth century. But few lives indeed were sacrificed, and none by the fatal violence of the moment; yet some hundreds were reduced to extreme misery, and expatriated without mercy, by the ecclesiastical powers of Saltzburgh in the year 1731. The edict was issued in the winter, and fourteen days only were allowed for its execution. At the expiration of this short time the soldiers drove the protestants, amounting to some thousands, in troops from every city and town, every village and hamlet, of the realm. Most of them were stripped of every

thing but the raiment they wore. It is no little relief, amidst this scene, to find that subscriptions were opened in every protestant state in Europe, to supply their wants, and provide a refuge for them. The greater part obtained an asylum in Prussia. A letter from Læpsic gives the following account of their arrival in that city. "Upwards of 2000 protestant emigrants, driven destitute from their homes, have sought shelter within our hospitable walls. As soon as news of their approach arrived, at least ten thousand of the inhabitants went out to meet them. The weary pilgrims were of all ages and descriptions. Some were bent with age and were supported by their children: others had prattling infants in their arms, or new-born babes at their breasts; while the greater part were almost dead with hunger and fatigue. They were met at the gates by the clergy, and entered the city in as regular procession as possible—those who could use their voices singing Luther's hymn. In the market place they halted, and were quartered by the magistrates in the different inns and other houses of the city. Every family seemed to vie with the rest in hospitality and benevolence. On Sunday they assembled in the church and a collection was made at the doors. Many of the rich merchants subscribed a thousand dollars each. There was scarcely a servant or an apprentice boy who did not contribute his part. The women, even the poorest, took their handkerchiefs and aprons, when they had nothing else, and bestowed upon them." At Halle and Wittemburg the poor wanderers received equally kind attention; and at Potsdam the king himself came out to meet them. They then for the first time broke their ranks, to surround the sovereign and fall at his feet. He received them in the most generous manner, and those who survived their sufferings settled in his dominions, while such as were declining towards death had their latter days soothed by his beneficence and that of his subjects.

We have thus given some account of almost every martyr who suffered for the faith of Christ, of whom record is preserved. That there were hundreds of Christians martyred for the cause of the Redeemer, of whom history knows nothing, cannot be doubted; for, a hundred volumes would not contain the history of all the worthies who were destroyed in the different ages of the Christian church. We have purposely omitted any account of the disasters which have happened through popular fanaticism in modern times. It may be thought that we have gone too far in classing the sufferers under James and Jeffreys with the martyrs for our holy religion; but it should be remembered that, although some were politically guilty, the greater number were really condemned by the popish party on account of their adherence to the Protestant faith. We have not, however, any apprehension that the superior light and religion of our day will suffer the martyr-fires to be rekindled, unless our country return to its former faithlessness to God and to itself.

## SECTION V.

PERSECUTIONS AND SUFFERINGS OF THE FRENCH PROTESTANTS FROM  
THE REIGN OF HENRY III. TO LOUIS XVIII.\*

FRANCE has its "noble army of martyrs," and its martyrology is large. In a former section of this work, ending at page 213, the reader has been furnished with a brief account of the cruelties of popery in that country down to the year 1573.

In 1576 was formed the famous *League*, the chief promoter of which was the duke of Guise; and the pretence, the preservation of the Catholic religion. Henry III., then king, was a bigoted papist; but the increasing power of the duke of Guise so alarmed him, that to secure himself the better against his intrigues, he favoured the Protestants, and they obtained an edict for the free exercise of their religion in 1577. This was called the edict of Poitiers. Popish bigotry did not, however, long admit the privileges of this edict to be enjoyed by the Protestants.

Henry IV. succeeded to the throne in 1589, and being a Protestant, though he renounced his professed religion, yet he still showed kindness to those with whom he had been accustomed to worship; and during a visit at Nantes, he published the famous edict named after that town. This edict continued for a number of years as the safeguard of the reformed church. It secured to the Protestants free worship, and all the rights of citizens, and it was registered as perpetual and irrevocable. Henry IV. was stabbed in his coach by an execrable wretch named Ravallac, who assigned as a reason for committing the crime, that he believed the king to be still in heart a Protestant.

Louis XIII., his successor, was not guilty of Protestantism. He was a weak bigot; and the popish clergy adored him because he sanctioned their superstitions, and allowed them to use his power in persecuting his Protestant subjects, whom he hated. The Jesuits, who had been banished from France for attempting the life of Henry IV., A. D. 1593, were recalled, and became favourites at the court; and their doctrine obtained popularity, that "princes *may* put heretics to death, and therefore they *ought* to put them to death." An artful priest got raised to the rank of cardinal, and was prime minister. This man, cardinal Richelieu, endeavoured by every artifice to prejudice the mind of Henry against the Protestants; and having assured him that it was a principle with them that kings might be deposed by their people, excited him to adopt those measures which created a civil war, in which the Protestants were great losers. Five years afterwards, war was renewed; and the last fortified town, Rochelle, which was left to the Protestants, endured a siege, in which, out of 18,000 inhabitants, no less than 13,000 perished, chiefly by famine. This was a severe blow to the Pro-

\* This section, and those following, are added by the writer of the Essay on Popery prefixed to the present Edition.

testants. The king, however, confirmed anew the edict of Nantes. Many Protestants saw a storm gathering, and fled the country in 1634. In less than ten years from this time, both Richelieu and Louis were called to give up their final account. Notwithstanding the persecutions of this reign, the Protestants had however greatly increased, and their numbers now amounted to not less than two millions—thus resembling the palm-tree, which beneath the pressure revives and flourishes.

Louis XIV., now five years of age, ascended the throne on the demise of his father, A. D. 1643. The queen-mother was appointed sole regent during his minority, and cardinal Mazarine, a creature of Richelieu's, was her prime minister. The edict of Nantes was again confirmed, and the confirmation repeated when the king attained his majority. Louis was a tool of the Jesuits, and soon adopted the resolution of extirpating the Protestants. He tempted the great with rank and office. He ordered the priests to preach down the reform faith; and when unanswerable replies were published against their arguments, he forbade the Protestants to print. And now commenced a series of minor and vexatious persecutions, till at length he revoked what had been called "The *perpetual and irrevocable* edict of Nantes." With this revocation he banished the Protestants from his kingdom; though, in so doing, he lost a mass of wealth and industry which France could never recover. This revocation took place on the 22nd of October, 1685.

The most cruel proceedings followed: "Now," says Saurin, "we were banished; then we were forbidden to quit the kingdom on pain of death. Here we saw the glorious rewards of some who betrayed their religion; and there we beheld others who had the courage to confess it, a halting to a dungeon, a scaffold, or a galley. Here we saw our persecutors drawing on a sledge the dead bodies of those who had expired on the rack; there we beheld a false friar tormenting a dying man, who was terrified, on the one hand, with the fear of hell if he should apostatize, and, on the other, with the fear of leaving his children without bread, if he should continue in the faith; yonder they were tearing children from their parents, while the tender parents were shedding more tears for the loss of their souls than for that of their bodies or lives." "It is impossible," says Robert Robinson, "to meet with parallel instances of cruelty among the heathens in their persecutions of the primitive Christians. The bloody butchers who were sent to them under the name of *dragoons*, invented a thousand torments to tire their patience, and to force an abjuration from them." "They cast some," says Claude, "into large fires, and took them out when they were half-roasted. They hanged others with large ropes under their armpits, and plunged them several times into wells, till they promised to renounce their religion. They tied them like animals on the rack; and poured wine with a funnel into their mouths, till, being intoxicated, they declared that they consented to turn Catholics. Some they slashed and cut with penknives; others they took by the nose with red-hot tongs, and led them up and down the rooms till they promised to turn Catholics." These barbarous deeds made eight hundred thousand Protestants quit the kingdom, who, besides their talents and industry, contrived to carry off twenty millions of property. The silk manufactory in Spital Fields originated in this emigration. The pastor Charnier, who had drawn up the edict



of Nantes, perished in this persecution, and ranks among the number of illustrious martyrs.

Four hundred thousand Protestants yet remained in France; and the merciless Catholics gave them no rest. They compelled them to go to mass and to receive the communion; but some refused to swallow the water, for which crime they were burned alive. Others, who refused to receive the sacrament when they were dying, were dragged upon hurdles and thrown into the common sewers. The punishment of death was decreed against those who met for worship, and against any Protestant minister who should return from banishment. Claude Brousson, a man of undaunted spirit, was first an advocate at Toulouse, and having entered the ministry returned to Nismes. Public worship being prohibited, he projected the plan of meeting to worship God in another way; and preached to numerous assemblies in deserts, in caverns, and during the night. At length he was betrayed and conveyed to Montpellier, where he was broken alive upon the wheel, under pretence that he had corresponded with the king's enemies. He died for the cause of Christ in the fifty-first year of his age, and displayed all the heroism of a primitive martyr.

The Protestants could find shelter nowhere, for they were pursued and sought out in their strongholds in dens, woods, rocks, and caves; till at length they were, for the most part, obliged to disperse and flee the country. After this time there was no public worship; a few only met privately by stealth, and occasionally a religious pastor ventured his life by visiting the remnant of his oppressed flock.

Louis XIV. died in 1715, and left behind him his example as a model for tyrants. He had blighted France with a curse from which it has never recovered, and shed those torrents of tears and blood, in addition to those caused by the cruelty and perfidy of Charles IX., for which a righteous Judge has visited that guilty nation in subsequent revolutions, the like of which has no existence in the pages of history.

Louis XV. was great grandson of the last king, whose arbitrary reign had extended through seventy-two years. The young king was too much occupied with his gallantries to care about the consciences of his subjects, so that he did not directly interfere in matters of religion. But the arbitrary laws of his predecessor were left in full operation. During his reign several Protestant ministers were put to death. A few facts will show the shocking state of the French Protestants at this time.

Eighteen persons were sentenced to the galleys for their religion, in the year 1745; among whom were a physician, and two old officers, knights of St. Louis; and in the same year, twenty-one meetings of Protestants for public worship were condemned to fines and costs, to the amount of 41,000 livres.

Fifty-four persons were condemned to prison in 1746, besides eleven young females, who were taken from their parents, and forced into different convents. One aged mother was also imprisoned, with others, for not giving up her sons to vengeance and her daughters to the cloister.

The following horrible cruelties, committed at this time, have also been attested by the most credible witnesses:—"I accompanied M. de Beauvais," said M. de Boufflers, "in a *reconnaissance* on the shores of Languedoc. We arrived at Aiguesmortes, at the foot of the *Tour de Constance*. We

found at the entrance an officious jailer, who, after having conducted us by some back and winding staircases, opened with a tremendous noise a frightful door, on which we might have expected to have seen the inscription of Dante. No language can describe the effect of a spectacle to which our eyes were unaccustomed; it was at once hideous and affecting, and disgust increased its horror. We saw a large round hall, deprived of air and light; fourteen women languished there in misery and in tears. The commandant could scarcely contain his emotion; and doubtless, for the first time, these unhappy beings perceived compassion on a human countenance. I see them still. At this sudden appearance they fell at our feet, bathed them with tears, attempted to speak, but found only sighs; and at length, emboldened by consolations, related to us all at once their common sufferings. Alas! all their crime was that they were educated in the religion of Henry IV. The youngest of these martyrs was nearly fifty years of age—she was only eight when they seized her, as she was going to the sermon with her mother, and her punishment had not yet terminated.”

“I have also seen this *Tour de Constance*,” says Monsieur Boissy d’Anglas, addressing his children. “It must excite in you a double interest, since the ancestor of your mother, accused of having attended preaching, and being confined there during her pregnancy, gave birth to a daughter, from whom you are descended. I declare that nothing I have ever seen was so calculated to insure ineffable remembrance. It was towards the year 1763; five or six years before the circumstance related by M. de Boufflers, and so honourable to M. de Beauvais. My mother had brought me to visit one of our relations, who resided a league from Aiguesmortes; she wished to see the unhappy victims of the religion we professed, and she took me with her. There were more than twenty-five prisoners; and the description of their misery by M. de Boufflers is but too exact; only instead of a simple gaoler, they were under the care of a royal lieutenant, who alone could open the *Tour*, and give permission to enter. The prison was composed of two large round halls, one above another; the lower room received light from the upper, by a circular hole about six feet in diameter, and the upper from a similar hole, made in the terrace which formed the roof. The fire was lighted in the centre; the smoke could only escape through openings, by which air and light, and unhappily with them rain and wind, were admitted. I saw the prisoner who had been shut up from the time she was eight years old. Thirty-two years she had been there when I saw her, and she had been there thirty-eight when she was liberated. Her mother died in her arms some time after their captivity. Her name was Mademoiselle Durand.”

“I dare not attempt,” says M. Wilks, “to sketch merely an outline of the bitter sufferings, cruel tortures, and glorious deaths which compose the annals of this period. M. Desubas, an excellent and zealous minister, twenty-six years of age, was arrested December 11, 1745, at D’Aggrene, and the next day a lieutenant and thirty men conducted him to Vernoux. Some Protestant peasants, informed of the seizure of their minister, assembled on the route, without arms, to implore his liberation; the only answer was a discharge of musketry—six were killed, and four were made prisoners. Arrived at Vernoux, the tidings spread, and the poor people, alarmed for the life of their pastor, collected in crowds. Old men, women,

and children, united in tears and intreaties for their beloved M. Desubas. Two of the Catholic *bourgeois* gave them some hope of success, but it was only the more effectually to prepare their destruction. The escort and the Catholics fired from the windows on a defenceless multitude, amounting to 2000 persons. Two hundred Protestants were wounded, the greater part of them mortally, and thirty-six were killed.

The cruel martyrdom of the aged John Calas, whose fate is recorded on page 252 of this work, occurred in the latter part of this reign. From the time of the death of Calas, to whose memory justice was afterwards done, the Protestants of France experienced some mitigation of their sufferings, and were generally allowed to worship God publicly and in peace.

Louis XV. died after a reign of fifty-nine years, and was succeeded by his grandson in 1774.

Louis XVI. was the best of the Bourbon race; but during the early part of his reign, the Protestants suffered much under the intolerant laws which encouraged their persecutors. Among other oppressions the sufferers were called to endure, was the non-recognition of the Protestant marriages, and the consequent illegitimacy pronounced against the children, who were too often deprived of their rights by unjust and avaricious Catholics. At length, in 1787, an edict restored the Protestants to the enjoyment of their civil rights; but some opposition was made to it in parliament; and one enthusiastic papist, presenting a crucifix, peremptorily inquired if they were going to *crucify the Son of God afresh?* There were, however, political and pecuniary motives connected with the granting of these favours; and, notwithstanding this edict, partial persecutions still existed.

The national assembly in 1789 decreed, "that no man should be disturbed in his religious opinions, nor troubled in the exercise of his religion;" and during the existence of the republic, and the subsequent reign of Napoleon, this served as a basis for the laws respecting liberty of worship. In 1790, a member, however, showed the cloven foot of the persecuting Catholic, by proposing that the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion should be the only public and authorized worship; but his proposal was lost.

Still, at this period, liberty of worship was not fully enjoyed. Infidelity reigned among the ruling authorities, and the refractory priests were subjected to severities which they had themselves before inflicted on the Protestants. Popery was popery still—the same sanguinary superstition as it ever had been. The following brief narrative will confirm the truth of the remark:—

In 1815, M. Maigre, a venerable octogenarian and large silk manufacturer at Nismes, fled from his house in a carriage, with his son, his son's wife, two children, and two female servants. They were arrested on the road by a patrol, to whom M. Maigre showed a regular passport. Two postilions returning from Beaucaire, cried to the patrol, "Why do you suffer these people to pass—they are Protestants?" At this moment M. Maigre discovered in the crowd an old servant: "André," said he, "do you not know me? are you not interested for me?" "Ah, that was formerly," said the ingrate; "it is very different now;" and immediately aimed a terrible blow at his old master. A postilion leaped from his horse, and threw a rope round the neck of his youngest daughter, intending to

strangle her; but one of the servants flew to her rescue, and drew on herself the fury of the monster, who, throwing the instrument of his cruelty round her, endeavoured to hang her to a tree: fortunately, the cord was too short. The infuriated mob then determined to convey their prisoners to Remoulins. They arrived at the village of La Foux, overwhelmed with menaces and imprecations; and seeing a capuchin, they solicited his protection. He acknowledged that he knew them, but refused to intercede for them, and shut himself up in the first house. They were forced into the bark in which they were to cross to Remoulins, while the people on the shore cried, "Throw them into the water—drown them!" The family then embraced each other, exclaiming in agony, "We are all lost!" A man seized the aged father, and threw him into the stream; he tried to swim to the bank, but was struck by a stone, and his strength failing he was drowned. His son, more vigorous, made more resistance; with one hand he seized a peasant, with the other he grasped the mast. To secure him, they promised him his life; but at the moment he quitted his hold, they threw him overboard. He swam to the shore, where a gentleman ran to his assistance, and tried to staunch the blood which was flowing from his wounds. A man approached, and pointed a fusil. "Spare this good man," said his protector; "he is not guilty of any crime: in saving his life, you will render an important service to your country." "Yes," said M. Maigre, "we have injured no one. It is true we differ in our religious opinions; but should this lead you to take my life? Ask this gentleman—he knows me well." M. Sére then assured the murderers that the family was generally respected. "You are yourself one of the same kind," said a peasant. "No, I am a Roman Catholic; and to prove my assertion, here is my prayer-book, and a cross which belongs to my daughter." "You shall, however, both march to prison," said the peasants. "Alas!" cried M. Maigre, seizing the hand of his friend, "to what danger has your generosity exposed you!" On the road, a man aimed twice at M. Maigre with a musket, saying, "Stand away, let me kill him;" while M. Sére threw himself on the musket, knelt at their feet, and kissed the hands of the murderer, earnestly imploring the life of the unfortunate. "Retire," said the savage, "unless you wish to share the same fate." A woman, alarmed at the danger to which the intrepid courage of Sére had exposed himself, drew him away. M. Maigre was assassinated, and thrown into a stream which flowed by the village. A reaper drew his body from the water with his scythe, took his money, his snuff-box, and his watch, and cast the corpse again into the river. The wife and daughters had taken refuge in an inn; the assassins pursued them with the intention of immolating the whole family; and had not the innkeeper assured them that the ladies had escaped into the country, and the *maréchaussee* almost immediately appeared, they would inevitably have been sacrificed by the murderers of their husband and brother.

When Bonaparte was first consul, he concluded a concordat with the pope, in which he well secured the Protestants; a circumstance that gave great dissatisfaction to the Roman Catholics, who tried in vain to induce him to make some alterations in their favour. The condition of the Protestants was greatly improved during the elevation of Napoleon, a circumstance which could not fail to attach them to his dynasty.

Louis XVIII., having been placed on the throne by the forces of the allied powers, was soon surrounded by interested priests, and efforts were made to restore to the Catholics paramount influence. But suddenly Napoleon boldly invaded France with his miniature army, and resumed his seat on the throne. His hundred days' reign was terminated by the battle of Waterloo, A. D. 1815.

Louis XVIII. returned. The Catholics now felt themselves secure in the prospect of renewed authority, and the Protestants dreaded that their vengeance, which had been dammed up for so long a time, would now burst forth like a mountain-torrent. During the hundred days they had not hesitated to pronounce their threats, and to intimate that if Louis returned they would denounce the Protestants as Bonapartists. The time of vengeance arrived; and in the month of July, 1815, about four hundred Protestants were inhumanly murdered in the department of the Garde. These persecutions were stubbornly denied by the Roman Catholics, both at home and abroad; and when they were obliged to admit the facts, they contradicted the causes, and as usual, in all cases of popish persecution, attributed them to political differences. There were great numbers of Bonapartists among the population of Nismes, but not one of them suffered; while even royalists were said to have perished among the Protestants. Prior to the return of Napoleon, the esplanade or public walk at Nismes resounded with songs, in which men, women, and children repeated that they would "*wash their hands in the blood of Protestants: that with their liver and lights they would make a mess to feed upon, and that they would make black puddings of the blood of Calvin's children!*" The most worthless vagabonds were employed to sing these songs, and were paid, according to their age and services, from twopence halfpenny to fifteen pence each day.

Protestants were not safe from cruel assaults, if found in a spot where they could be secretly committed; and when the injured parties called for justice, the magistrates disregarded their appeals. The declamations of the Catholics became more bold: "We will no longer suffer amongst us these villains, these monsters of Protestants; we must rid ourselves of them; annihilate even the last of them." The Protestants were insulted every instant; and Catholics were accustomed to soap cords publicly, in their presence, with which they declared they would tie them to the gallows prepared for their execution. M. de Vallongne, afterwards mayor of Nismes, a man of rank, education, and family, was heard to say that a second St. Bartholomew was necessary. The Duke D'Angoulême visited Nismes. Complaints were made to him, and all the facts above related were laid before him; but he refused to believe them, or to make any inquiry, but arrested twelve of the principal Protestants accused by the Catholics of being Bonapartists. Among the arrested was the worthy M. Vincens St. Laurence, counsellor of the prefecture. When he was led to the state prison amidst the sanguinary vociferations of the populace, M. Boyer Brun, advocate-secretary to the prince, said, on seeing him pass, "At last we shall overcome those villains of Protestants!" The army marched to encounter Napoleon on his return, but the Catholics threatened that when they returned they would massacre every Protestant. When Bonaparte resumed his power, the Protestants, so far from retaliating, showed that degree of kindness to their enemies that made them ashamed; but the

return of the Bourbons to power was the signal for renewing the cruel persecutions. The Protestants suffered imprisonment under false accusations; their vineyards were spoiled, their houses plundered, their places of worship burned; they experienced the most cruel insults and assaults, and large numbers suffered death—some under the most aggravated forms. The perpetrators of these crimes escaped punishment. One barbarian, more cruel than the rest, boasted that with his own hands he had killed forty Protestants, and should not be satisfied till he had killed fifty! This bloodthirsty wretch, originally a street-sweeper, whose name was Trestailon, alias Toilajon, alias Lafont, died only a short time since, when his zeal was not forgotten, for he was buried by the priests with considerable splendour. He had received a commission in the army. About ten thousand, who saw the approach of the storm, fled to the mountains of Cevennes to avoid the threatening danger; but the prefect persuaded the principal persons to return, and great numbers of these were assassinated.

This chapter might be extended to a volume, and the number of the victims, in various ways, be greatly augmented; but it is necessary to study brevity. A few well-attested facts shall conclude the account of the persecutions of the French Protestants in 1815.

Two parties glutted their savage appetites on the farm of Madame Frat. The first, after eating, drinking, breaking the furniture, and stealing what they thought proper, took leave by announcing the arrival of their comrades, "compared with whom," they said, "they should be thought merciful." Their predictions were fulfilled. Three men and an old woman were left on the premises: at the sight of the second company, two of the men fled. The banditti entered the kitchen, seized the old woman, and demanded, "Are you a Catholic?" "Yes." "Repeat, then, your Pater and Ave." Terrified by the recollection of the past and the apprehension of the future, she hesitated, and was instantly knocked down with a musket. On recovering her senses, she took an opportunity to leave the house; and in going out she met Ladet, a servant of the farm, who was bringing in a salad, which the depredators had ordered him to cut as they entered. She entreated him to fly; but the good man, confident in his age and innocence, refused to abandon the property of his employers, and for the last time approached the house of his mistress. "Are you a Protestant?" they exclaimed. "I am," he replied; and immediately a musket was presented at him, and he fell wounded, but not dead. To consummate their work, the monsters lighted a fire with straw and boards threw their yet living victim into the flames, and suffered him to expire in the most dreadful agonies. They left the remains not wholly consumed; part of which were devoured by the dogs. The prefect of the Garde, in order to cover the crime, declared again and again that the man was a Catholic; but the Protestant pastors, MM. Juillerat and Rabaut, publicly contradicted the apologist, and declared that the murdered man and all his family were Protestants. The unfortunate victim was in his sixty-third year, and left a widow and four children dependent on the bounty of his Protestant brethren. This and the subsequent barbarities were practised chiefly about Nismes.

An old unmarried man aged sixty, named Lafond, lived in a very retired manner; he had neither the inclination nor the ability to engage in political

plots or discussions. His only crime was that he professed the reformed religion. He was singled out as one of the first victims. Trestaillon, accompanied by other ruffians, went to his house, forced open the street door, and went up to his apartment, which was on an upper floor. Regardless of his cries and entreaties, they dragged him by his white locks to the landing-place, and precipitated him from the top of the balustrade. They thought he was dead, and left him; but returning soon after, they found him only stunned, and much wounded: they brought him to his door, and there, amidst the acclamations of the populace, literally cut him into pieces with axes and broadswords.

A Protestant in the national guard, one night being on piquet with Catholics, who were going to relieve a post stationed at one of the gates, descried by the light of the moon two female bodies, with their faces turned towards the ground. When they were turned up, the miserable man recognised his wife and daughter, who had been murdered as they returned from the country. The cries of agony he raised on the discovery of his misfortune irritated the barbarians who accompanied him. They levelled their muskets, saying it was a pity he should be separated from those he so much loved, fired, and he fell on the dead bodies. He, however, lingered till the next morning, when he told his distressing tale and expired.

One Bigot, a carter, was attacked in his house, where he defended himself, with the assistance of his wife and sister-in-law. They were compelled to yield to the assailants, who, in spite of their cries, tears, and entreaties, cut the throat of Bigot, and left him to bleed to death. His wife and sister, whom they forced to be present at the horrid scene, were afterwards killed on his body with axes.

An old man, aged eighty, was farmer on the estate of M. Chambeau: about thirty banditti went to his house, and after they had levied a contribution, asked him if he was not a Protestant. On his answering "Yes," they ordered him to kneel down, and shot him; they then lighted up a large fire, and burnt his body to ashes!

In 1801, M. Saussine retired from the army, (which he had entered in 1777,) with the rank of captain, and his two sons had since fallen on the field of battle. He was sixty-five years of age, infirm and deaf; and living in peace and privacy. It was enough that he was a Protestant. At six o'clock in the morning he was found at his residence on the road to Uzès, in the department of the Garde, and killed on the spot. Truphémey drove the widow from her home, and Trestaillon took possession of it as a dwelling for his sister. Madame Saussine died soon after of grief and persecution.

At Nismes, as in all France, the inhabitants wash their clothes either at the fountains or on the banks of streams. There is a large basin near the fountain, where every day great numbers of women may be seen kneeling at the edge of the water, and beating the linen with heavy pieces of wood in the shape of battledoors. This spot became the scene of the most cruel and indecent practices. The Catholics vented their fury on the wives, widows, and daughters of Protestants, by a newly-invented punishment. They turned their lower garments over their heads, and so fastened them as to favour their shameful exposure, and their subjection to chastisement; and nails being placed in the wood of the battoirs in the

form of *fleurs-de-lis*, they beat them till the blood streamed from their bodies, and their screams rent the air. The fête of the Assumption, professedly designed by the Catholics to recall the most exalted purity and the Divine benevolence, was observed by those of Nismes, by the most revolting violation of female modesty, and by brutal gratifications at which even savages might blush. Often was death demanded as a commutation of this ignominious punishment, but death was refused with malignant joy; murder was to perfect, and not prevent, the obscene and cruel sport. To carry their outrage to the highest degree, they assailed in this manner several who were in a state of pregnancy!

Madame Rath, when near her confinement, was attacked by about sixty of the *purest* Catholics armed with knotted cords, battoirs, and stones. It was with difficulty that she escaped instant death, and only by extraordinary skill that her life was preserved in premature childbirth. Her babe just breathed and expired. Her mother had already lost an eye from the discharge of a pistol fired at her by Trestailon. The loss of her child, the distressing situation of her mother, and her own agony and shame, were the punishments inflicted on her for being guilty of Calvinism!

Madame Gautiere and Madame Domerque, in a similar critical period, were treated with similar indignity. Madame Réboul died in a few days of the injuries she had received. The daughter of Benouette was beaten and torn with nails, by a young man named Merle, assisted by an inhuman rabble of both sexes. One of the daughters of Bigonette, who was thrown into a well and drowned, died of the ill-treatment she experienced: one orphan sister, in terror, had become a Catholic; but the other, although at the risk of her life, refused to abandon her religion. A female servant was stripped of all her clothes, and left on the public road, covered with blood, and exposed to the jests of a degraded populace: a soldier took off his great coat, threw it on her, and conducted her to the town.

But it is time to stop, though the list might be greatly enlarged. Yet, notwithstanding the authenticated accounts of numerous victims of popish brutality, the half has not been told. For the scandalous nature of these outrages prevented many of the sufferers from making them public, and especially from relating the most aggravating circumstances. The practice continued for several months. Where were the authorities? What punishment was inflicted on the criminals? The agents of the government made light of the transactions, and deceived public opinion; a force was at the command of the authorities, but they never honestly employed it. A party had resolved, if possible, to extirpate the Protestants in this their principal seat.

Allured by specious proclamations, many who had fled returned, but only to be slaughtered; and many Protestant fathers thus fell by the hands of the Catholic assassins while in the bosom of their families. The most horrible cruelties were committed in a wholesale manner; and when any of the murderers were taken, they were soon again set at liberty. The criminals were none of them strangers, neither were they few, but there was no justice for the unfortunate Protestants. A much-esteemed Protestant ex-mayor was shot in the streets of Ners. Three Protestant friends and companions of the deceased were accused of the crime. They were taken before the authorities, and instantly ordered to be shot.



The king and his ministers were not ignorant of what was passing. Memorials were forwarded to them by stealth. From one of these the following is an extract: "Those men, Sire, who are described as your enemies, perish without a struggle, that they may not appear to disobey your authority. Protestant princes surround them, and they have not preferred a complaint, nor solicited their mediation. Are such men rebels? [It was under shelter of this charge that the criminals pursued their savage persecutions.] But, Sire, patience may be exhausted, and it may be difficult to restrain by reason the vengeance of a people too cruelly persecuted. Anticipate, Sire, this dire alternative; reorganize the national guard; dissolve the bands assembled in defiance of your authority; and remove from their administrative functions those who have caused or suffered our blood to flow. But, if reserved for continued persecution, at least let our fate be distinctly announced. Ministers of Louis XVIII., would you be more inexorable than Louis XIV., against whom Europe uttered the cry of execration? If so, satisfy the hatred of our enemies, but give us time to assemble our dispersed families, to dispose of the property we have acquired in enriching the country still so dear to our hearts. We will seek again a refuge on foreign shores; we will once more implore the compassion of those hospitable nations in which our forefathers found an asylum, where their names are still held in honour, and their memories are revered." "If," said another memorial, "the Protestants are authorized to profess the principles which the king has proclaimed, why should they be tormented, decimated, treated as wild beasts? Why should they not return to their homes, and at least resume their labours, and the ruins of their dilapidated shops? Why should they not be permitted the exercise of their religious worship, more necessary to their comfort than ever, but suspended by the dispersion of both the pastors and the flocks?"

While the Protestants were thus suffering in despair, the Catholics, the constituted authorities, and their friends, were not only free from anxiety, but surrounded with splendid prosperity, and distinguished by festivities and mirth; while the midnight sky was illuminated with the flames which were seen in all directions, blazing and ascending from the country houses of the Protestants.

Sham proclamations were issued, expressing a sort of regret at these proceedings; while the assassins and Catholics in general were allowed to retain their arms, but the Protestants were left without any to protect themselves.

Among other acts of fanaticism, the persecutors proceeded to tear infants from their mothers, even when just put to the breast, that they might be baptized in the Catholic church; and they endeavoured to terrify the women, by declaring that if their children lived unbaptized Catholics, they would be cursed, and if they died, they would be buried like heretic dogs. Such was popery in France in the years 1815 and 1816!

The Protestants had to flee from their homes, or barricade their houses and secrete their property. Yet great numbers were imprisoned, ill-treated, and cruelly butchered; while some of the murderers publicly declared how many Protestants they would kill for their share, and fixed on their next martyrs. Country houses, warehouses, shops, town dwellings, vineyards,

property of every kind was involved in ruin, and robbery and pillage everywhere added to murder. All worship was suspended, pastors fled, or, if they remained, were exposed to prison and death, and the Protestant temples were sacked by the Catholic multitude. The re-restoration of Louis XVIII. was followed by the like persecutions; and the tribunals before which the causes of the Protestants were tried, condemned Protestants to death, who were known to be innocent of crime, but acquitted the wretches who were the notorious ringleaders of the Catholic mobs. These were Trestailons, alias Lafont, etc., Quatre-tailons or Graffan, and Truph my. Some of these murderers demanded the Protestants shut up in prison, marched them out in pairs, and obliging them to kneel down on the ashes of their yet burning property, shot them in slow succession. These were the men that found advocates among the highest ranks in society, and, which was not at all surprising, among the Catholic clergy, who became their warm intercessors!

At length the Protestant temples which had been shut up for several months were ordered to be re-opened, under the auspices of the Duc D'Angoul me, whose attachment to popery none could dispute; and urged by General Lagarde, who had promised the prince to see his desires executed, the consistory ventured to obey. But fearing a tumult, the greatest caution and silence were used, and private information only was given to the worshippers.

M. Juillerat Chasseur was appointed to perform a service at Nismes. On his way, he heard these exclamations and remarks from the Catholics: "What! have they still the audacity to dare to pray to God?" "This is the moment to give them the last blow." "Yes, and neither women nor children must be spared." "Ah," said one, "they dare to come again; I will go and get my musket, and ten for my share!" When the worshippers arrived, they found persons in possession of the adjacent streets, and the steps of the church, who vowed that the worship should not be performed; and expressed their rage in the most furious language, crying, "Down with the Protestants!" "Kill the Protestants!" The service began. In a few moments a rush of persons into the church interrupted the minister, and shouts were raised of "Vive le Roi!" "Death, death to the Protestants! kill, kill!" The gendarmes forced out the fanatics. The noise was increased outside. The house of God resounded with groans and shrieks. The pastors were inaudible. They attempted in vain to sing the forty-second Psalm. Madame Juillerat, the excellent wife of the preacher, stood at the foot of the pulpit with her infant daughter in her arms, and expected instant death. "We shall be slain," said she, "at the altar of our God, the victims of a sacred duty, and heaven will open to receive us and our unhappy brethren." She blessed the Redeemer, and waited the approach of the expected murderers. At length a detachment of soldiers arrived, and under their wing the assembly escaped. The Catholics were enraged; for too much ardour had deranged their plan. It was intended to suffer the worship to terminate, and then to rush with arms on the unsuspecting Protestants as they left the temple, and massacre them all. The aged pastor, Olivier Desmond, was reported in England to have been killed; and when it was found that he was not, the Catholic periodicals of the day impudently denied the whole affair,

and maligned those who had raised a naturally exaggerated report. But the fact was, that he was saved only by the greatest resolution. The venerable man was actually surrounded by murderers; they put their fists in his face, and cried, "Kill the chief of brigands!" His life was only preserved by the firmness of some officers, among whom was his own son, an officer in the royal troops of the line. They made a bulwark round him with their bodies, and amidst their naked sabres conducted him to his home. M. Juillerat, with his wife and child, was pursued and assailed with stones, and his mother received a severe and dangerous blow on the head. Several females were cruelly treated, and died of their injuries; and the number of Protestants more or less ill-treated, amounted to between seventy and eighty.

General Lagarde was informed of these outrages. He instantly resolved to disperse the assailants. For this purpose, he mounted his horse, and entered one of the streets, where a mob had assembled. A villain seized his bridle, another presented the muzzle of a pistol close to his body, and asked in a vociferating tone, "Wretch! *you* make me retire?" He immediately fired; and perceiving that the general retained his seat, he added, "Ah! brigand, I have not killed you." The murderer was Louis Boissin, a serjeant in the company of the national guards, commanded by M. Vidal. Boissin was known to everybody, but no one endeavoured to arrest him, and he effected his escape without difficulty. As soon as the general found himself wounded, he gave orders to the commander of the gendarmerie to protect the Protestants, and set off in a gallop to his hotel. Immediately on his arrival, he fainted. On recovering from the swoon, he prevented the surgeon from examining his wound till he had written a letter to the government, that, in case of his death, it might be known from what quarter the blow had been aimed, and that none might dare to accuse the Protestants of the crime from which he suffered.

In the evening the Catholics again visited the temple, broke open the doors, robbed the poor-box, rent the ministers' robes in pieces, tore the books into fragments, stripped and defiled the pulpit by numberless indecencies, ransacked the closets, and would have destroyed the records, but were at that time providentially prevented.

After this, more victims were added to the number of the murdered. Upwards of six hundred Protestants were suffered to remain in the prisons of Nismes, detained without a warrant, and unable to procure trial or liberation. Every day the fanatics sent emissaries to the dungeons to endeavour to obtain, by promises or threats, abjurations of faith, and conversions to the Apostolic, Catholic, and Roman religion. The families of the imprisoned Protestants were necessarily insulted and tormented with similar importunities. The pastors were either absent or unable to strengthen the sufferers by their counsel and their prayers; the public ordinances of their religion had been long denied; fraternal visits were difficult, and often impossible; charitable relief could not be administered; and unfortunate individuals, who had neither work nor bread, were urged and invited to embrace a religion rendered hateful by their own persecution, and the imprisonment and murder of their dearest relations. That in such circumstances some should profess a change they felt not is scarcely sur-

prising, when it is remembered what multitudes under the dragonades of Louis XIV. were received into the bosom of the Catholic church as sound converts, who were afterwards condemned and murdered as heretics relapsed. But to the honour of the persecuted, and to the glory of God, who strengthens the infirmity of his creatures in the hour of trial, the Protestants had hitherto generally preferred insult, outrage, spoliation, imprisonment, and death, to all the allurements connected with the adoption, even feigned, of a religion which their consciences disavowed. But now the system of forced conversions made regular and fearful progress; and these were the subjects of boasting and triumph among the Catholics. The Protestants were some time before they could reassemble for worship; and when they did it was under the protection of a strong guard, and after they had agreed to give up their places of worship, which were unjustly claimed by the Catholics, in lieu of which new places were to be erected.

During these persecutions the interference of foreign aid was never sought. But the editor of these pages, having received documents relative to this persecution, ventured to publish them to the world under the title of "Statements of Persecutions of the Protestants in the South of France." This pamphlet, amidst the clashing sentiments of the times, brought some furious attacks upon the author. For the statements were denied by high authority, because they inevitably reflected on the Bourbon dynasty. They, however, contained authentic documents sufficient to excite the attention of the Corporation of London, the Deputies of the Three Denominations, the three denominations of dissenting ministers themselves, and the Society for the Protection of Religious Liberty. Large extracts from the pamphlet were read at Guildhall; and a circular published by "The Protestant Society" stated, that "A pamphlet prepared by the Rev. I. Cobbin attracted the particular attention of the committee." These societies all adopted resolutions founded on the statements. But the dissenting ministry did more; and as contradictory statements were abroad, they deputed the Rev. Clement Perrot, of Guernsey, to visit the department of the Garde, and ascertain facts more correctly. He did so with some difficulty and danger; and on his return published his "Report of the Persecution of the French Protestants," from which it appeared that the half had not been told. The agents of France were enraged at this bold publication of the truth. "The interference of the police," says Mr. Perrot, "I experienced throughout my journey; and even since I have happily arrived in my native land, I have the most authentic proofs that the sub-prefect of St. Maloes, M. Petit Thouars, has written to the inspector of aliens at Jersey, to make inquiries respecting my journey, and has also declared his determination to arrest me if I came to that port to embark for Guernsey." But the statements and Report produced their desired effect, and the covert persecutors were too much exposed and ashamed to pursue their course. Sir Samuel Romilly made a stir on the subject in the British parliament, and entered accurately into the whole history of the persecutions, vindicating the character of the Protestants as peaceable subjects, and exposing the malice and subtlety of their enemies. The measure towards redress was opposed by Lord Castlereagh, then in power, and who had recently returned from a long residence in the court of France.

The storm did not now rage as before ; but the prisons remained filled with Protestants, an impartial judge was displaced, and more victims were immolated under the semblance of justice, though the witnesses against them contradicted each other. The unfortunate victims of perjury were condemned to imprisonment—the pillory—branding with hot irons—the galleys for limited terms or for life, and some to death.

In July, 1816, two months after the efforts of sir Samuel Romilly in behalf of the Protestants, three of their number were doomed to perpetual labour, and five to be executed. The executions took place at Nismes and at Arpaillagues, in the month of September. The unhappy Protestants, accompanied by two pastors, ascended the scaffold with a confidence which the Catholics attributed to arrogance, but which religion only could inspire. Dame Verdus was the first; and she mounted the guillotine singing, in the words of the twenty-fifth Psalm, "Unto thee, O Lord, do I lift up my soul. O my God, I trust in thee, let me not be ashamed; let not mine enemies triumph over me," etc. Reboul died, recommending his family to God, and imploring for himself his grace and mercy. Bresson said, "Though young, I do not regret life; I leave the world with resignation, because I am confident that the God with whom my religion has made me acquainted, will be more merciful and more just than those who have condemned me to this shameful death: but I feel for my aged father, who depended on me, and has no one left for his support."

The widow Boucoiran, before being taken to the place of execution, offered up an affecting prayer with her friends, and sang the fifty-first Psalm. As she and two pastors who attended her passed the town of Uzès, she caught a view of the steeple of the Protestant church, and exclaimed, "Blessed temple, where I loved so much to worship, I shall never see you more; but I shall go to one still more glorious in heaven, and angels will conduct me there." When the vehicle arrived at the village of Arpaillagues, "There," said she, "I am about to die, before my own house: my children are perhaps there concealed; and I must leave the world without giving and receiving one embrace. Ah! this is indeed, painful to a mother's heart; but the will of the Lord be done." Looking around, she continued, "Everything in nature dies—trees, flowers, all perish. We are like flowers; why should not I die also? But when I am no more, watch over my children; let them, I beseech you, be well instructed in religion, that they may find it support them, as it has supported me, and as it now supports me in my last trial. Make them learn the catechism thoroughly, and let them be taught trades, that they may gain an honest livelihood, and be placed above the temptation of abandoning their religion."

When the pastor Roux had addressed the condemned and prayed, he raised the widow and conducted her on to the scaffold, which she ascended with an energy and fortitude altogether above her sex. Her resignation; the prayers which she offered, with an unaltered tone, for her own salvation; the forgiveness of her enemies, which she repeatedly pronounced, astonished and affected many of the spectators. Till the moment that the head was severed from her body, the voice of prayer was heard to issue from her lips. Her pastor prayed also, beside her, till she had passed into an eternal world; and then, covered with her blood, he prayed for her companion, Boisson, a venerable man of seventy-eight years of age,

who also ascended with a firm step, pardoned his persecutors, implored the grace of God, and resigned himself to death with a calm and dignified confidence, of which the multitude had never beheld an example. The Catholics exulted in the execution of the unfortunate victims, and even longed for the gratification of insulting their lifeless remains, which were deposited in two holes prepared for them the night before.

The widow Boucorian left four orphan children; the eldest, a girl of thirteen years of age, was thrown into prison, charged with a capital crime, and brought before the court of assizes. While in prison she was separated from her mother, and exposed to numerous inducements to renounce the Protestant religion, and embrace the Catholic faith.

In 1820, the assassination of the Duc de Berri at Paris, by Louvel, furnished a splendid occasion, after a short interval of rest, for the persecutors to resume their sanguinary work. Trestaillons, who had fled lest he should at length be made to answer for his crimes, reappeared at Nismes triumphant. "He is come to revenge the death of the prince on the Protestants!" "Why did not we make an end of the race in 1815?" "Let us murder these wretches; their blood will produce royalists." Such was the declamatory language of the persecutors. The accusation was so obviously false, that the government at Paris more decidedly interfered, and prevented a renewal of carnage.

At this critical period, Providence raised up an advocate for the Protestants in the person of M. Madier of Montjau, a Catholic, a magistrate, and a royalist. In a petition to the Chamber of Deputies, he revealed all the facts of the long and inconceivable persecution. "He exposed the brutality of the populace, the intrigues of their leaders, the guilt of the magistrates, the scandal of the tribunals; asserted the innocence and the virtue of the Protestants; demanded the destruction of the secret armed force, and the punishment of the guilty." The statements of M. Madier could not be controverted. He had witnessed every transaction, and his reputation was irreproachable. Several deputies eloquently pleaded the cause of the Protestants. France could not but pronounce a verdict in favour of the persecuted.

The widows, orphans, and relations of the murdered Protestants appealed for justice on the guilty. Quatremaillons was accused before the tribunals, but noble Catholics and eminent royalists withdrew him from the danger of the storm, and protected him! M. Madier was charged with impropriety of conduct, and summoned before the court of cassation. His crime was revealing the dangerous circumstances of the Protestants. The public prosecutor demanded the erasure of his name from the list of magistrates, but he was only censured for telling the truth.

## SECTION VI.

DESTRUCTION OF THE SPANISH INQUISITION AT MADRID—INSTRUMENTS  
OF TORTURE DISCOVERED—LIBERATION OF THE PRISONERS.

IN 1809, Colonel Lehmanowsky was attached to that part of Napoleon's army stationed at Madrid; and while in that city, the Colonel used to express his opinions freely among the people, respecting the priests and Jesuits of the Inquisition. It had been decreed by the French emperor that the Inquisition and monasteries should be suppressed, but the decree was not executed. Months had passed away, and the prisons of the Inquisition had not been opened. One night, about twelve o'clock, as the Colonel was walking along one of the streets of Madrid, two armed men sprang upon him from an alley, and made a furious attack. He instantly drew his sword, put himself in a posture of defence, and, while struggling with them, he saw at a distance the lights of the patrols—French soldiers mounted, who carried lanterns, and rode through the streets of the city at all hours of the night, to preserve order. He called to them in French, and, as they hastened to his assistance, the assailants took to their heels, and escaped—not, however, before he saw by their dress that they belonged to the guards of the Inquisition. He went immediately to Marshal Soult, then governor of Madrid, told him what had taken place, and reminded him of the decree to suppress the institution. Marshal Soult replied that he might go and destroy it. The Colonel having told him that his regiment—the 9th of the Polish Lancers—was not sufficient for such a service, without the aid of two additional regiments, the troops required were granted: one of these regiments was the 17th, under the command of Colonel de Lile, subsequently pastor of an evangelical church in Marseilles. The troops marched to fulfil their destined object, the Inquisition being about five miles from the city. It was surrounded by a wall of great strength, and defended by a company of soldiers.

When they arrived at the walls, the Colonel addressed one of the sentinels, and summoned the holy fathers to surrender to the imperial army, and open the gates of the Inquisition. The sentinel who was standing on the wall appeared to enter into conversation for a moment with some one within, at the close of which he presented his musket, and shot one of the Colonel's men. This was a signal of attack, and he ordered his troops to fire upon those that appeared on the walls. It was soon obvious that it was an unequal warfare. The walls of the Inquisition were covered with the soldiers of the holy office; there was also a breastwork upon the walls, behind which they partially exposed themselves as they discharged their muskets. The French troops were in the open plain, and exposed to a destructive fire. They had no cannon, nor could they scale the walls; and the gates successfully resisted all attempts at forcing them. The Colonel could not retire, and send for cannon to break through the walls, without giving them time to lay a train for blowing up the French troops. He saw, therefore, that it was necessary to change the mode of attack, and

directed that some trees should be cut down and trimmed, to be used as battering-rams. Two of these were taken up by detachments of men, as numerous as could work to advantage, and brought to bear upon the walls with all the power that they could exert; while the troops kept up a fire to protect them from that poured upon them from the walls. Presently the walls began to tremble, a breach was made, and the imperial troops rushed into the Inquisition. Here they met with an incident, to which nothing but Jesuitical effrontery is equal. The inquisitor-general, followed by the father-confessors in their priestly robes, all came out of their rooms as the French were making their way into the interior of the Inquisition; and with long faces and their arms crossed over their breasts, their fingers resting on their shoulders, as though they had been deaf to all the noise of the attack and defence, and had just learned what was going on, they addressed themselves in the language of seeming rebuke to their own soldiers, and asked, "Why do you fight our friends the French?"

Their intention was, doubtless, to make their assailants think that the resistance was wholly unauthorized by them; and if they could have succeeded in making a temporary impression in their favour, they would have had an opportunity, in the confusion of the moment, to escape. But their artifice was too shallow, and did not succeed. Colonel Lehmanowsky caused them to be placed under guard, and all the soldiers of the Inquisition to be secured as prisoners. He then proceeded to examine all the rooms of the stately edifice. He passed from room to room, and found all perfectly in order. The apartments were richly furnished, with altars and crucifixes and wax candles in abundance, but no evidence could be discovered of iniquity being practised there; there were none of those peculiar features which might have been expected in an Inquisition. Splendid paintings adorned the walls. There was a rich and extensive library. Beauty and splendour appeared everywhere, and the most perfect order on which eyes ever rested. The architecture, the proportions were perfect. The ceiling and floors of wood were scoured and highly polished. The marble floors were arranged with a strict regard to order. There was everything to please the eye and gratify a cultivated taste; but where were those horrid instruments of torture which were reported to be there, and where those dungeons in which human beings were said to be buried alive? The search seemed to be in vain. The holy fathers assured the Colonel that they had been belied, and that he had seen all. The commanding officer began to think that this Inquisition was different from others of which he had heard, and was inclined to give up the search. But Colonel de Lile was of a different mind. Addressing Colonel Lehmanowsky, he said, "Colonel, you are commander to-day, and as you say so it must be; but if you will be advised by me, let this marble floor be examined. Let water be brought and poured upon it, and we will watch and see if there is any place through which it passes more freely than others." "Do as you please, Colonel," replied the commander, and ordered water to be brought accordingly. The slabs of marble were large, and beautifully polished. When the water had been poured over the floor, much to the dissatisfaction of the inquisitors, a careful examination was made of every seam in the floor, to see if the water passed through. Presently Colonel de Lile exclaimed that he had found it. By the side of one of these marble slabs the water passed



through fast, as though there was an opening beneath. All hands were now at work for further discovery; the officers with their swords, and the soldiers with their bayonets, cleared out the seam, and endeavoured to raise the slab; others with the but-ends of their muskets struck the slab with all their might in order to break it; while the priests remonstrated against the desecration of their holy and beautiful house. While thus engaged, a soldier who was striking with the but-end of his musket struck a spring, and the marble slab flew up. The faces of the inquisitors instantly grew pale as Belshazzar when the hand-writing appeared on the wall, and they shook with fear from head to foot. Beneath the marble slab, now partly up, there was a staircase. The commander stepped to the altar, and took from the candlestick one of the lighted candles four feet in length, that he might explore the room below. One of the inquisitors endeavoured to prevent him; and laying his hand gently on his arm, with a very demure and sanctified look, he said, "My son, you must not take those lights with your bloody hands: they are holy." "Never mind," said the commander, "I will take a holy thing to shed light on iniquity; I will bear the responsibility!" Colonel Lehmanowsky then took the light, and proceeded down the staircase. When he and his companions in arms reached the foot of the stairs, they entered a large square room which was called the Hall of Judgment. In the centre of it was a large block, and a chain fastened to it. On this they had been accustomed to place the accused, chained to his seat. On one side of the room was an elevated seat, called the Throne of Judgment, which the inquisitor-general occupied; and on either side were seats less elevated, for the holy fathers when engaged in the solemn business of the Holy Inquisition.

From this room the party proceeded to the right, and obtained access to small cells extending the entire length of the edifice; and here they were presented with the most distressing sights. These cells were places of solitary confinement, where the wretched objects of inquisitorial hate were confined year after year, till death released them from their sufferings: and there their bodies were suffered to remain until they were entirely decayed, and the rooms had become fit for others to occupy. To prevent this being offensive to those who occupied the Inquisition, there were flues or tubes extending to the open air, sufficiently capacious to carry off the odour. In these cells were the remains of some who had paid the debt of nature; of whom some had been dead apparently but a short time; while of others nothing remained but their bones, still chained to the floor of their dungeon. In other cells were found living sufferers of both sexes and of every age, from threescore years and ten down to fourteen or fifteen years, all in a state of complete nudity, and all in chains! Here were old men and aged women, who had been shut up for many years. Here, too, were the middle-aged, and the young man, and the maiden of fourteen years old. The soldiers immediately went to work to release these captives from their chains, and took from their knapsacks their overcoats and other clothing, which they gave to cover their nakedness. They were exceedingly anxious to bring them out to the light of day; but Colonel Lehmanowsky, aware of the danger, had food given them, and then brought them gradually to the light as they were able to bear it.

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left. Here they found the instruments of torture, of every kind which the ingenuity of men or devils could invent. The first instrument noticed was a machine by which the victim was confined, and then, beginning with the fingers, all the joints in the hands, arms, and body were broken and drawn one after another, until the sufferer died. The second was a box in which the head and neck of the victim were so closely confined by a screw, that he could not move in any way. Over the box was a vessel, from which one drop of water fell upon the head of the victim every second, each successive drop falling upon precisely the same place; by which, in a few moments, the circulation was suspended, and the sufferer had to endure the most excruciating agony. The third was an infernal machine, laid horizontally, to which the victim was bound; the machine then being placed between two beams, in which were scores of knives so fixed that, by turning the machine with a crank, the flesh of the sufferer was all torn from his limbs into small pieces. The fourth surpassed the others in fiendish ingenuity. Its exterior was a large doll, richly dressed, and having the appearance of a beautiful woman, with her arms extended ready to embrace her victim. A semicircle was drawn around her, and the person who passed over this fatal mark touched a spring which caused the diabolical engine to open; its arms immediately clasped him, and a thousand knives cut him in as many pieces, while in the deadly embrace.

The sight of these engines of infernal cruelty kindled the fire of indignation in the bosoms of the soldiers. They declared that every inquisitor and soldier of the inquisition should be put to the torture. Their rage was ungovernable. Colonel Lemanowsky did not oppose them: they might have turned their arms against him, if he had attempted to arrest their work. They then began punishing the holy fathers. The first was put to death in the machine for breaking joints. The torture of the inquisitor that suffered death by the dropping of water on his head was most excruciating: the poor wretch cried out in agony to be taken from the fatal machine. Next the inquisitor-general was brought before the infernal engine called "the Virgin." He was ordered to embrace her, and begged hard to be excused. "No," said the soldiers; "you have caused others to kiss her, and now you must do it." They interlocked their bayonets, so as to form large forks, and with these pushed him over the deadly circle. The beautiful image, prepared for the embrace, instantly clasped him in its arms, and cut him into innumerable pieces. The French commander, after having witnessed the torture of four of the barbarous inquisitors, sickened at the awful scene, and he left the soldiers to wreak their vengeance on the other guilty inmates of that prison-house of hell.

In the mean time it was reported through Madrid, that the prisons of the Inquisition were broken open, and multitudes hastened to the fatal spot. Oh, what a meeting was there! It was like a resurrection. About a hundred who had been buried for many years were now restored to life. There were fathers who found their long-lost daughters; wives were restored to their husbands, sisters to their brothers, and parents to their children; and there were few who could recognise no friend among the multitude. The scene was such as no tongue can describe. When the multitude had retired, Colonel Lehmanowsky caused the library, paintings, furniture, and other articles of value, to be removed; and having sent to

the city for a wagon-load of powder, he deposited a large quantity in the vaults beneath the building, and placed a slow match in connexion with it. All having withdrawn to a distance, in a few moments the walls and turrets of the massive structure rose majestically in the air, impelled by a tremendous explosion, and then fell back to the earth an immense heap of ruins. The Inquisition was no more!

It is to be regretted that in the papal countries, in the northern parts of the continent, similar cruelties are, however, still inflicted. The odious name of Inquisition is indeed dropped; but there are dungeons and tortures, and the like instruments are used to inflict suffering and death; while multitudes of unhappy victims for conscience' sake are dying daily, wasted away by a cruel and lingering death. May the prison doors soon be opened, the captives' chains be for ever broken, and the heralds of the everlasting gospel go forth themselves unfettered, and proclaim "the acceptable year of the Lord!"

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## SECTION VII.

### PERSECUTIONS IN POLAND, AUSTRIA, AND HUNGARY.

THE Greek and Roman religions are twins; but the corruptions of the former are even too bad to be coupled with the latter. The emperor Nicholas wished to bring all his subjects to one standard, and pope Gregory XVI. was pleased to accommodate himself to the wishes of the arbitrary autocrat. In the year 1834, his holiness therefore issued a bull, by which he anathematized the Roman Catholics of Poland, for not obeying the absolute commands of the czar of the Muscovites: "We Gregory XVI., the servant of God's Servant, send our salutes and blessings to our beloved brethren in Jesus Christ. We command and order, by the power given us by Jesus Christ and his successors, that you may be obedient in every thing to your emperor, whom God has given you as a ruler, and know that all the power comes from God. I received a report that you have rebelled against the power of your monarch: therefore, if you do not return to obedience, I shall forget you; God will abandon you; he shall retain the heavenly dew; your land shall deny its fruits; you shall starve from hunger, wandering in deserts like wild beasts, and live on grass like king Nebuchadnezzar. *Power is given to me to open the kingdom of heaven to my obedient children, and shut it up to the disobedient.* I hope you will obey your holy father; if not—I will anathematize you and your posterity unto the ninth generation! Whosoever shall oppose my commands, let him be accursed for ever!"

This cursing letter is to be found in the archives of every parish in Poland at this very day. *It was read by force from every pulpit of every religious denomination,* on every Sunday and fast-day, during a period of four months, in the presence of a Muscovian policeman.

As if to confound the impudence of Rome—to prove that he pope is nothing else but a lying imposter, Divine Providence caused that the anathematized land of Saimatra should produce in the next year, 1835, such abundant crops of corn, fruits, and vegetables, that the oldest inhabitants could not recollect such rich proofs of God's bounty! The people aroused from Roman degradation, cried out unanimously, "This is a great sign—a miracle!" Hundreds of honest sensible young priests, joined the people, and, throwing away the slavish fears, which characterize every Roman priest, they began to preach to the nations the true gospel of Christ. Centuries had elapsed since a change had taken place. "Down with the pope! Down with Rome! Down with the Greek schism! Down with the monks and Jesuits!" re-echoed from one end of the land to the other; and if this first outbreak is hushed for a moment, it is only to gather strength for a last and prevailing explosion of truth and justice.

Such a reformation has, however, to contend with great difficulties. The Jesuits, who take the habits of monks, kidnap every protesting Sclavonian, whom they destroy in the secret dungeons; while the czar of Muscovia exterminates by millions every protesting Roman Catholic, every Jew and every Protestant, who does not embrace the debasing tenets of the Russian, that is, the Greek church.

These facts are concealed as much as possible from the rest of Europe, and the public oracles of intelligence have powerful motives to suppress them. One only of recent date shall be here recorded. In the town of Lenezyca in Poland, is a convent of the Bernardines, of which Francis Paidloski is *custos provinciæ*, or chief, and where is founded a Roman theological college, of which Erasm Wnorowski is the *definitor*, or first professor. Wladislaus Hentzel, who has abjured popery for ever, was the second professor: he has since removed his residence to the diocese of Breslau, in Silesia, where he is now known as a protestant minister. Every student in this college is dressed as a monk, and obliged in his turn to wander round the country, and defraud the people by a wholesale system of insolent mendicity, from which the fathers are able to spend their lives in comforts, luxuries, and debaucheries. In 1834, after the excommunication of the Poles by the pope of Rome, the turn to go on a begging expedition fell upon the *laic*, or novice, Raymond Ziemnowiez—one of those young reformers who waited but for an opportunity to denounce the baneful system of Popery. He went directly to the village of Topola, near Lenezyca; and there, hanging his monkish cowl and habit on the wooden cross in the village cemetery, began to preach the gospel, and to demonstrate the tyrannies and impositions of the Roman pontiffs.

In spite of the villagers, who applauded the boldness of this young apostle, he was imprisoned by the parish priest and the Muscovites, and sent into his convent to be punished for having spoken the truth. But Raymond, well aware of the secret assassinations practised by the monks, implored the protection of the major of Lenezyca, Baldowski, and requested to be judged by the laws of the country. Moreover, he was well known in the town, and had numerous influential friends: hence, the monks, not able to murder him as a heretic, made him *clericus perpetuus*, a perpetual servant of the convent, never to go out, nor to be ordained a priest. Their vengeance was not however satiated; they had recourse to the old stratagem

of popish persecutors, and denounced him as a conspirator against the czar : a falsehood which all the monks confirmed as truth, and poor Raymond Ziennowicz was banished to Siberia for life !

Raymond, however, was not a subject of Russia. He was born in Galicia ; and having relations in Bohemia and Hungary, all his friends combined to save him from destruction, and to confound the impudent monks. After five years of unremitting exertions and expences, the unfortunate Raymond was released from the dungeons of Siberia, under the condition not to leave the country ; and even the Muscovian government granted him, as a recompense, a pension for life. Had he had the misfortune of being a Russian subject, he would never have been released from the murdering grasp of the monks, and from the imperial dungeons ; nor would his friends have dared to appeal to the czar for justice. The Protestant who may visit Lenezycza will there find the half-martyr Raymond with his face marked with the burning iron, bearing the brand—SIBERIA !

It may be added that another victim of the pope and czar, the preacher Benjamin, of the town of Konin, was less fortunate than Raymond Ziennowicz ; he was sent to Siberia for having dared to preach the pure gospel of Christ, and being a Russian subject none dare intercede in his behalf.

Among the bitter persecutors of the protesting Christian families of Poland are Valentinus Tomaszewski, bishop of Kalizz, and the bishop of Sandornir, Joseph Goldman. Both wretches are renowned for their crimes, robberies, and villainies ; both have brought thousands of families to beggary by false denunciations ; both are loaded with execrations by millions of unfortunates, who expire, through their instrumentality, in the dungeons of Siberia daily ; both are recompensed with the numerous estates of those Christian families whom they have sent by force to the mountains of the Ural, to perish in misery ; and both are received into favour with the czar.

The Roman Catholic Austrian dungeons at Speilberg have been crammed with protesting Poles. Since the expulsion of Metternich, those dungeons have been opened, and it is to be hoped the whole of the victims of popish cruelty were released. But in the Siberian mines they are expiring daily by hundreds under their tortures. Men worthy of a better lot perish at the rate of from one hundred to five hundred a day ! It is not to be supposed that all are Christians in the best sense of the word ; but numbers are, and the rest are honest men not ashamed to avow their protesting sentiments against the crimes of popery. New victims have been found to replace daily the dying ones, who crammed into a large pit by hundreds, are covered with fagots and burnt to ashes, as the cheapest mode of burial.

Such is the spirit of persecution and tyranny in Poland and Austria ; yet Protestantism is not wholly suppressed. Five thousand staunch disciples of Christ, scattered secretly among the people, still expose Roman and schismatic idolatries and superstitions ; and in Switzerland, France, and England some thousands of ex-catholics of Poland have united in a Protestant Evangelical Union, and ex-popish priests are labouring assiduously as protestant missionaries.

The kingdom of Hungary, unfortunately under the dominion of Austria, has suffered much from her oppressions; and the popish priesthood have availed themselves of the advantages afforded under that power for crushing freedom of worship. "The sufferings of Protestantism in France—the history of all the cruel edicts applied for by the priests, granted by the civil power, and put in force by the dragoons, through the different quarters of that kingdom—have long had an abiding place in the mind of evangelical Christendom; but, if the history of Hungary were known, the persecutions which devout Protestants have endured in these distant countries would perhaps exceed in interest those of the Huguenots under the Valois and Bourbons."

At his coronation every king of Hungary was obliged to take an oath of fidelity to a constitution which guaranteed the equality of religious confessions. But, alas! what is a constitution to the partizans of the papacy? In 1609, under Leopald II., at the instance of the Jesuits, the evangelical ministers were cited to Presburg; and they were shut up in the dungeons of Tyrnau. Some were forced to recant, others were banished, others after frightful tortures were sent in chains to the galleys at Naples; and *many were tortured to death*. From 1702 to 1783, the evangelical churches of Hungary, with few exceptions, were without pastors. Though some districts under the Turkish government enjoyed religious liberty, whenever they again became subject to their former princes that liberty was anew withdrawn. Evangelical Christians were excluded from offices of public trust; and, when they ventured to complain of this, were subjected to heavy fines or to corporal punishments. Did it happen that a Romish procession passed a Protestant temple, and could get admission, the priest muttered some prayers, and by this process took possession of it in the name of the church. Such a procession took place, on one occasion, at Vadasfa. The Protestants fearing that their adversaries might look with envy on their church, surrounded it with carriages, forming on all sides a solid entrenchment, and themselves mounted guard inside. Suddenly the sound of chanting was heard, the great popish procession drew near, the more zealous of the devotees attempted to throw down the barriers, a conflict ensued, and, unfortunately, a papist fell dead. Immediately after, that neighbourhood was subjected to military occupation, numerous arrests were made, and the venerable pastor, M. Fabry, was, notwithstanding his innocence, himself put in fetters in the prison of the Comitât. His unhappy wife rushed to Vienna, and threw herself in an agony of grief at the feet of Maria Theresa. That princess, however, unfortunately prevented by the Jesuits, repulsed her from her feet, saying, "Begone, Lutheran courtesan!"

Joseph II., by the edict of toleration, restored to the Protestants of Hungary their pastors and churches; but the oppression under which they had groaned for seventy years rendered this benefit almost illusory. More than three thousand pastors were wanted at once; and though some were found ready for the work, numbers were employed who were not worthy of the office. The Magyar Protestants yet numbered several thousands in the year 1849, but much crippled in their state, owing to the recent struggles of the Hungarian nation to obtain their liberties.



## SECTION VIII.

## PERSECUTIONS IN TARTARY—ACCOUNT OF ABDALLAH AND SABAT.

THE brief history of the following martyrdom bears a striking resemblance to that of Stephen, not in the manner of its being executed, but in the circumstance of a young man witnessing the execution and consenting to the death, who afterwards himself became a convert to the truth as it is in Jesus.

Converts among Mohammedans, where their laws are in force, are indeed very rare, for they have slender means of coming to the knowledge of the Saviour. If they avow it, they are exposed to certain death, as stated and seen in the subjoined narrative: an illustrious proof of the grace of God, both in the conversion and martyrdom of a young Arabian, as well as the conversion of his friend and companion. The latter resided some time with the distinguished scholar and missionary Dr. Claudius Buchanan, whose statement is here recorded in his own words:—

“ Abdallah and Sabat were intimate friends, and being young men of family in Arabia, they agreed to travel together, and to visit foreign countries. They were both zealous Mohammedans. Sabat is the son of Ibrahim Sabat, a noble family of the line of Beni-Sabat, who trace their pedigree to Mohammed. The two friends left Arabia, after paying their adorations at the tomb of their prophet at Mecca, and travelled through Persia, and thence to Cabul. Abdallah was appointed to an office of state under Zemoun Shah, king of Cabul; and Sabat left him there, and proceeded on a tour through Tartary.

“ While Abdallah remained at Cabul, he was converted to the Christian faith by the perusal of a Bible, as is supposed, belonging to a Christian from Armenia, then residing at Cabul: the Armenian Christians in Persia having among them a few copies of the Arabic Bible. In the Mohammedan states it is death for a man of rank to become a Christian. Abdallah endeavoured for a time to conceal his conversion, but finding it no longer possible, he determined to flee to some of the Christian churches near the Caspian Sea. He accordingly left Cabul in disguise, and had gained the great city of Bochara, in Tartary, when he was met in the streets of that city by his friend Sabat, who immediately recognized him. Sabat had heard of his conversion and flight, and was filled with indignation at his conduct. Abdallah knew his danger, and threw himself at the feet of Sabat. He confessed that he was a Christian; and implored him, by the sacred tie of their former friendship, to let him escape with his life. ‘ But, sir,’ said Sabat, when relating the story himself, ‘ I had no pity, I caused my servants to seize him, and I delivered him up to Morad Shah, king of Bochara. He was sentenced to die, and a herald went through the city of Bochara, announcing the time of his execution. An immense multitude attended, and the chief men of the city. I also went and stood near to

Abdallah. He was offered his life, if he would abjure Christ, the executioner standing by him with his sword in his hand. "No," said he, (as if the proposition were impossible to be complied with,) "I cannot abjure Christ." Then one of his hands was cut off at the wrist. He stood firm, his arm hanging by his side with but little motion. A physician by desire of the king offered to heal the wound, if he would recant. He made no answer, but looked up steadfastly towards heaven, like Stephen the first martyr, his eyes streaming with tears. He did not look with anger towards me. He looked at me, but it was benignly, and with the countenance of forgiveness. His other hand was then cut off. But, sir,' continued Sabat, in his imperfect English, 'he never changed, he never changed! And when he bowed his head to receive the blow of death, all Bochara seemed to say, What new thing is this?'"

This was a wonderful instance of the sovereignty and power of Divine grace, as well as of the efficacy of the word of God, through the secret teaching of the Holy Spirit, in leading a sinner to Jesus, when he sincerely sought after a Saviour, and left his mind open to conviction. We know not of all the subjects of the Redeemer: they are found where we should never have sought for them. Nor probably are all the eminent martyrs for Christ found in our martyrologies. Here was one of whom we should perhaps never have known, had it not been for the subsequent conversion of his friend and accuser. He stood alone amidst thousands of his countrymen, an individual witness to the truth as it is in Jesus. No brother Christian cheered him by his sympathy; no Christian spectator witnessed his heroism; no other Christian knew of his martyrdom to encourage him by his prayers. There was nothing but the love of Jesus in his heart, and the promises of Jesus treasured up in his memory, to stimulate and support him amidst his excruciating sufferings. But these were enough. He had Christ in his heart, "the hope of glory," and he was willing to be offered up. Thus he "witnessed a good confession before many witnesses," and his happy spirit winged its way to join the noble army of martyrs.

The subsequent history of the accuser must not be separated from this narrative:—"Sabat had indulged the hope that Abdallah would have recanted when he was offered his life; but when he saw that his friend was dead, he resigned himself to grief and remorse. He travelled from place to place, seeking rest and finding none. At last he thought that he would visit India. He accordingly came to Madras about five years ago, [that is, in 1804.] Soon after his arrival, he was appointed Mufti, or expounder of the Mohammedan law, by the English government; his great learning and respectable station in his own country rendering him eminently qualified for that office. And now the period of his own conversion drew near. While he was at Visagapatam, in the northern Circars, exercising his professional duties, Divine Providence brought in his way a New Testament in Arabic. He read it with deep thought, the Koran lying before him. He compared them together; and at length the truth of the word of God fell on his mind, as he expressed it, like a flood of light. Soon afterwards he proceeded to Madras, a journey of three hundred miles, to seek Christian baptism; and having made a public confession of his faith, he was baptized by the Rev. Dr. Kerr, in the English church at that place,

by the name of Nathaniel, in the twenty-seventh year of his age. Being now desirous to devote his future life to the glory of God, he resigned his secular employment, and came by invitation to Bengal, where he is now [1809] engaged in translating the Scriptures into the Persian language. This work hath not hitherto been executed, for want of a translator of sufficient ability. The Persian is an important language in the East, being the general language of Western Asia, particularly among the higher classes, and is understood from Calcutta to Damascus. But the great work which occupies the attention of this noble Arabian is the promulgation of the gospel among his own countrymen; and, from the present fluctuations of religious opinion in Arabia, he is sanguine in his hopes of success. His first work is entitled, 'Neama Besharatin lil Arabi,' (Happy News for Arabia!) written in the Nabuttee, or common dialect of the country. It contains an eloquent and argumentative elucidation of the truth of the gospel; with copious authorities admitted by the Mohammedans themselves, and particularly by the Wahabians. And prefixed to it is an account of the conversion of the author, and an appeal to the members of his well-known family in Arabia for the truth of the facts."

The following circumstance in the history of Sabat ought not to be omitted. When his family in Arabia had heard that he had followed the example of Abdallah and become a Christian, they despatched his brother to India, a voyage of two months, to assassinate him. While Sabat was sitting in his house at Visagapatam, his brother presented himself in the disguise of a faqueer, or beggar, having a dagger concealed under his mantle. He rushed on Sabat, and wounded him. But Sabat seized his arm, and his servants came to his assistance. He then recognised his brother. The intended assassin would have become the victim of public justice, but Sabat interceded for his brother, and sent him home in peace, with letters and presents to his mother's house in Arabia.

Sabat after this was some time at Dinapore, in Bengal, with the eminent missionary Martyn, then chaplain to the East India Company. The latter was associated with Mirza Tetrut, another celebrated Persian scholar, as coadjutors in the translation of the Scriptures. Mr. Martyn, in his letters, never failed to speak of his friend Sabat in terms of affection and admiration. John Huss and Jerome of Prague were not perhaps more talked of in Europe, than Abdallah and Sabat in Bucharia and Arabia.

How wonderful are the ways of God! The conversion of Abdallah indirectly led the way to the conversion of his friend Sabat. The circumstances of his capture and execution were links in the mysterious chain. The faith, patience, and fortitude of the martyr affected the heart that was before obdurate. While Abdallah looked benignly on his cruel friend, as the blood flowed from his amputated limbs, and the sword was already lifted up to deprive him of life, doubtless the last prayer that proceeded from his lips was in behalf of his persecutors, and especially of Sabat, "Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do!" That fervent prayer for his late friend was heard; and friends so awfully separated on earth will be found reunited in heaven, and spend a long eternity in wonder, love, and praise! The narrative is a striking practical comment on Matt. x. 32—39.

## SECTION IX.

PERSECUTIONS IN MADAGASCAR—FREE EXERCISE OF RELIGION PROHIBITED  
—PARTICULAR ACCOUNT OF THE PRINCIPAL MARTYRS.

MADAGASCAR, comparatively but little known to the world, has added to the illustrious martyrs for Jesus. It is one of the largest islands in the world, being two hundred and forty leagues long, and from forty to seventy broad. Its situation is in the Indian or Eastern Ocean, and it is the principal island in the group usually designated the Eastern Archipelago. It is separated from the eastern coast of Africa by the Mosambique Channel, which is about one hundred and fifty leagues across. Its population, according to the highest estimate, is about four millions. The island is inhabited by several tribes or castes: 1. The Betsimicaracs, or negro race, on the north-east coast, who have the character of being drunkards, cowards, and fools; the Antibanivouls, their neighbours, distinguished for stupidity and ignorance; and the Betalimes, who are herdsmen. 2. The Hovas, inhabiting the province of Ancorie, near the middle of the island, much resemble the natives of India, and are well skilled in working metals. 3. The Antimahouris, most probably descended from the Malay race, are indolent. Their religion extends to the knowledge of a preserving Deity; but he is never worshipped, nor addressed, but when he is reviled for sending misfortunes. They believe in an evil spirit, whose habitual residence is in burial-places. Their youth is spent in debauchery, and in middle age they marry. All ages are given to intoxication. They believe in sorcery, and wear amulets to defend them from it.

In the year 1818, the London Missionary Society established a mission in this important country. At that period the English government was on very friendly terms with Radama, who was then king, though not possessed of the entire island, and who resided in the Hova country. During his reign the missionaries went on prosperously; but he died prematurely, from indulged habits of intemperance and irregularity, at the age of thirty-six, after the mission had been established ten years.

Radama's eldest sister's eldest son was the proper heir to the throne; but it was seized by Ranavalona, one of the deceased king's wives. The queen was always known to be deeply attached to the superstitions of her country, and to have cherished a great veneration for the national idols and their worship. Ranavalona was intimate with the missionaries, but evinced no inclination to embrace Christianity; and she and her flatterers attributed her elevation to her idols. She soon manifested a strong dislike to the new religion, and an opposition to its extension in Madagascar. She began by ordering the missionaries to leave the country. A young man named Andriatsoa, who boldly avowed his attachment to the gospel and ridiculed the idols, fell under her severe displeasure. An idol had been appealed to by the opponents of Andriatsoa, which had directed that he should be killed and cut in pieces, or otherwise the rice-harvest that year would perish. An officer named Razakandrianaina took an active part against him, for he had induced one of his wives to read and to attend the preach-

ing of the gospel, on which account she had been divorced by him. He therefore accused Andriatsoa to the judges, stating that he was changing the religious customs of the country; that he paid no regard to the idol where he resided; that he conducted himself differently to other people; would not swear, nor follow the licentious habits of the people; that he would not work on the Sabbath, nor mention the name of the idol in his prayers, although he prayed four or five times a day; that he was collecting the people to pray after dark; and that owing to the disrespect he had shown to the idol, it was so incensed that it was destroying the rice with hailstones. Human nature and idolatry are still the same; and one is here strongly reminded of the charges against the pious captives in Babylon as recorded in the book of Daniel. It was expected that the young Christian would have immediately fallen a victim to the queen's displeasure: she, however, only ordered him to be tried by the ordeal of the tangena; that is, taking a poison which by remaining in the stomach kills, but if thrown off the intended victim escapes, and is pronounced innocent. In this case the accused escaped; and the native Christians imprudently showed their joy by making a grand procession on the occasion. The queen herself saw the procession, and was indignant, considering it as an insult offered to herself.

The queen's mind was now prepared to receive further charges against the Christians; and Razakandrianaina, greatly mortified at the result of his accusation, and the respect paid to the young man, resolved to bring an accusation against the whole body of the Christians, in which he was the more encouraged from the state of the queen's mind. An opportunity for misrepresentation was afforded him, by hearing one of the slaves preaching an evening discourse on Joshua xxiv. 14, 15; in which the preacher urged his hearers to leave off idolatry, and forsake the gods which their fathers had served, and to serve Jehovah and Jesus Christ. The usual artifice of accusers was resorted to, and the slave and his fellow Christians were represented as political enemies to the throne, raising assemblies in the night, and urging the people to serve the English and renounce their allegiance to the queen. "There are," said the accuser, "in and around the capital, certain people changing the customs of the twelve sovereigns of Andrianimpoinimerina, of Lehidama, and that of Ranavalomarijaka, they despise the idols of the queen and sikidy, (or divination,) and all the customs of their forefathers; they treat them as nothing, and consider themselves as under no obligation to honour and worship them, though these alone obtained the kingdom for the queen and her ancestors; they enter into a league with the English that are residing here; they despise the graves of the Vazimba, though they, perhaps, contain the ashes of the ancestors of the queen. They also hold assemblies in the night, rather than in the day, and deliver speeches in these meetings that no one replies to, and they do these things without permission from the queen. Moreover, in these meetings they urge all present to serve Jehovah and Jesus Christ. Our ancestors never heard of these persons, nor have we till now; nor do we know, even now, who they are. It is said that Jehovah was the first king of the English, and that Jesus Christ was the second. Besides all this, these meetings are carried on by slaves. We cannot see the end of these things: the queen only knows; and she knows what is best to be

done; but we fear that these people, who have become so friendly with the English, will attempt to transfer the kingdom of the queen to them."

One of the queen's ministers, to whom the above allegations were made, promised to lay them before the queen. When the queen heard them she went into a violent passion, burst into tears, and vowed that she would stop the progress of the Christians even with their blood. On a certain sabbath she was returning from bull-sporting, and passing a place of worship, she overheard the singing, on which she observed, "These people will not leave off until some of their heads are taken from their shoulders." The queen summoned a general meeting of all the people, men, women, and children, to be held on a sabbath day; and orders were given to return a list of places where the Christians assembled, and also a list of the baptized. Ranavalona was astonished when she learned the greatness of their numbers, and swore that she would put to death the owners of the houses where they met. Many persons of influence about the queen's person spoke in favour of the Christians, and testified to their good conduct, so that the queen was somewhat softened and shaken in her resolution to put all the Christians to death. She, however, afterwards sent them information, that they would be allowed to exercise their own religious customs among themselves, but they would violate the laws if they made any proselytes, and subject themselves to the penalty for so doing. From that time, spies were employed to see what natives attended Christian worship, and numbers who before attended were afraid of disobeying the queen.

The grand assemblage of the people took place as the queen had commanded, and a royal message was delivered forbidding the free exercise of the Christian religion among the natives. All that had become converts and been baptized, and all that had attended Divine worship, were required to make confession within one month; and those who did not confess, when discovered, would be put to death. The period was afterwards shortened to a week, with this caution: "Remember that next Sunday is the last day; unless you send in your names by that time, you die wilfully."

This was a trying time, and "the fearful and unbelieving," some of whom had promised better things, turned back from their Christian brethren, and went no more with them. There were, however, others who boldly pleaded, "We did no evil, and intended none to the queen or her kingdom, in our prayers and our observance of the sabbath; we prayed to the God of heaven and earth to prosper her reign." One excellent Christian, a man of influence, accused himself to the judges, and being asked how often he prayed, replied, "For the last three or four years I have not spent a single day without offering prayer several times a day." The judges asked him to give a specimen of his prayer, and he did so, including in it confession of sin, supplication for mercy and grace, and intercession for the queen and for all her subjects. The judges approved of the spirit of the prayer; but said as the queen did not approve of these things, prayers to God ought not to be offered in her country. This eminent and large-hearted Christian preached the gospel with great faithfulness; and afterwards risked his life by concealing the persecuted during several months, till he was obliged to flee to the forest himself to avoid the rage of the persecutors.

The Christians assembled at midnight to pray for the Divine protection

throughout the week of probation. One of high rank in the army joined them, and openly avowed his attachment to the cause of Christ. He would not accuse himself to the queen, because he was conscious he had done no wrong, and he resolved to take the Christian's God as his God, and to unite himself with his people. Soon after his wife also was brought to acknowledge the Saviour. He concealed some of the Christians for some time within his house. The week elapsed. The queen accepted of a dollar and a bullock as an atonement for the offences of many, which if renewed their lives were to be forfeited. Many others were degraded, or wholly deprived of their honours, and not less than four hundred officers were reduced in rank. They were also prohibited from instructing their slaves, who were in that case to be beheaded, and their owners to be severely fined and to undergo further punishment. The Christians were next deprived of their books, the concealing of a single leaf exposing them to death. To their great grief many delivered them up, but many others ventured to retain small portions. These books were collected throughout the country, where they had found a circulation even at the distance of three hundred miles from the capital.

Some of the missionaries left the island; but those that remained still imparted instruction to many of the natives, and continued so to do during the year 1835, till the time of their departure in 1836. The number of converts had gradually increased, notwithstanding the great danger to which they were exposed. The Lord's Supper was occasionally administered; and in the prospect of soon losing their teachers, the Christians rapidly grew in Divine knowledge, by diligently reading the word of God. The Bible was so prized, that one man in a feeble state of health travelled sixty miles to obtain a copy. He pressed the precious volume to his heart, and said, "This contains the words of eternal life; it is my life, and I will take as much care of it as of my own life." This man continued steadfast in the faith, but, like the primitive Christians, he was compelled by persecution to leave his home, and to seek refuge in the forests.

The Christians in the capital durst not now sing the songs of Zion, but they reminded themselves of them by often playing their tunes on their national harps. The Christians who apostatized were subject to the jeers of the heathen. A great officer had especially remarked, that he had heard them singing words expressive of triumph over the fear of death; but now they had been all frightened at it, made confession to the queen, craved pardon, and promised to offend no more. These jeers, however, induced many to show more fortitude, decision, and consistency.

In 1836 the missionaries were obliged to quit the country. They could do no further good. They could not collect any people to hear the gospel, for none durst attend. The congregations were scattered. The pious visited the missionaries by stealth, but the unbelievers durst not do so; nor could the missionaries visit any of the people, for it was death to a native to lend an ear. The schools also were subject to the same general interdiction. The year 1836 was a year of suffering; the servants of the departed missionaries were subjected to the murderous ordeal of the tangena. The oppressions of the government became more and more cruel. The native Christians gradually took courage, and held secret meetings in each other's houses, on solitary mountains, and other places where they could see a great

distance, and escape from any approaching danger. They also secured some Bibles and other religious works, which they buried under ground, so that they could apply to these instructors in failure of the missionaries.

An excellent woman and early Christian convert, named Rafaravavy, fell under the displeasure of the queen, just about the time that the missionaries were quitting the capital. Rafaravavy had been a most zealous idolator, and was now as zealous in the cause of Christ. She obtained a large house in the capital, and there instituted a prayer-meeting. By her simplicity, fervour, and consistency, she induced many to attend on the regular means of grace. At this time three of her servants laid an information against her, accusing her and nine of her friends of observing the sabbath, reading the book which the queen had prohibited, and continually praying to Jehovah Jesus, according to the custom of the Europeans. They particularly pointed out the time and place where they regularly met together. One of the officers accordingly went to the house. Rafaravavy was alone at the time, and had been reading just in the very place mentioned, having left the spot only a few moments before the officers reached the house, and retired to the other end of the dwelling. Rafaravavy, informed of her narrow escape from detection, immediately deposited all her books with the missionaries. Her father, a man of rank, put the servants in irons: they were, however, afterwards released at the intercession of their accused mistress. The judge sent to Rafaravavy's father, and informing him of the charges alleged against his daughter, advised him to tell her to accuse herself instantly before the queen, and at the same time to denounce her companions, or it would go hard with her. Her father hastened to interrogate her, and to shake her resolution, but she boldly confessed that she adhered to Christianity. He then went and accused himself and her before the judge, and the accusation was sent to the queen. She was in a rage: "Is it possible," said she, "that there is any one so daring as to defy me, and that one too a woman? This is annoying to me; go and put her to death at once: it cannot be borne." Several influential persons made great interest in her behalf, and pleaded the services which her father and brother had rendered to the government in the high offices which they sustained.

At three o'clock in the morning, Rafaravavy paid her farewell visit to the missionary family on the eve of departure. She was then expecting death, but displayed the greatest serenity and composure; and quitted the house, leaving behind her Christian salutations to all the churches of the Redeemer, begging their intercessions for the little flock in Madagascar. The queen, however, decided to spare her life, and was for this time satisfied with a pecuniary fine; but she warned Rafaravavy, that "if ever she should be found again guilty of a similar offence, she must not hope for pardon; life alone would then make atonement for the crime."

Finding that she was narrowly watched by her father, and her friends, who lived near her, she resolved to remove to the suburbs of the capital, and went to Ambatonakanga. Here the little band of Christians frequently met together; and sometimes they retired to a mountain, or to some more remote place, that they might enjoy their social meeting without interruption. Here Christians, introduced to them from distant parts by the missionaries, often enjoyed sacred and social intercourse, and the house of Rafaravavy was their hospitable abode for weeks together.



The converts rather increased than decreased, and enjoyed a little rest, for the queen supposed that their religion would depart with the missionaries. They were, however constantly exposed to danger at any hour; but in a letter addressed to one of their late missionaries, in 1837, they expressed themselves in the following terms: "By the strength of God, we shall still go forward, and not fear what may befall us. But we will go in the power of the Lord; and if accused by the people, we will still go straightforward, for we know that if we deny him before men, Jesus will deny us before his Father; but if we confess him, he also will confess us, when he shall come in the clouds to judge the world, and present them that are blameless before the Father for ever." As there were now no schools, the Christians taught those among them who could not read, each taking a few pupils.

The Christians enjoyed but a short respite from persecution. Five men and nine women were apprehended, and all reduced to slavery, their property at the same time being confiscated. Among the sufferers was Rafaravavy, who was dragged to prison and loaded with irons. She expected immediate execution, and frequently uttered, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit!" To a young Christian who followed her, she said privately, "Go with me and see my end, and hear my last words; for, if I shall find by experience the strength of Christ sufficient for my support, and am enabled to bear testimony to it in my last moments, as I have enjoyed it hitherto, it may tend to encourage our friends who may be called to follow my steps."

While the irons were being put on, one of the men said to the smith, "Do not put them on too fast, it will be difficult to take them off; nor, indeed, is it necessary, she is to be put to death to-morrow morning at cock-crow." This indeed was the queen's order; but in consequence of a fire breaking out in the capital in the course of the night, and destroying many houses, the execution was in the confusion unavoidably deferred. New orders were expected from the queen, but were not given. A short time after this, orders were again issued immediately to execute Rafaravavy; but with great difficulty and danger she escaped, and with five others came to England. They, however, afterwards returned to a safe spot in their own country, where, under another authority, the queen could not touch them.

Rasalama, an excellent young female, was among the queen's victims. She was put in heavy irons and beaten, but continued singing hymns. Her firmness amidst her sufferings astonished her persecutors, which they ignorantly attributed to witchcraft, and supposed that the missionaries operated by some secret charm on the minds of the Christian converts. Rasalama had been confined in the house of a man in office, named Ramiandrovola, whose character was proverbially savage and cruel. From this house she was emancipated, only to prepare for execution the next morning. She was put that afternoon into irons of a peculiar construction, not intended so much for the security of the prisoners as for cruel punishment. The irons consisted of rings and bars, so fastened around the feet, hands, knees, and neck as to produce the most excruciating pain.

At the appointed time she was led to the place of execution, singing hymns by the way. Passing by Mr. Griffith's chapel, where she was baptized, she exclaimed, "There I heard the words of the Saviour!" On

reaching the fatal spot, she calmly kneeled down, committed her spirit into the hands of her Redeemer, and in that attitude was speared to death, the executioners, three or four in number, standing behind and by the side of her, and striking her through the ribs and the heart. The pain would be momentary, the release triumphant, and the bliss that followed immortal. Her body was left to be devoured by the wild dogs that frequent all places in Madagascar where criminals suffer. When some friends went, some time afterwards, to the exact spot where she was killed, they could find a few bones only, lying about where they had been scattered by the dogs.

The next martyr was a young man named Rafaralahy. This devoted Christian had built a house in a retired spot, for the purpose of affording accommodation to those in slavery, that they might meet together for religious conversation and prayer. They were discovered by the treachery of a backslider, and taken up. Rafaralahy was put in irons, and desired to give up the names of all his fellow Christians, but he remained inflexible. In two or three days he was conveyed to execution; and on arriving at the place, he requested a few moments to commit his soul to the Saviour. He then rose from his knees; and when the executioners were preparing to throw him down on the ground, he said that there was no need for that, as he was now ready to die. He then laid himself down, and was immediately put to death. His friends were allowed to bury the body with their ancestors, but his property was confiscated. Thus died the second martyr of Madagascar. In him the Christians lost a hospitable, generous, and devoted brother Christian, willing to divide his property among the persecuted church, to share the dangers of worshipping the true God, and to lay down his life in the cause of the Redeemer.

THE END.

# INDEX.

- ABBES**, James, burnt at Bury, 753.  
**Abbeys**, dissolution of, 360; lands restored by queen Mary, 661.  
**Abdallah**, account of, 1065; converted to Christianity, *ib.*; martyred at Bochara, 1066.  
**Abyssinia**, persecutions in, 238.  
**Adalbert**, bishop of Prague, account of, 121.  
**Adoration**, popish doctrine of, 12.  
**Egidio**, doctor, death of, 183.  
**African** persecutions, 40.  
**Agatha**, a Sicilian lady, martyred, 45.  
**Aix**, bishop of, disgraceful conduct, 135.  
**Alban**, a primitive martyr, account of, 58.  
**Albigenses**, persecutions of the, 136.  
**Albright**, Anne, burnt at Canterbury, 914.  
**Alcock**, John, apprehended, 965; examined by parson Newall, *ib.*; dies in prison, 966.  
**Alexander**, bishop of Jerusalem, his death, 47.  
**Alexander III.** condemns the Albigenses, 136.  
**Alexander**, keeper of Newgate, his cruelty to Philpot, 904; miserable death, 990.  
**Allin**, Edmund, and his wife, martyred, 943.  
**Allin**, Rose, her hand burnt by Edmund Tyrrel, 945; martyred at Colchester, 946.  
**Almericus** burnt in Paris, 146.  
**Alphage**, archbishop of Canterbury, 123.  
**Ambrose**, George, martyr, 928.  
**Andriatsoa**, a young Christian of Madagascar, persecuted, 1068.  
**Andronicus**, a primitive martyr, slain, 64.  
**Apostles**, brief notices of their lives and martyrdoms, 18—25.  
**Appleby**, Walter, and his wife, martyred, 943.  
**Aprice**, John, a blind man, burnt at Stratford with a cripple, 929.  
**Ardeley**, John, his answers to Bonner, 680; condemned and burnt, *ib.*  
**Argyle**, duke of, executed at Edinburgh, 1030.  
**Arians**, origin of, 88.  
**Armagh cathedral** burnt by the papists, 1011.  
**Armstrong**, sir Thomas, account of, 1028; his condemnation and behaviour on the scaffold, 1029.  
**Arnold**, Mr., assaulted by papists, 1016.  
**Arragon**, king of, assists the Albigenses, 142.  
**Articles**, the Six, established, 357; Cranmer's objections, 359.  
**Askew**, Anne, her examinations, 450; sent for by Bonner, 452; released upon bail, and again apprehended, 455; cruelly racked by the chancellor and others, 458; martyrdom, 461.  
**Askin**, Thomas, suffers with Julius Palmer, 932.  
**Austen**, John and Thomas, persecutors of John Bland, 733.  
**Austoo**, James and Margery, martyrs, 951.  
**Austria**, persecutions in, 1063.  
**Auto da Fe**, described, 155; by Dr. Geddes, 156.  
**BABINGTON**, warden of the Fleet, his cruelty to bishop Hooper, 620.  
**Badby**, Thomas, martyred in Smithfield, 292.  
**Baker**, sir John, examines John Bland, 739.  
**Banes**, bishop of Lichfield, examines Robert Glover, 783; condemns a blind woman, 935.  
**Baptism**, Romish doctrine of, 12.  
**Barbary**, persecutions in, 241.  
**Barnes**, Dr., account of, 369; martyrdom, 376.  
**Bartholomew**, St., horrible massacre of, 192.  
**Barton**, Elizabeth, the maid of Kent, 319; her confession and execution, 320.  
**Basil**, daily tortured by order of the emperor, 92.  
**Basset**, a popish priest, disputes with Benet concerning the pope's supremacy, 473.  
**Battiscomb**, Christopher, tried by Jeffreys, and executed at Lyme, 1035.  
**Beach**, Joan, a widow, martyred, 928.  
**Beccles**, three persons burnt at, 930.  
**Bedell**, bishop of Kilmore, shut up in a ruined castle by the papists, 1006.  
**Benbridge**, Thomas, brought to the stake, 966, recants, and led again to prison, 967; revokes his recantation, and is broiled in the fire by the papists, 967.  
**Benet**, a poor widow, persecuted, 945.  
**Benet**, Thomas, account of, 469; excommunicated, 471; martyrdom, 476.  
**Benifield**, sir Henry, gaoler to the lady Elizabeth, 980; his unmerciful behaviour, 981; clemency of queen Elizabeth, 993.  
**Benion**, Thomas, burnt at Bristol, 970.  
**Beretta**, Paulo, martyr, 997.  
**Berry**, a popish priest and cruel persecutor, overtaken by death, 959.  
**Bezieres**, siege of the city, 138; treacherous capture of the earl of, 140.  
**Bible**, English, printed at Paris, 347.  
**Bilney**, Thomas, martyred, 325.  
**Bishops**, popish, liberated, 583; persecuting, who died before and after queen Mary, 990.  
**Bland**, John, story of, 732; examinations, 735; refutes popish absurdities, 743; burnt at Canterbury, 749.

- Bocardo, a prison in Oxford, where Cranmer was confined, 862.
- Bohemia, persecutions in, 214; twenty noblemen executed, 217; embraces the doctrines of Wickliffe, 221; supplicates the Council for John Huss, 224.
- Boleyn, Anne, her character, 304; marriage, 312; favours the reformation, 335; falsely accused, 336; executed, 337.
- Bonaventura, his blasphemies in 'Our Lady's Psalter,' 696.
- Bongeor, Agnes, burnt at Colchester, 951.
- Boniface, history of, 109; commission from Gregory II., 111; founds four bishoprics, and created archbishop of Mentz, 112; preaches the gospel in Friesland, where he is killed by savages, 113.
- Boniface VIII., pope, his pretensions to absolute power, 310.
- Bonner examines Anne Askew, 452; committed to prison in king Edward's days, 510; advanced to the bishopric of London by displacing Ridley, 540; progress through his diocese, 593; brings Saunders into trouble, 610; false report concerning Hooper, 624; degrades Hooper, 625; degrades Dr. Taylor, 637; cruelty to Tomkins, 644; examines Hunter, 647; persuades Higbed and Causton to recant, 653; condemns Cardmaker and Warne, 677; his talk with Haukes, 682; sentences Watts, 694; commits Elizabeth Warne and others to the fire, 758; shaves himself to anger Smith, 768; treatment of Ridley, 793; his talk with Philpot, 880; falsely accuses Philpot, 898; his Latin prayer before giving sentence against a heretic, 901; condemns Philpot, 904; strikes Whittle on the face, 908; condemns Bartlet Green and others, 911; Roger Holland and seven others sentenced, 961; dies in the Marshalsea prison, and buried in the fields, 992.
- Bookseller at Avignon burnt with two Bibles about his neck, 135.
- Bourne preaches at Paul's Cross, and incenses the people, 699.
- Bradford, John, story of, 698; examinations, 700; talk with two Spanish friars, 713; with a servant, 718; burnt in Smithfield, 720; his letters, 721-730.
- Bragg, Matthew, and others, suffer death at Dorchester, 1037.
- Brentford, six persons martyred at, 962.
- Brookes, bishop of Gloucester, sets in commission on Ridley and Latimer, 843; his address to Ridley, 855; degrades Ridley, 860; as pope's legate judges Cranmer, 918; his authority denied, 919.
- Brousson, Claude, a French pastor, broken on the wheel, 1043.
- Browne, Thomas, cause of his trouble, 912.
- Bucer, Martin, opinion of the common prayer book, 515; his advice to king Edward, *ib.*; his death, 517; condemnation of his doctrines, and burning of his bones, 939.
- Bullinger, Henry, his letter to Hooper, 634.
- Bungay, Cornelius, martyr, 786.
- Burto, Dominico, mutilated, 146.
- Burton, Nicholas, burnt at Cadiz, 184.
- Burton, Edward, denied Christian burial by a popish priest the day queen Elizabeth was crowned, 788.
- Bury, three men consumed in one fire at, 931; three other faithful martyrs there burnt, 968.
- CALABRIA, persecutions in, 243.
- Calas, John, his trial and execution, 272.
- Cambridge, Bradford's letter to the university, 722; cardinal Pole's visitation, 937; proceedings of the inquisitors there, 938.
- Canterbury, five persons burnt at, 779; four women and three men martyred at, 943; five persons consumed there, being the last that suffered in queen Mary's reign, 971.
- Capon, bishop of Salisbury, and others, examine John Marbeck, 408.
- Cardanus, Hier., his commendation of king Edward VI., 534.
- Cardmaker, John, martyred in Smithfield, 675.
- Careless, John, dies in prison, 931.
- Carman, Thomas, burnt at Norwich, 957.
- Carver, Dirick, condemned by Bonner, 752; burnt at Lewes, 753.
- Cavel, John, martyr, 927.
- Catmer, George, martyr, 779.
- Catmer, Joan, condemned and martyred, 914.
- Causton, Thomas, privately urged by Bonner to recant, 652; burnt at Raleigh, 653.
- Cawches, Katherine, burnt at Guernsey, 934.
- Chedsey, Dr., argues with Philpot, 545; with Cranmer, 559; dissembles in king Edward's days, 991; his persecuting spirit, 992.
- Cheyney, disputes concerning transubstantiation, 547.
- China, persecutions in, 236.
- Christ, his natural body cannot be in two or more places at one time, 349; but once offered, 445; the angels saying to the three Marys, 544; the sacrament a memorial of his death, 552; absurdity of transubstantiation, *ib.*; spiritually present in the sacrament, 559, 849, etc.; his body in heaven, says Augustine, 571; appears to Peter, *ib.*
- Christian man, popish definition of, 14.
- Chrysostom, as quoted by Dr. Weston, 576.
- Church ordinances explained, 367.
- Clarke, Roger, martyr, 447.
- Clergy permitted to marry, 504.
- Cob, Thomas, burnt at Thetford, 779.
- Coberley, William, burnt at Salisbury, 927.
- Cobham, baron of. See *Oldcastle*.
- Coker, William, martyr, 757.
- Colchester, six persons martyred at, 928; twenty-two persons driven from thence to London, 941; six other faithful martyrs there consumed in one fire, 946.
- Cole, Dr., disputes with Philpot, 883; a persecutor of Cranmer, 921.
- College, Stephen, executed, 1016.
- Collier, Richard, burnt at Canterbury, 757.
- Collins, commissary, examines John Bland, 735.
- Commodus succeeds Antoninus in the empire, 37; styles himself Hercules, 38.
- Constantine, doctor, account of, 183.
- Constantine the Great favours the Christians, 81; miracle of a cross appearing to him, 82.
- Convocation-house, disputation in, 542.

- Coomans, martyred at Antwerp, 234.  
 Cooper, Elizabeth, burnt at Norwich, 944.  
 Coo, Robert, martyr, 778.  
 Cornish, alderman, his unjust execution, 1031; his words on the way to death, 1032.  
 Councils, the bishops' opinion of, 329.  
 Cranmer accused of heresy, 422; further accusations, 462; preaches a fast-sermon, 510; before the convocation at Oxford, 558; his answers, 560; condemned by the convocation, 582; appeals from their judgment, *ib.*; his declaration, 584; history of, 915; made archbishop of Canterbury, 917; obtains speech of the king, and for a time escapes imprisonment, *ib.*; prevailed on to subscribe to lady Jane, *ib.*; arraigned and committed to the Tower by queen Mary, 919; cited before the commissioners, and refuses reverence to the pope's delegate, 918; talk with Dr. Martin, 919; cited to appear at Rome, yet kept fast in prison, *ib.*; new commission from the pope, 920; the order of his degradation, and appeal to the next general council, *ib.*; persuaded to recant, 921; Dr. Cole's sermon and Dr. Cranmer's prayer, 922; revokes his former recantation, 924; pulled from the stage and led to the stake, 925; his martyrdom, 926; extract from his letter to the queen, *ib.*  
 Crashfield, Richard, martyred, 949.  
 Cromwell, lord, fall of, 363; execution, 364.  
 Cursing with bell, book, and candle, 471.  
 Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, history of, 52.  
 Cyprian, the magician, torn with pincers and beheaded, 67.  
 Cyril, a primitive bishop, martyred, 45.
- DALE, John, dies in prison, 964.  
 Damlip, Adam, account of, 418; preaches at Calais, 419; imprisoned in the Marshalsea, 420; martyred at Calais, 421.  
 Danes landing in Britain, 285.  
 Dangerfield, Mr. murdered, 1034.  
 Dangerfield, William, his wife, and his famished child, story of, 936.  
 Dauphiny, Waldenses in, persecuted, 132.  
 Dead men condemned of heresy, and burnt by the papists, 681, 939.  
 Denley, John, story of, 753; his answers, 754; burnt at Uxbridge, 756.  
 Devenish, John, burnt with Symson, 956.  
 Disputation at London, appointed by queen Mary, 542; at Oxford, 557.  
 Dowell, sir Henry, prevents the martyrs praying at the stake, 968.  
 Doyle, sir Henry, entreats for the persecuted, and enrages a priest, 964.  
 Drakes, Robert, martyr, 928.  
 Draycot, Dr., orders John Glover's body to be taken up, and pronounces him damned, 787.  
 Driver, Alice, apprehended, 967; her ears cut off for likening queen Mary to Jezebel, *ib.*; burnt with Alexander Gouch, 968.  
 Drowry, Thomas, a blind boy, condemned by Dr. Williams, and burnt, 929.  
 Dunkeld, bishop of, thanks God that he knows neither the Old Testament nor the New, 425.  
 Dunning, Dr., chancellor of Norwich, sudden death of, 989.
- Eagles, George, history of, 946; apprehension and trial, 947; his head hackled off and his body quartered at Chelmsford, 948.  
 Edward VI., his early life, 489; proclaimed king, *ib.*; the reformation carried on, 490; his illness, 532; endows three charities, *ib.*; Cardan's commendation of, 534; disinherits the lady Mary, 533; his last words and death, *ib.*; letter to Hooper, 617.  
 Elizabeth, queen, her birth, 976; her godfather, *ib.*; her tutor's report of her, *ib.*; persecuted by her sister, *ib.*; committed to the Tower, 978; her words on landing, *ib.*; examined by Gardiner, 979; sues for greater liberty, and allowed to walk in a little garden, *ib.*; sir Henry Benifield appointed her jailer, 980; discharged of the Tower, and lodged at the dean of Windsor's, 981; conveyed to Woodstock, 982; writes to her sister, *ib.*; Gardiner plots her death, and providentially preserved by master Bridges, 983; removed to Hampton Court, 984; her talk with Gardiner, *ib.*; interview with the queen, 985; greater liberty granted her, *ib.*; her prosperity, 993.  
 Essex, earl of, murdered in the Tower, 1017.  
 Eugenius, bishop of Carthage, persecuted, 100; exiled, and thrown into a dungeon, 101.  
 Eusebius, bishop of Samostatia, persecuted by the Arians, 97; killed by a tile, 98.
- FABIAN, bishop of Rome, martyr, 43.  
 Faith, Romish doctrine of, 10; explained by the ecclesiastical committees, 365.  
 Farman, Dr., warns suspected persons, 370.  
 Farrar, bishop of St. David's, examinations of, 654; burnt at Caermarthen, 657.  
 Felician, beheaded by order of Diocletian, 56.  
 Felicitas and her seven sons martyred, 33.  
 Fetty, John, his sufferings in Lollards' Tower, 972; his child scourged, *ib.*  
 Filmer, Henry, his examinations, 414; martyrdom, 417; comforts his companions, *ib.*  
 Fisher, bishop of Rochester, favours the nun of Kent, 320; attainted, 322; beheaded, 467.  
 Fish's 'Supplication of the Beggars,' 323.  
 Flanders, persecutions in, 233.  
 Flower, William, story of, 671; burnt at Westminster, 675.  
 Forret, Thomas, talk with the bishop of Dunkeld, 425; burnt at Edinburgh, 426.  
 Foster, Adam, martyr, 931.  
 Forest, Henry, martyred, 391.  
 Foster, Martin, martyr, 220.  
 Foster, Isabel, condemned by Bonner, 912.  
 Foster, justice, persecutes the faithful, 774.  
 Founleson, James, and his wife, martyred, 427.  
 France, persecutions during the civil wars of the nation, 146; persecutions and sufferings of the Protestants from the reign of Henry III. to Louis XVIII., 1041.  
 Franciscans oppose the king's supremacy, 330.  
 Frankesh, John, martyr, 749.  
 Freewill, errors of the papists concerning, 11.  
 Frith, John, account of, 326; his translation of Hamilton's book, 380.  
 Foxe, Hugh, burnt with Cuthbert Symson, 956.  
 Fust, Thomas, his answer to Bonner, 773; burnt at Ware, *ib.*

- GALERIUS, the Roman emperor, a persecutor of the Christians, 75; plagued by God, 76.
- Gardiner, Stephen, bishop of Winchester, objects to the people having the Scriptures, 334; an enemy to Cranmer, 422; goes to arrest the queen, 464; favours images, 491; sent to the Tower, 502; liberated by queen Mary, 583; his oration before the parliament, 595; sermon at Paul's cross, 596; calls king Edward an usurper, 605; his talk with Rogers, 606; examines Saunders, 612; abuses Dr. Taylor, 636; his talk with Bradford, 702; sketch of his life, 871; his book against the pope, 872; unstable in religion, *ib.*; delays his dinner to hear of Ridley and Latimer's death, *ib.*; suddenly smitten by God, and miserably dies, 873.
- Gardiner, William, account of, 185; burnt at Lisbon, 186.
- Garret, Thomas, account of, 374; his words at the stake, 378.
- Gates, sir John, beheaded, 540.
- George, Agnes, burnt at Stratford, 930.
- George, Christian, burnt at Colchester, 960.
- George, St., tortured and beheaded, 83.
- Georgians, oppressed by the Turks, 242.
- Gerard, a Venetian, martyred, 125.
- Germany, persecutions in, 226.
- Gibson, Richard, martyr, 954.
- Gilbert, Guillemine, burnt at Guernsey, 933.
- Glover, John, story of, 780; escapes to the woods, 787; his body taken up six weeks after burial, and cast into the highway, *ib.*
- Glover, Robert, apprehended, 782; his letter to his wife, *ib.*; joy at the stake, 786.
- Glover, William, death of, 787; denied burial by order of the bishop, and dragged into a broom-field, 788.
- Glyn, Dr., disputes with Ridley, 572.
- Godfrey, sir Edmund, murdered near Somerset-house, 1015; trial of the murderers, *ib.*
- Gouch, Alexander, taken with Alice Driver, 967; prevented praying at the stake, 968.
- Gratwick, Stephen, unlawful condemnation of, 942.
- Green, Bartlet, history of, 910; cause of his apprehension and martyrdom, 911.
- Gregory xvi. excommunicates the Poles, 1061.
- Grey, lady Jane, married to the lord Guilford, 537; proclaimed queen, *ib.*; her communication with Fecknam, 551; letter to master Harding, her father's chaplain, 553; to her sister, 554; her words on the scaffold, and execution, 555.
- Grinstead, three persons burned at, 935.
- Guernsey, three women and an infant burnt at, 932; defence of the story, 934.
- Gunpowder plot, the instigators, 1000; means of effecting, *ib.*; letter to lord Monteagle, 1001; the plot discovered, and punishment of the conspirators, 1002.
- Gwin, John, burnt with Julius Palmer, 931.
- HADLEY, town of, first receives the word of God, 634.
- Hale, Thomas, apprehended and burnt, 970.
- Hales, judge, brought into trouble, 644; destroys himself, *ib.*
- Hall, Nicholas, burnt at Rochester, 749.
- Hamilton, archbishop of St. Andrew's, examines Adam Wallace, 438.
- Hamilton, Patrick, account of, 379; his treatise, called 'Patrick's Places,' 381.
- Hamlin, Philip, martyr, 150.
- Harant, lord, executed, 217.
- Harding, chaplain to the duke of Suffolk, admonished by the lady Jane, 553.
- Harpole, John, martyr, 926.
- Harpsfield, archdeacon of London, his talk with Haukes, 685; ground of his popish faith, 737; his opinion of the sacrament, 738; examines Sheterden, 744; affirms that the mind of the priest and not the words, changes the sacramental elements, 757.
- Harwood, Stephen, burnt at Stratford, 773.
- Haynes, Dr., accused by the canons of Exeter, and sent to the Fleet, 402.
- Haukes, Thomas, his history, 681; brought into trouble for refusing to have his child christened, 682; examined concerning the sacrament, 684; his talk with Harpsfield, 685; with Chedsey, 687; sent to the Gatehouse at Westminster, 689; struck by Bonner, 691; condemned by Bonner, 692; claps his hands three times in the fire, after that all men thought him dead, *ib.*
- Henry ii. of France witnesses an unjust execution, 149.
- Henry iii. of France, his reasons for favouring the Protestants, 1041.
- Henry iv. of France, grants the edict of Nantes, 1041; stabbed by Ravillac, *ib.*
- Henry viii. ascends the throne, 296; his learning, 297; writes against Luther, and styled 'Defender of the Faith,' 303; marries the lady Katherine, 304; efforts to annul the marriage, 305; Cranmer's proposal, 307; controversy respecting the divorce, 308; authority of Rome repudiated, 313; the king's marriage declared null by the English divines, 314; declared valid by the pope, 315; marries Anne Boleyn, 312; beheads her, and marries Jane Seymour, 337; Thomas à Becket's shrine destroyed, 346; the king excommunicated by the pope, *ib.*; English Bible set up in churches, 347; sits in judgment upon Lambert, 350; the Six Articles enacted, 357; marries Anne of Cleves, 361; his second divorce, 364; his fifth wife, Catherine Howard, accused and beheaded, 394; at war with Scotland and France, 423; warns Cranmer, 462; his favour to Catherine Parr, 464; his sickness and death, 465.
- Heretics, manner of proceeding against, 477.
- Hermengildus, a Gothic prince, slain, 105.
- Hewling, Benjamin and William, executed at Taunton, 1034.
- Higbed, Thomas, condemned by Bonner, 653.
- Hildebrand, pope, excommunicates Henry iv., 281; keeps the king waiting at his gate, *ib.*
- Holland, Roger, condemned by Bonner, 961.
- Hooper, bishop, life of, 615; his letter to Ridley, 618; degraded and sent to Gloucester to be burnt, 625; the queen's pardon brought him at the stake, 628; lines on his martyrdom, 629; his letter to his wife, 630; his talk with a friar, 634.

- Holloway, James, accused and executed at Tyburn, 1028.
- Howard, lady Katharine, accused of incontinence, and beheaded, 394.
- Hudson, Thomas, story of his persecution and martyrdom, 957.
- Hullier, John, a priest, martyred, 928.
- Hungarian persecutions, 1064; Romish priests take possession of Protestant temples, *ib.*
- Hunne, Richard, murdered by the papists, 929.
- Hunter, William, reprov'd for reading the Bible, 646; examined by Bonner, 647; burnt at Brentwood, 649.
- Huss, John, embraces Wickliffe's doctrines, 221; cited before the Council, 222; degraded, 225; his prophecy at the stake, 226.
- Hussy examines Elizabeth Young, 973.
- Hut, Katherine, her words respecting the popish sacrament, 929.
- IGNATIUS, bishop of Antioch, martyred, 30.
- Images removed from St. Martin's church, 490; committed to the fire, 496; ordered to be defaced, 513.
- Inquisition, origin, progress, and cruelties of, 151; successive tortures described, 158; victims in Spain and Portugal, 161; singular discoveries of its enormities, 174; mode of proceeding, as related by one of its victims, 177. — At Madrid, destroyed by order of Napoleon, 1057; description of the interior, 1058; hall of judgment, *ib.*; singular discovery of the most diabolical cruelties, 1059; the dungeons visited and the prisoners released, *ib.*; instruments of excruciating torture described, 1060; punishment of the inquisitors, *ib.*; the building blown up, 1061.
- Invocation, erroneous doctrine of, 12.
- Ireland preserved from persecution in the days of queen Mary, 1003; horrible massacre in 1641, 1004—1013.
- Ireneus, bishop of Lyons, beheaded, 40.
- Islington, four persons burnt at, 951; forty persons apprehended at, 960.
- Italy, martyrdoms in, 253.
- JAMES I. ascends the throne, 999; the gun-powder plot, 1000.
- James II. succeeds to the crown, and shows his popish intentions, 1029; cautioned by the pope, 1030; goes publicly to mass, *ib.*
- Japan, persecutions in, 238.
- Jeffrey, chancellor of Salisbury, a persecutor, his sudden death, 981.
- Jeffreys, judge, a bitter persecutor, 1038.
- Jerome of Prague, account of, 229; burnt, 231.
- Jerome, William, vicar of Stepney, burnt in Smithfield, 376.
- Jessenius, Dr., beheaded, 219.
- John, king, resigns his crown to the pope, 283.
- John of Gaunt, protects Wickliffe, 287.
- John de Roma, a persecutor, 134.
- Jovian succeeds Julian, 94; a persecutor, 95.
- Julian the Apostate persecutes the Christians, 91; his Persian expedition and death, 94.
- Julitta, a primitive martyr, burnt, 77.
- Julius III. chosen pope, 544; reason for bestowing his cardinal's hat on his servant, *ib.*
- Justification, Romish doctrine of, 10.
- Justin, a philosopher, martyred, 33; his works extant, 34.
- KAPLITZ, a Bohemian nobleman, beheaded, 218.
- Katherine, queen, divorced from king Henry, 304; appeals to Rome, 306; death of, 333.
- Kerby, martyred at Ipswich, 448.
- Kidd, John, executed, 1036; his prayer for Scotland, *ib.*
- King, John, executed at Edinburgh, 1036.
- Kingston, sir Anthony, attends Hooper's martyrdom, 626.
- Knight, Stephen, prayer at the stake, 651.
- LADY murdered, 146.
- Lambe, Robert, brought into trouble through a friar's blasphemy, 426; burnt at Perth, 428.
- Lambert, John, account of, 348; trial before the king, 350; his condemnation read by the lord Cromwell, 354; martyred in Smithfield, 355.
- Lardin, Ralph, a persecutor, punished, 990.
- Lashford, Joan, alias Warne, her story and martyrdom, 913.
- Latimer brought before the convocation at Oxford, 558; his disputation there, 577; condemned by the convocation, 582; his early life, 815; converted by Bilney, 816; extracts from his sermon, 817; kindness to a poor woman in prison, 822; offends certain popish priests, 823; his letter to the archbishop, 824; resigns his bishopric, 829; foretells his death, 830; his letters, 831; examined by the commissioners, 850; permitted to speak but forty words, 853; last examination, 857; his behaviour at the stake with Ridley, 863.
- Lauder, John, martyr, 752.
- Laurence, John, burnt at Colchester, 651.
- Laurentius, a primitive martyr, broiled on a gridiron, 51.
- Laverock, Hugh, a lame man, burnt at Stratford, 929; comforts his fellow martyr, *ib.*
- Lazarone, Michael, murdered at Tyrane, 995.
- Leaf, John, burnt with John Bradford, 720.
- Legal, M. de, proceedings against the inquisition, 175; excommunicated, 176; releases four hundred prisoners, *ib.*
- Lewes, four persons martyred at, 930; ten faithful martyrs consumed in one fire, 943.
- Lewes, mistress Joyce, her persecution, 949; behaviour before her martyrdom and at the stake, 950.
- Licinius, a persecuting Roman emperor, 82.
- Lisle, lady Alicia, condemned by Jeffreys, 1035.
- Lithgow, William, sufferings of, at Malaga, 186; tortured by the inquisitors, 188; unexpected deliverance, 191.
- Lithuanian persecutions, 235.
- Lomas, John, burnt at Canterbury, 913.
- Longford, the inhabitants of, treacherously murdered, 1006.
- London, fire of, its probable cause, 1013; committee of inquiry appointed, 1014.
- Londonderry besieged by twenty thousand papists, 1012; sufferings of the inhabitants, *ib.*
- Louis XIII., recalls the Jesuits, 1041; yet confirms the edict of Nantes, 1042.

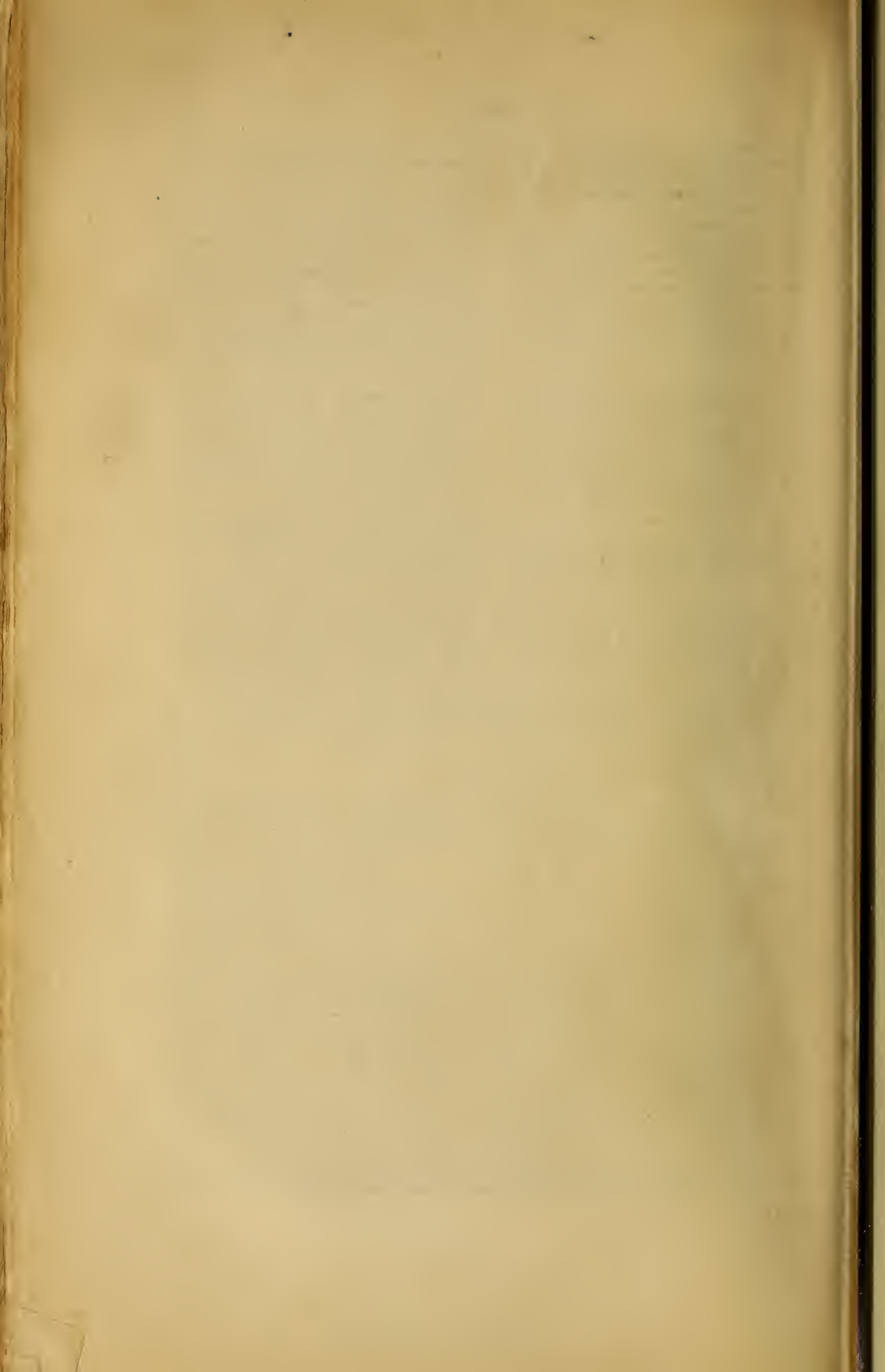
- Louis XIV., ascends the throne at the age of five years, 1042; revokes the edict of Nantes, with some account of the cruel persecutions which followed, *ib.*
- Louis XV., cruel persecutions inflicted during his reign, 1043; account of those imprisoned for life in the Tour de Constance, 1044.
- Louis XVIII. reascends the throne and persecutes the Protestants, 1047; memorial in their favour, 1051; protected by the duke of Angoulême, 1052.
- Lyster, Christopher, martyr, 928.
- MADAGASCAR, account of, 1068; Protestant mission established, *ib.*; false charges against the Christians, 1069; general assembly commanded, and the free exercise of religion forbidden by the queen, 1070; departure of the missionaries, 1071; sufferings of the principal martyrs, 1072.
- Magistrates, assumed authority over, 13.
- Maidstone, seven persons there martyred, 943.
- Marbeck, John, examinations of, 403; condemned, 145; reprieved, 416.
- Marshall, Dr., vice-chancellor of Oxford, stops Ridley's mouth, 863.
- Marsh, George, story of, 661; martyrdom, 669.
- Marriage, Romish errors concerning, 13.
- Martin, bishop of Rome, persecuted, 106.
- Martin, Isaac, his trial and sufferings, 166.
- Martyr, Peter, burning of his bones, 681; his wife's body taken up and burnt, 940.
- Mary, queen, resists the reformation, 506; mass continued in her chapel, 519; refuses to hear Ridley preach, 521; hears of her brother's death, and asserts her right to the crown, 537; arrives in London, 539; alteration of religion, 587; her marriage, 591; her letter to Bonner, 678; supposed pregnancy, 695; rekindles the martyr-fires by a fresh commission, 941; number of persons burnt by her, 975; unprosperousness of her reign, 987; forsaken by her husband, 985; dies mourning for Calais, 986.
- Mass not found in Scripture, 441.
- Massey, Perotine, the story of, 933; burnt at Guernsey with her new-born babe, 934.
- Maundrel, John, burnt at Salisbury, 927.
- Maurice, prince, declares for the liberty of Germany, 531.
- Maximilian, a Roman officer, executed, 62.
- Mayfield, four persons burnt at, 935.
- Mazarine, cardinal, prime-minister of Louis XIV., 1042.
- Mearing, Margaret, burnt with John Rough in Smithfield, 955.
- Middleton, Humfrey, martyr, 749; his noble confession, *ib.*
- Mille, Walter, account of, 443; martyred, 446.
- Miller, Simon, burnt at Norwich, 944.
- Mills, priest of Christ's church, his popish absurdities refuted, 742.
- Minge, William, dies in prison, 731.
- Molinos, his writings and persecutions, 268.
- Monasteries visited by order of Henry VIII., 331; suppressed, 340; new visitation appointed, 343.
- Monmouth, duke of, his unhappy enterprise, 1030; defeat and execution, 1031.
- Monks, some account of, 331; expelled by the Danes, and restored by Edgar, 332; their sources of wealth, *ib.*
- Moor, Thomas, sentenced at Leicester, 935; his answer to the bishop, *ib.*
- More, sir Thomas, great seal delivered to, 307; refuses to take the oath, 321; accused, condemned, and beheaded, 467.
- Morel, a Huguenot pastor, persecuted, 202; his answer to the duke of Guise, 204.
- Morgan, bishop, a persecutor, smitten, 989.
- Morgan, judge, who sat on the lady Jane Grey, dies mad, 989.
- Mount, William, story of, 944; apprehended with his family by Edmund Tyrrel, 945; martyred at Colchester, 946.
- Moyle, justice, sets Yeoman in the stocks, 963.
- Munster, horrible deaths there inflicted on the Protestants, 1010.
- NANTES, edict of, the safeguard of the French Protestants, when granted, and by whom, 1041; revoked, 1042.
- Narbonne, besieged by the earl of Toulouse, 144.
- Nelthorpe, Richard, an outlawed person, executed at London, 1036.
- Netherlands, persecutions in the, 232.
- Newman, John, apprehended by Tyrrel, 753; examined respecting the sacrament, 756; martyred, *ib.*
- Nichol, William, burnt at Haverford-west, 957.
- Nicholas, pope, poisoned, 280.
- Nightingale, parson of Crundale, a terrible example of Divine punishment, 660.
- Nismes, slaughtering of a Protestant family, 1045; general massacre, 1047; horrible cruelties inflicted on various Protestants, 1048; attempt to murder a Protestant congregation, 1052; six hundred detained in prison, 1053; renewed persecutions, 1056.
- Noone, justice, a persecutor, 967.
- Norfolk, duke of, opposes the reformation, 328; sent to the Tower, 465.
- Norfolk, duke of, his reply to James II., 1030.
- Northumberland, duke of, disliked by the people, 538; apprehended and sent to the Tower, 539; executed, 540.
- Noyes, John, burnt at Laxfield, 952; conduct at the stake, *ib.*; his foot found unburnt, and buried with his ashes, *ib.*
- Nuns, queens and kings' daughters who became such, 122.
- OGUIER, Robert, his wife and sons arrested, 197; the father and eldest son burnt, 199; burning of the mother and younger son, 200; behaviour at the stake, 201.
- Oldcastle, sir John, accused and burnt, 294.
- O'Neil, sir Phelim, massacres the Protestants in Ireland, 1005; forces one hundred and fifty persons into a river, 1008; compelled to retreat from Drogheda, 1012.
- Origen of Alexandria, persecuted, 48.
- Ormes, Cicely, sentenced and burnt at Norwich, 952; her joy at the stake, 953.
- Orobio, physician, tortured and banished, 166.
- Osborne, T., recants and does penance, 694.
- Osmond, Thomas, burnt at Manningtree, 694.
- Otto, lord Henry, executed, 218.

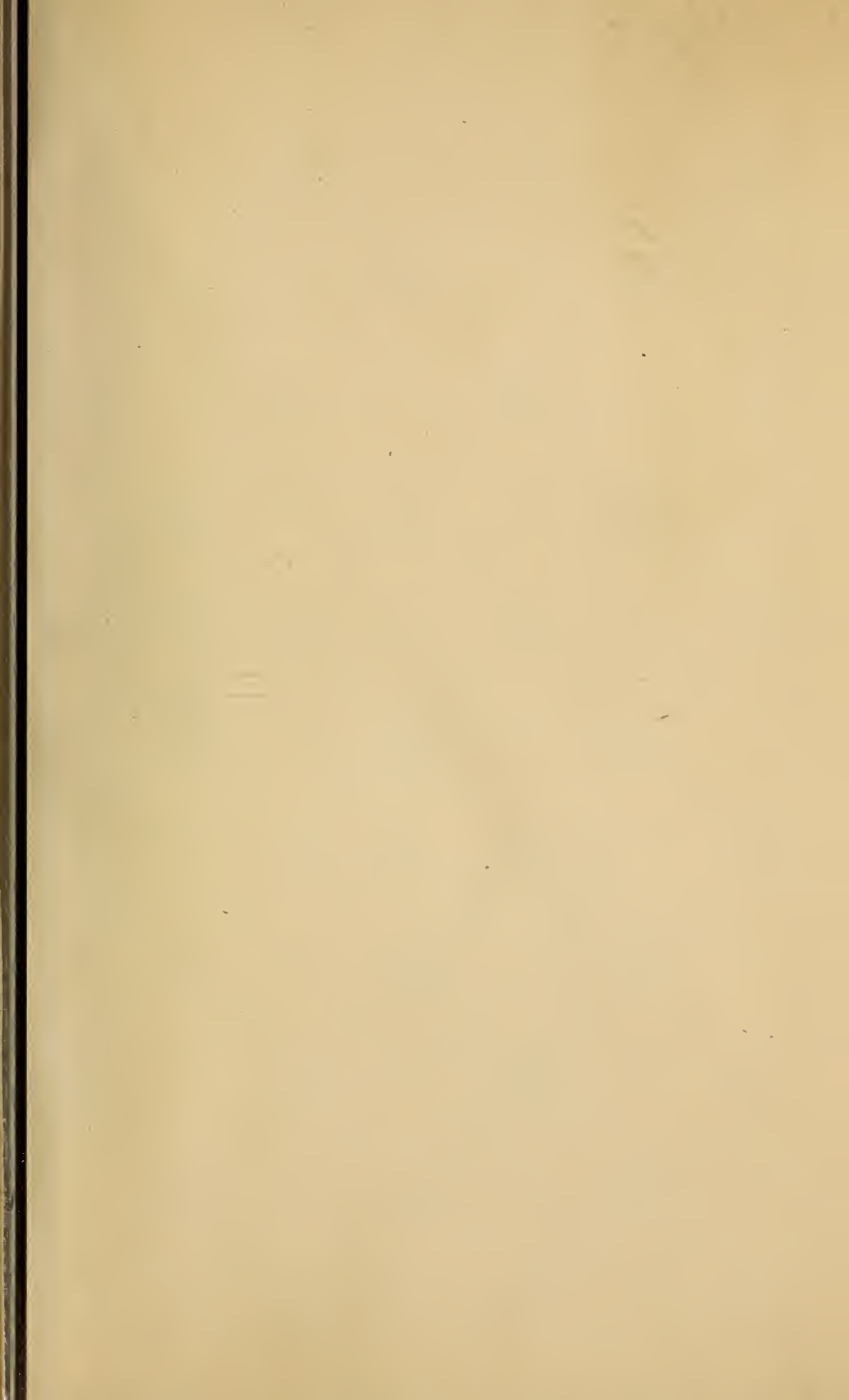


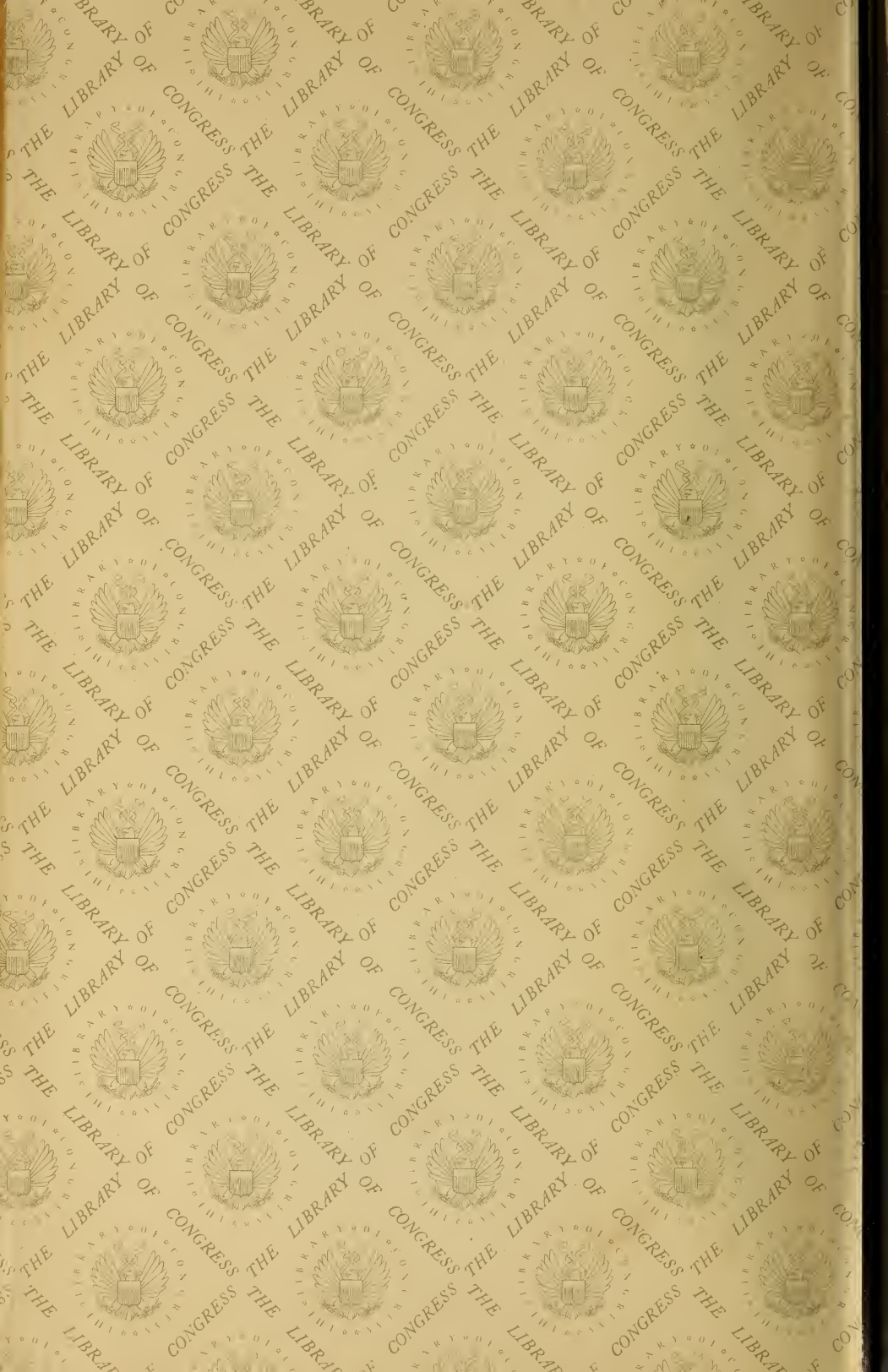
- Our Lady's Matins, extracts from, 696; Psalter, ditto, 697.  
*Ousia*, what it signifieth, 543.
- PACKINGHAM, Patrick, martyr, 756.  
 Palmer, Julius, his history, 931; condemned by Dr. Jeffrey, 931; and behaviour at the stake, 932; his last word, 'Jesus,' *ib.*  
 Papists, erroneous doctrines of, 10; prohibit the reading of the Scriptures, 484.  
 Parke, Gregory, martyr, 875.  
 Parr, queen Katherine, her talk with the king, 463; delivered from her enemies, 464. 'Patrick's Places,' translated, 381.  
 Paul III. endeavours to regain England, 337.  
 Pearson, Anthony, martyr, 417.  
 Penance, Romish, account of, 11.  
 Pendleton, Dr., preacher of the gospel in king Edward's days, afraid of persecution, 615.  
 Pepin, made king of France, 113.  
 Perne, Dr., vice-chancellor of Cambridge, exhorted by Bradford to repent, 725; behaviour at cardinal Poles' visitation, 937.  
 Perpetua, a primitive martyr, 40.  
 Persecutions, the ten general, of the primitive church, 25—85; of Christians in Persia, 85—87; under the Arian ascendancy, 88—90; under Julian the apostate, 91—95; of Christians by the Goths, 96—98; under the Arian Vandals, 99—102; brief account of, in the fifth to the seventh centuries, 103—108; ditto, in the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries, 109—122; ditto, in the eleventh century, 123—128.  
 Peter, a friar, murdered near Toulouse, 127.  
 Phagius, Paulus, his doctrines condemned by the inquisitors at Cambridge, 938; his bones taken up and burnt, 939; restored, 941.  
 Philip, king, lands at Southampton, 591; married to queen Mary, *ib.*; styled 'king,' etc., 592; his pompous behaviour, 593; favours the lady Elizabeth, 983; returns to Spain, 986; invades England with the Invincible Armada, 999; signally defeated, *ib.*  
 Philpot, John, disputes in the convocation-house, 542; his life and examinations, 876; lodged in Bonner's coal-house, 879; brought before Bonner, 880; expounds the doctrine of the sacrament, 894; refuses to appear before Bonner, 897; last examination, 900; condemned by Bonner, 904; cruelly used in Newgate, 905; behaviour at the stake, 906.  
 Piedmont, persecutions in the valley of, 246; further persecutions, 257.  
 Plaise, Matthew, persecuted, 943.  
 Poitiers, edict of, by whom granted, 1041.  
 Pointz, Thomas, story of, 484; escape, 488.  
 Poland, persecutions in, 1061.  
 Pole, cardinal, arrives in England, 594; his absolution, 595; calls a convocation, 894; his visitation of Cambridge, 937; dies the day after queen Mary, 990.  
 Polley, Margery, condemned and burnt, 750.  
 Popes, rise of, throughout Christendom, 279; their schisms and quarrels, 287.  
 Popish idolatries forbidden in king Edward's days, 500.  
 Potten, Agnes, burnt at Ipswich, 927.  
 Prati, Anthony de, martyred, 997.  
 Prest's wife, story of, 968; her answer concerning the popish sacrament, 969; burnt at Exeter, 970.  
 Public worship, changes in, 502.  
 Purgatory, popish doctrine of, 13; Latimer's opinion of, 833.  
 Pygot, William, martyred, 650.  
 Pygot, Robert, account of, 789.
- QUEEN'S County, cruelties practised by the papists in, 1010.  
 Quietists, origin of, 268; alarm of the Jesuits, 270; increase of the sect, 271; their founder tortured to death, 272.  
 Quinta, a primitive martyr, 43.  
 Quintin propagates Christianity, and is martyred, 59.  
 Quirinus, cruelly tortured, 79.  
 Quisitus, a Roman noble, put to death, 42.
- RADISLAUS invades Bohemia, 118; defeated in single combat by Wincelau, 119.  
 Rafaravavy, a Madagash Christian, persecuted, 1072; escape to England and subsequent return to her own country, 1073.  
 Rafaralahy, another Madagash Christian, put to death, 1074.  
 Rambant, Daniel, cruelly tortured, 262.  
 Rasalama speared to death, 1074.  
 Ravelson, James, accused of hanging the image of St. Francis, 427.  
 'Real Presence,' disputation concerning. See *Sacrament*.  
 Reason for not praying for a pope, 661.  
 Rebellion in Devonshire, 509.  
 Redman, Dr., a favourer of superstition, 822; Latimer's answer to, 823.  
 Reformation, progress of, in the reign of Henry VIII., 296; proceedings in parliament, 317; the book of homilies compiled, 495; established, 527; articles of religion prepared, 528.  
 Riche, racks Anne Askew, 458; made lord chancellor, 497; his talk with Philpot, 890.  
 Richelieu, cardinal, prejudices the king against the Protestants, 1041.  
 Ridley, made bishop of London, 514; his visitation, 516; talk with the lady Mary, 521; brought before the convocation at Oxford, 558; disputes concerning the real presence, 565; condemned by the convocation, 582; character of, 793; his kindness to Bonner's mother, *ib.*; conference with Latimer, 794; his letter to Bradford, 811; examined by the commissioners, 842; his oration in answer to the bishop of Lincoln, 844; oration of the bishop of Gloucester, 855; his condemnation, 856; degraded by the bishop of Gloucester, 859; conduct at the stake, 853; his farewell letter, 866.  
 Rochelle besieged by the whole power of France, 196.  
 Rochford, lady, beheaded, 394.  
 Rochus, a carver at St. Lucar, breaks the nose of an image, and is burnt, 162.  
 Rogers, John, life and story of, 601; examinations, 602; denies that he was ever out of the true Catholic church, 605; his talk with the sheriff, 608; burnt in Smithfield, 609.

- Rogers, —, burnt in Norfolk, 479.  
 Roman emperors, Divine judgments upon, 84.  
 Romanus, Francis, burnt, 162.  
 Romilly, sir Samuel, his efforts in behalf of the French Protestants, 1054.  
 Romish errors and absurdities, summary of, 10.  
 Rood of Dover-court thrown down, 468; burning of the image, 469.  
 Roper, George, martyr, 875.  
 Roras, besieged, 265; bravely defended, 266; taken and plundered, 267.  
 Rough, John, a minister, his story, 954; condemned and degraded by Bonner, and burnt in Smithfield, 955; remarkable dream, *ib.*  
 Russel, lord, his trial, 1018; executed in Lincoln's Inn Fields, 1021.
- SABAT denounces his friend, 1065; his subsequent history and conversion, 1066.  
 Sacrament of the Lord's Supper: Lambert's arguments, 349; to be received spiritually, 441; in remembrance of Christ's death, 448; turns mouldy if left long in the pix, 457, 969; to be received in both kinds, 497; conflicting opinions, 507; heresy of Joan of Kent, 508; Christ being in heaven, cannot be corporally on earth, 545; opinion of Theodoret, 546; Christ being corporally present on instituting the ordinance, could not have given his natural body, 552; his body spiritually present, 559; arguments of Cranmer, 561, *sq.*; of Ridley, 565, *sq.*; of Latimer, 577, *sq.*; opinion of John Rogers, 604; of Bradford, collected out of the fathers, 717; of John Bland, 742; of Sheterden, 745; Christ's body present in spirit and grace, 849; the dignity of the elements changed, not the nature, 852.  
 Sacrifice of the mass, derogatory to Christ, 850.  
 Saltzburg, cruel persecution of the Protestants, 1039; some account of the refugees, 1040.  
 Samuel, Robert, story of, 774; his letter, 776.  
 Sancerre besieged, 212; more than five hundred of the inhabitants perish by famine, 213.  
 Saunders, Laurence, life and story, 609; his letters, 610; examined by Gardiner, 613; burnt at Coventry, 614.  
 Saxon kings who became monks, 122.  
 Scaman, William, burnt at Norwich, 957; his mother driven from her home, and buried by a moat's side, 959.  
 Sebastian, a primitive martyr, twice executed, 61.  
 Seymour, lady Jane, married to Henry VIII. 337.  
 Sharpe, Richard, burnt at Bristol, 970.  
 Sheterden, Nicholas, his examinations, 744; burnt at Canterbury, 749.  
 Shrine of Thomas à Becket in great repute, 345.  
 Sidney, Algernon, his unjust trial, 1024; execution, 1027.  
 Simon, earl of Montfort, persecutes the Albigenes, 141; killed, 145.  
 Simson, John, martyred at Rochford, 678.  
 Sin, Romish doctrine of, 11.  
 Six Articles, the act set forth, 356; debated in parliament and passed, 357.  
 Sligo, the Protestant garrison massacred, 1006.  
 Sondres, massacre at, 996.
- Smith, Robert, examined by Bonner, 763; burnt at Uxbridge, 771.  
 Smithfield, seven persons burnt in, 907; three women martyred in, 929; five persons burnt, 941; three other faithful martyrs there consumed in one fire, 954; seven other persons martyred in, 961.  
 Sole, Joan, condemned and burnt, 914.  
 Somerset, duke of, sent to the Tower, 511; his trial, 522; his address to the people at his execution, 524; his virtues, 526.  
 Snoth, Agnes, burnt at Canterbury, 914.  
 Spicer, John, burnt at Salisbury, 927.  
 Spurge, Richard and Thomas, martyrs, 927.  
 Stanislaus, bishop of Cracow, murdered by the king, 126.  
 Stephen, St., martyrdom of, 18.  
 Stile, —, burnt in Smithfield with a copy of the Apocalypse, 478.  
 Stokesley, bishop of London, rejoices at his death that he had burnt fifty heretics, 353.  
 Storey, Dr., threatens to send Philpot to Lollards' Tower, 878.  
 Stratford-le-Bow, thirteen persons there burnt in one fire, 930.  
 Suffolk, duke of, father of the lady Jane Grey, apprehended, 550; executed, 588.  
 Suffolk men help queen Mary to the crown, 538.  
 Supper of the Lord, Romish errors concerning, 12. See *Sacrament*.  
 'Supplication of the Beggars.' See *Fish*.  
 Swallow, his cruelty to George Eagles, 948.  
 Symson, Cutbert, cruelly racked in the Tower, 956; burnt in Smithfield with others, 957.
- TANKERFIELD, George, story of, 759; martyrdom, 761.  
 Tartary, persecutions in, 1065.  
 Taylor, Dr. Rowland, story of, 634; degraded by Bonner, 637; parting with his wife and children, 638; his conduct at the stake, 641.  
 Teglio, governor of, murdered, 995; general massacre, 996.  
 Testwood, Robert, account of, 397; examination, 413; martyrdom, 417.  
 Thackvel, Elizabeth, martyr, 929.  
 Theban legion decimated by the Roman emperor, 57.  
 Thorlyne, John, prevents Glover's body being interred, 787.  
 Thornton, bishop of Dover, sudden death of, 989.  
 Thurston, Margaret, burnt at Colchester, 951.  
 Tindal, William, his New Testament burnt in Cheapside, 323; account of, 480; translates the Bible, 483; burnt at Filford, 488.  
 Tomkins, Thomas, hand burnt by Bonner, 644; martyred in Smithfield, 646.  
 Tooley, John, dug up and burnt, 681.  
 Tortures inflicted on Irish Protestants, 1007.  
 Toulouse, earl of, 137; insolence of the bishop of, 141; siege of the city, 145.  
 Tracy, lord, dug up out of his grave and burnt, for not leaving money for soul-masses, 326.  
 Tree, mother, martyr, 935.  
 Trelawney, forty persons there forced into the river, 1007.  
 Trevisam, James, persecuted, 731; summoned to appear after death, 732.

- Trois, persecution of the faithful at, 207; massacre, 209.
- Trunchfield, Joan, burnt at Ipswich, 927.
- Tudson, John, sentenced by Bonner, 912.
- Turkey, persecutions in, 239.
- Tutty, James, martyr, 779.
- Twenty-four Protestants drowned, 215.
- Tyms, William, condemned by Bonner, 928.
- Tyrconnel made viceroy of Ireland, which occasions fresh persecution, 1012.
- URBAN, pope, his pride and insolence, 287.
- Urbanus and others forced to sea in a vessel to be set on fire, 95.
- VALTELINE, a valley in Switzerland, persecutions and massacres in the, 995.
- Vassey, massacre at, headed by duke of Guise, 201; number of slain and wounded, 204.
- Venice, persecutions in, 252.
- Verities founded upon God's word, 9.
- Victor, a primitive martyr, cruelly tortured, and at length crushed in a mill, 63.
- Vienna besieged by the Turks, 241.
- Voes, Henry, his examination, 227.
- WAID, Christopher, apprehended, 749; burnt at Dartford, 751; tormented by a friar, *ib.*
- Walcot, captain, unjustly tried and executed, 1023.
- Waldenses in France, their origin, 128; tenets, 129; persecuted, 130.
- Wallace, Adam, trial of, 438; death, 443.
- Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, persecution in his diocese, 477; extracts from his register, *ib.*
- Warne, John, martyred in Smithfield, 675.
- Warne, Elizabeth, martyred at Stratford, 758.
- Waste, Joan, a blind woman, her love of the Scriptures, 935; burnt at Derby, *ib.*
- Watts, T., account of, 692; martyrdom, 694.
- Webbe, John, martyr, 875.
- Went, John, condemned by Bonner, 912.
- Weston, Dr., appointed prolocutor in the disputation at London, 542; opens the convocation at Oxford, 559; loses favour with the papists, 991; taken in adultery, *ib.*; appeals to Rome, *ib.*; committed to the Tower, and dies on his release, *ib.*
- White, Rawlins, story of, 657; his answer to the bishop, 658; parting with his wife and children, 659; burnt at Cardiff, 660.
- Whittle, Thomas, story of, 908.
- Wickliffe, John, account of, 235; protected by the duke of Lancaster, 287; persecuted, 288.
- Winchester, bishop of. See *Gardiner*.
- Wincelau, duke of Bohemia, history of, 117; murdered by his brother, 119.
- Wiseman, W., dies in Lollards' Tower, 876.
- Wishart, George, account of, 428; defends his doctrines, 430; martyrdom, 437.
- Wolsey, William, burnt, 788.
- Wolsey, cardinal, his talk with Dr. Barnes, 370.
- Woodroffe, sheriff, stricken with palsy, 989.
- Wriothesley, chancellor, commands Anne Askew to be racked, 459.
- Wyatt's rebellion, and his execution, 550.
- YEOMAN, Richard, history of, 963; persecuted by parson Newall, 964; denounces popery, 965; martyred, *ib.*
- Young, Elizabeth, apprehended, 973; examined by Hussy, 973; by Dr. Martin, 974.
- ZACHARY succeeds to the popedom, 112.
- Zervius, Dionysius, executed, 219.









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